

A N
Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, Chronological, and Other TABLES.

V O L. V.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχισθαι μὴ καλάνοι, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐνεθήσεαι ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.
Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



D U B L I N:

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To the Right Honourable

THOMAS Lord LOVELL,

Baron LOVELL of *Minsted-Lovell*,

Knight of the most Honourable Order of the *Bath*.

My LORD,

WE might be justly deemed unpardonable, if, amongst the several illustrious Persons who have honoured this Work with their Patronage, we should neglect applying to Your Lordship for YOURS. That universal Knowledge of Men and Books, joined to a distinguishing Judgment and polite Manners, which is Your confessed Character, gives us a Kind of Claim to IT. History, beyond all other Sciences, deserves the Protection of the Great and Good, as its Utility is not of a confined Nature, but diffuses a general Benefit to all Mankind. This Consideration, my LORD, greatly justifies the Presumption of this Address, since Benevolence, and every amiable Virtue, eminently adorn and add a Lustre to Your Rank.

IT must be acknowledged, the following Sheets cannot appear abroad under a greater Recommendation, since Your LORDSHIP has given the Public SUCH early Proofs of a refined Taste for Ancient History; particularly in Your Travels through *Italy*, where, at a large Expence, You enriched the Republic of Letters with a curious Account of the *ETRURIA REGALIS*; THAT this noble Example must animate the Youth of Genius and Quality to cultivate so useful a Branch of Learning, and at the same Time reflect no small Honour upon the Professors of it.

BUT

D E D I C A T I O N.

BUT what more immediately obliges us to shelter ourselves under the Sanction of the Illustrious and the Great, and may, we hope, intitle us to the Favour of such unquestionable Judges, is the Resolution we have made of concealing our Names until the Whole is compleated. Under this Obscurity, My LORD, we have received several considerable Hints, (which we might otherwise have been deprived of) that have much contributed to the Improvement of our original Plan, and consequently render the Undertaking more serviceable to the World. From hence arises the Necessity of our submitting each Yearly Production to some Personage of avowed Candour and Judgment, and is the Motive that prevails upon us to solicit Your LORDSHIP's favourable Acceptance of this present Volume. The Reputation that this Work has hitherto obtained in most Parts of *Europe*, we humbly trust, will incline Your LORDSHIP to indulge us in this Request, and to pardon the Liberty we take in assuming the Honour of subscribing ourselves,

My LORD,

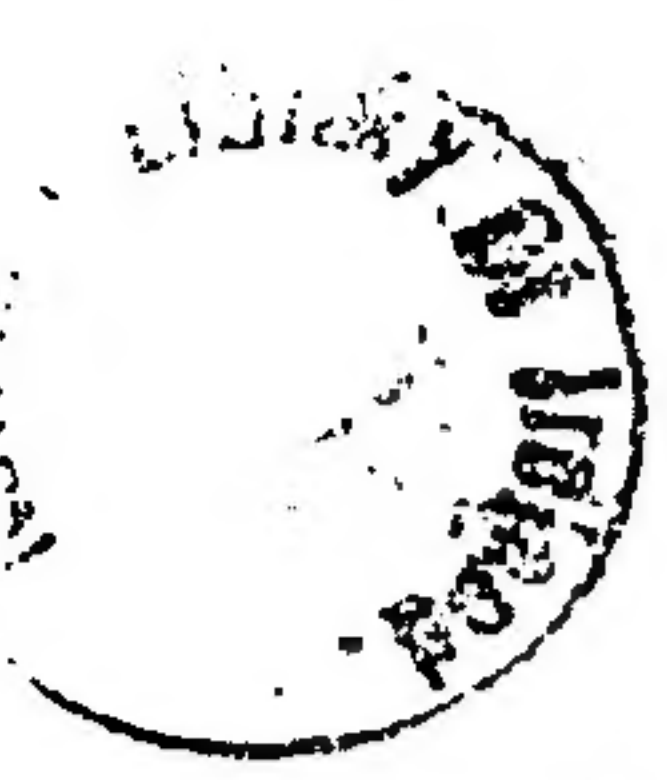
Your Lordship's

Most Obedient, and

Most Devoted,

Humble Servants,

The Authors.



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AN

U N I V E R S A L H I S T O R Y,

F R O M T H E

Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

C H A P. IX.

The history of Rome, from the end of the sedition of the Gracchi to the perpetual dictatorship of Sylla.

^a **T**HE civil commotions of the republic being allayed, by the death of the *Gracchi* and the abolition of their laws, as we have related in the foregoing volume, *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, the nephew of the great *Metellus*, surnamed *Macedonicus*, and *L. Aurelius Cotta* were, without any disturbance or opposition, raised to the consulate. The latter was sent into *Transalpine Gaul*, with a consular army to keep the *Allobroges* and *Arverni* in awe, and the former into *Illyricum* to reduce the *Segestani* (A), who had shaken off the Roman yoke. The consul defeated them in the field, and made himself master of their city and territory ; but, as this expedition was not of importance enough to procure him a triumph, he made war unjustly on the *Dalmatians*, who, not being in a condition to withstand a consular army, voluntarily submitted to him ; so that he spent the winter in tranquillity at *Salona* (B), the capital of the country. Nevertheless, he assumed the surname of *Dalmaticus*, and was honoured with a triumph for his pretended conquest ^b.

In the mean time, a young orator had courage enough to impeach the late consul *Papirius Carbo*, at the tribunal of the prætor *Q. Fabius Eburnus*, who had been commissioned by the senate to try state-criminals. The orator's name was *L. Licinius Crassus*. No Roman had ever been endowed by nature with greater talents for eloquence, which he had carefully improved, though but twenty years of age, by a strict application to study. As he was of the *Licinian* family, and nearly related to *Licina*, the wife of *C. Gracchus*, he resolved to do all that lay in his power to destroy *Papirius Carbo*, a sworn enemy to the *Gracchian* party. *Papirius* had formerly been zealous for the people and the *Gracchi*, even to madness, and had been suspected of having assassinated the second *Africanus*. But, having since changed his party; and with it his sentiments, he had devoted himself intirely to the interest of the nobility, who had

^a APPIAN. in Illyric. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii.

(A) *Segesta*, formerly a city of *Upper Pannonia*, is long since destroyed. There are only some of its ruins remaining on the banks of the *Save*, near the mouth of *Kulp* and the little city of *Siseg*.

about ten miles from the gulph. of that name, on the coast of the *Adriatic* sea, at a small distance from the place where the present city of *Spalatro* stands. It was once famous for the retreat of the emperor *Dioclesian*, but is now buried in its ruins.

(B) The ancient city of *Salona* in *Dalmatia* stood

had promoted him to the consulate, and looked upon him as one of the chief supporters of their cause ; so that he had great interest, and, besides, was himself an orator of no mean character, as appeared in the cause of *Opimius*, which he defended with uncommon success, having by force of persuasion induced the people to give judgment against their own interest. Nevertheless the love of revenge prompted young *Crassus* to attempt the destroying of this powerful enemy to the *Gracchian* faction. He reduced the whole impeachment to these three articles ; 1st, That he had stirred up the elder *Gracchus* to demand the tribuneship a second year ; 2dly, That he had made a law for this purpose, when he was tribune ; and, 3dly, That he had been, at least, an accomplice in the assassination of the *Second Africanus*. These were heavy accusations ; and *Crassus* might have easily proved them, had not his probity got the ascendant over all his passions. For one of *Papirius's* slaves, being angry with his master, stole the box in which he kept all his papers, and brought it to the accuser. But the generous *Roman* had such an abhorrence of the treachery, that he sent back the slave in chains, and the box unopened, saying, that he had rather let an enemy and a criminal escape unpunished, than destroy him by base and dishonourable means. On the day appointed, the cause was pleaded before the prætor and a very numerous assembly, all *Rome* flocking to hear the first essay of a young orator, who had never yet displayed his talents but in the schools. When he ascended the rostra, he was so intimidated at the sight of so crouded an audience, that, his heart failing him, he looked pale, and was ready to faint. The prætor, observing the confusion he was in, adjourned the court to the next day. Then the croud was still greater ; but the young orator took courage, and spoke with such energy and life, that the accused, sinking into despair, did justice on himself. Some say, that he went into banishment ; but *Valerius Maximus* assures us, that he poisoned himself with cantharides to avoid a more shameful death^b. From this time *Crassus* gained the reputation of the greatest orator *Rome* had ever bred. His oration was put into the hands of all young orators, and long after looked upon by *Cicero* himself as an inimitable performance^c.

Papirius lays violent hands on himself.

Marius, his birth, education, &c.

Marius tribune of the people.

His intrepidity.

DURING the present consulate, the famous *Caius Marius* first appeared in a public office. He was of so mean extraction, that even the village where he was born is not certainly known. All that is certain of his origin is, that he was a native of the country of the *Arpinates* in the territory of the *Volsci* ; that his father's name was *Marius*, and his mother's *Fucinia*. He was a man of an extraordinary size, of great strength of body, of an uncommon understanding, courageous, and enterprising ; but at the same time of a fierce aspect, and, as he had spent great part of his youth in the country, where he had been brought up in rustic employments, in his manners a perfect savage. As soon as he attained to the military age, he entered into the army, and gave the first proofs of his courage and intrepidity at the siege of *Numantia*. *Scipio*, with whom he made his first campaign, discovering under a rough outside a great fund of understanding and bravery, told his officers, that young *Marius*, however clownish, would one day be an honour to the republic, and prove one of her greatest generals. He distinguished himself on all occasions by actions of uncommon valour, but more by an exact observance of military discipline. He went through all the degrees in the army, and every step he rose was in reward of some action, with which he had signalized himself. He now began to solicit civil magistracies, and stood for the tribuneship of the people, which he obtained, and discharged with the same intrepidity he had shewn in the field. He proposed a new law relating to the manner of collecting the suffrages in the election of the curule magistrates : this the consul *Cotta* opposed, and even cited the tribune to appear before the senate, and answer for his conduct. *Marius* obeyed the summons ; but, instead of being daunted, threatened to exert his authority, and send the consul to prison, if he persisted in his opposition. *Metellus*, then prince of the senate, though the patron and friend of *Marius*, declared for *Cotta*. Whereupon the bold tribune, without shewing the least regard for that venerable senator, to whom he was indebted for his fortune, and by whose interest he had even obtained the tribuneship, ordered one of his officers to seize him and carry him to prison. His orders had been put in execution, if the consul had not waved his opposition, and the senate given their consent to the law. The boldness of the new tribune surprised the conscript fathers, but gained him great reputation among

^b VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 7.

^c CIC. de orat. l. i. & iii. in Bruto, & passim alibi.

a among the people, who from this time began to look upon him as their chief protector, against the incroachments of the nobility ^d.

THE tribuneship of *Marius* expired almost at the same time that *Rome* chose new consuls. These were *M. Porcius Cato*, grandson to the great *Cato*, but by his first wife, and *Q. Marcius*, surnamed *Rex*. The former died soon in *Numidia*, whither he had been sent to watch the steps of *Jugurtha*, who had usurped that kingdom; so that *Marcius* remained the sole head of the republic for almost the whole year. The province which fell to his lot was *Transalpine Gaul*, where he opened a way for the *Roman* armies from the *Alps* to the *Pyrenees*; a work of an immense labour and great danger. For the *Stœni*, a fierce nation and fond of liberty, whom *Stephanus* places ^{The courage of the Stœni.} at the foot of the *Maritime Alps*, took arms, and opposed *Marcius*'s design with great courage. But when they found themselves surrounded by the *Romans*, they set fire to their houses, killed their wives and children, and then threw themselves into the flames; so that not one of them survived the loss of their liberty. After this, *Marcius*, to secure his conquest, planted a colony in the country of the *Volcæ Tectosages*, who anciently possessed all that tract which lies between the *Pyrenees* to the south, and the present city of *Toulouse* to the north. The city which *Marcius* founded was called by his name *Narbo-Marcus*. Such was the origin of the famous city of *Narbonne*, which in process of time became the capital of a great country, and a convenient place of refreshment for the *Roman* armies, when they passed from the *Pyrenees* to the *Alps*, or from the *Alps* to the *Pyrenees*. The senate thought the reduction of this part of *Gaul*, the opening of a way from the *Alps* to the *Pyrenees*, and the founding of the city of *Narbonne*, so considerable works, that they honoured *Marcius*, upon his return to *Rome*, with a triumph ^e.

THE consulate of *L. Cæcilius Metellus* and *Q. Mucius Scævola* proved so peaceable, that the *Romans* had little else to do, but attend their superstitions, *Rome* being filled with reports of prodigies. The succeeding consuls, *C. Licinius Geta* and *Q. Fabius Eburnus*, had as little opportunity of acquiring glory as their predecessors. In their consulate *C. Marius* stood for the prætorship, and with great difficulty obtained it by the most bare-faced bribery and corruption. For this he was accused before the ^{Marius created prætor.} people, but, they being divided in their opinions, he was acquitted. As he had a great deal of good sense, and a penetrating understanding, he presided in the court of judicature, which was assigned him as prætor, without reproach. The next year it fell to his lot to govern *Further Spain*, which he did with great equity and moderation. He cleared his government of the banditti, who had long infested it, and cured those people of their ancient custom of living by rapine ^f. The next year, *Æmilius Scaurus* and *L. Cæcilius Metellus* were created consuls. The latter was the son of the famous *Metellus Macedonicus*, and the former an intrepid soldier, a brave officer, and eloquent orator. *Scaurus* proposed several laws, and got them passed in the comitia, in spite of the tribunes, who had for some time ingrossed to themselves the prerogative of proposing laws. By one of these he restrained the excessive luxury of the *Romans*, forbidding them to eat dormice, foreign shell-fish, and such birds as were brought from distant countries. By another he left the freedmen, who had been long confined to the *Esquiline* tribe, at liberty to enrol themselves in any of the four city-tribes, which they liked best. His zeal for maintaining some order in *Rome*, in spite of the general depravity of manner, was seconded by the censors, *L. Metellus Dalmaticus* and *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who struck thirty-two unworthy senators out of the roll, and among them *Licinius Geta* the late consul; proscribed games of hazard and concerts of music; and, after having nominated the consul *Scaurus* prince of the senate, finished their office with a census, in which were counted 394336 citizens able to bear arms. From *Rome*, *Scaurus* set out for *Gaul*, where he subdued ^{The Gentisci and Carni subdued.} the *Gentisci* and *Carni*, and spent the rest of the summer in making a good road from *Rome* to the *Alps*, for the more convenient marching of the armies, which had been hitherto obliged to march through a miry and almost impassable country. For this important piece of service the senate and people granted him a triumph, which his easy victory over the *Gentisci* and *Carni* had not deserved ^g.

THE next year, *M. Acilius Balbus* and *C. Porcius Cato*, the grandson of *Cato* the censor, were raised to the consulate. The latter was sent into *Macedon* to oppose the *Scordisci*, a people of *Thrace*, who had invaded that province. The barbarians were at

^d PLUT. in MARIO. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 9. CIC. de legib. l. iii. • FEST. CAPITOL. CIC. pro Fonteio. ^f PLUT. in Mar. ^g Auth. de vir illustr. FRONT. strat. l. iv. c. 3. STRAB. l. v.

The Roman
army cut off
by the Scor-
disci.

The Scordisci
defeated by
T. Didius.

The inconti-
nence of the
vestals pu-
nished.

A temple
erected to
Venus Ver-
ticordia.

An inundation
of Cimbri
and Teu-
tones.

at first terrified at the sight of a consular army, but, afterwards taking courage, faced the consul, and, having drawn him into a country full of rocks, forests, and narrow passes, cut off all his army to a man, *Porcius* alone having saved himself by flight. The republic had not for a long time suffered such a defeat. The historians' speak of it with astonishment, and tell us, that it would have alarmed the city as much as the battle of *Cannæ* did formerly, if such a misfortune had happened in the heart of *Italy*. The *Scordisci*, after so complete a victory, laid waste *Macedon*, spread themselves all over *Thessaly*, and advanced to the coasts of the *Adriatic*, into which, because it put a stop to their incursions, they discharged, in revenge, a shower of darts. But *T. Didius*, the Roman prætor in *Illyricum*, soon repaired the loss which the republic had sustained, and drove the enemy back, with great slaughter, to their own country. For this the republic honoured him with a triumph. As for *Porcius Cato*, though the senate and people did not condemn him for his misfortune, they accused him unjustly of oppression, and under that pretence banished him to *Tarracon* in *Spain*, where he spent the remainder of his days. A punishment not so just, as in point of prudence necessary, in order to deter Roman generals for the future from exposing their troops too rashly to the mercy of barbarians^b.

THIS same year an infamous commerce was discover'd between several of the vestals and their gallants. The intrigue was begun by *L. Betucius Barrus*, a Roman knight, but a professed debauchee, who gloried in corrupting women of the greatest families and best characters. He carried on an amour with a vestal named *Æmilia*, who drew in two others, *Licinia* and *Marcia*, to the like crimes. Upon the accusation of a slave, *Betucius* and *Æmilia* were condemned to the usual punishment, but *Licinia* and *Marcia*, though no less guilty, acquitted, the pontifices being afraid, lest the condemning of so many criminals at once might bring the whole sacerdotal order into disrepute. This raised great murmurs among the people; and *Seduceius*, one of the tribunes, revived the affair, shewed the iniquity of the judgment of the pontifices, and brought the cause before the people, who nominated *L. Crassus*, one of the prætors, to rehear it. *Crassus* was a man of known integrity, but so severe, that his court was called *the wreck of criminals*. He, without any regard to the birth of the accused, or the sentence passed in their favour, or the rights of the pontifical college, or the eloquence of the famous *L. Crassus*, who pleaded for his relation *Licinia*, condemned the two vestals to be buried alive, and their gallants to be whipped to death. Nor did this satisfy the people: a temple was built at the public expence to *Venus*, under the appellation of *Verticordia*, because that goddess was in this temple to be implored to turn the hearts of the Roman women to virtue. So that *Venus* was now invoked for chastity. The honour of consecrating this temple was conferred upon *Sulpicia*, the daughter of *Servius Sulpicius Paternulus*, who, though very young and lately married to *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, had given such proofs of an extraordinary modesty, that she was deemed the most chaste woman in *Rome*ⁱ.

IN the mean time, *Rome* was alarmed with accounts of an inundation of barbarians. The most northern part of *Germany* was inhabited by a nation said to have been originally descended from the *Asiatic Cimmerians*, and to have taken the name of *Cimbri*, when they changed their old habitations. These people were now settled near the ocean, in the peninsula which we call *Jutland*, and the ancients *Cimbrica Chersonesus*. But, being tired of cultivating a cold country, shut up between two seas, they left their peninsula with their wives and children, and, joining the *Teutones* a neighbouring nation, took their journey southward, fell upon the country which the *Boii* had long possessed, not far from the *Hercynian* forest. The *Boii* soon drove them out of their country, and obliged them to carry war and devastation into other parts. They then fell on the *Scordisci*, whom *Didius* had just driven back to the banks of the *Danube*; and from thence, advancing still nearer to the Roman provinces, they penetrated into *Vindelicia*(C), and there ravaged the country of the *Taurisci*. The approach of these barbarians made *Rome* tremble; the new consuls therefore, *Caius Cæcilius Metellus*, the fourth son of *Metellus Macedonicus*, and *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, the son of the

^b VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 8. CIC. in Verr. & pro Balbo. DIODOR. SICUL. apud. Vales. FLOR. l. iii. c. 3. ⁱ CIC. in Brut. VAL. MAX. l. iii. & viii. OVID. FAST. l. v.

(C) *Vindelicia* contained part of the present bishoprick of *Constance*, of the *Tirol*, of the bishoprick of *Passau*, all Upper and part of Lower *Bavaria*. Some geographers are of opinion, that all the countries between the *Inn* and the lake of *Bergentz* belonged formerly to *Vindelicia*.

the seditious *Caius Carbo*, were no sooner chosen, than the senate ordered the latter to wait for the *Cimbri* at the furthest parts of the eastern *Alps*, and stop the passages against them. As for *Metellus*, he was ordered into *Macedon* to finish the war with the *Scordisci*, whom he drove from post to post, and so weakened by repeated battles, that he put them out of a condition of making for some time any new attempts upon the Roman provinces. Upon his return he was honoured with a triumph, in which there was this most agreeable circumstance, that his brother, who had been consul a year before him, and was now returned from suppressing a rebellion in *Sardinia* and *Corfica* after two years labour, was ordered to triumph with him. The consul *Papirius* was not so successful against the *Cimbri*, who offered him a peace, which he pretended to accept; but afterwards, by corrupting their guides, treacherously drew them into a snare, as he imagined, and attacked their camp. *Papirius* promised himself certain victory. But what difficulties cannot a warlike people surmount, when actuated by despair and indignation? They ran to arms, and not only repulsed the legions, but, becoming the aggressors, fell upon them with such fury, that they put them in disorder, and obliged them to betake themselves to a shameful flight. The Romans fled in great confusion to the neighbouring forests, and there lay concealed for three days, without daring to appear in the open country. Upon the news of this defeat, the consternation at *Rome* was universal. No-body doubted, but the barbarians would immediately pass the *Alps*, over-run the provinces nearest to the capital, and attempt the destruction of *Rome* itself. But the *Cimbri*, upon what motive is utterly unknown, by a kind of miracle turned their arms elsewhere, and marching towards the country of the *Helvetii* (D), entered that way *Transalpine Gaul*, which they filled with desolation and slaughter. This miraculous deliverance quickened the zeal of the Romans in punishing all accomplices in the late guilt of the vestals. Among others, the famous orator *M. Antonius*, the grandfather of *Mark Antony* the triumvir, was suspected of having kept an unlawful commerce with the condemned vestals. He was then in the flower of his age, had been very lately nominated to the quæstorship of *Asia*, and was already got to *Brundisium*, in order to imbarque for *Pergamus*. But, when advice was brought him that his reputation was attacked, he immediately returned to *Rome*, appeared before the severe prætor *Cassius*, and desired, that his cause might be heard without delay. The judge endeavoured to intimidate him by threatening to put his young slave to the torture, who was said to have been privy to his amours; but the slave offered himself to the rack, with an assurance which induced the judge to spare him. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that the faithful slave endured the most cruel tortures, with an intrepidity, which surprised the judge^k. However that be, the quæstor of *Asia* was acquitted, and set out for his province with more honour, than if he had not been accused^l. And now *Rome* was in such tranquillity, that she had only one war to finish, viz. that with the *Scordisci*, who were already weakened, but still very haughty, and ready to take arms again, as soon as the Roman armies should leave *Macedon*. The elections therefore were no sooner over, than *M. Livius Drusus*, who was raised to the consulate with *L. Calpurnius Piso*, was sent against them, while his colleague covered *Italy* against the invasion of the *Cimbri*, whose return was still dreaded. *Drusus* prevailed upon the *Scordisci*, partly by force and partly by capitulation, to quit the country they possessed, and repass the *Danube*, which river from this time became a barrier between them and the Roman provinces. The Scordisci settle on the other side of the Danube. The consul upon his return was honoured with a triumph. And now the tranquillity was so general, in all the countries subject to the republic, that she would have shut the temple of *Janus*, if she had not been under some apprehensions from *Jugurtha*, whose wars make a considerable part of this history, and therefore must be traced a little farther back.

Masinissa,

^k VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 8.

^l STRAB. l. v. PLIN. l. iii. VELL. PATERCUL. l. xxi.

(D) The *Helvetii* at the time we are speaking of, and for some ages after, were reckoned among the Gaulish nations. *Strabo* and *Cæsar* divide their country into four cantons, viz. *Tigurinus Pagus*, *Tugenus Pagus*, *Ambrones*, and *Urbigenus Pagus*. The first contained the cantons of *Zurich*, *Appenzell*, *Schaffhausen*, and *Rhintall*; the second the cantons of *Zug*, *Glaris*, *Schwitz*, and *Uri*; the third a small

par of the canton of *Friburg*, and the whole cantons of *Lucern*, *Bern*, *Solothurn*, and *Underwald*; and lastly, the fourth contained the greatest part of the canton of *Friburg*, the principality of *Neuchâtel*, and part of the *Pais Romain*. The country of the *Rauraci*, now the canton of *Basle*, was afterwards added to the *Helvetic* body.

Birth educa-
tion, &c. of
Jugurtha.

Masiniſſa, king of *Numidia*, who had been ſo remarkably devoted to the *Romans*,^a left three ſons, *Micipſa*, *Manafabal*, and *Guluffa*, joint-heirs of his kingdom, which they long governed in perfect amity. At length *Micipſa*, ſurviving his two brothers, poſſeſſed the throne alone. This good king had two legitimate ſons, *Adherbal* and *Hiempſal*. His brother *Manafabal* had likewise two ſons, *Jugurtha* and *Gauda*, by two different miſtreſſes; and *Guluffa* had a ſon, named *Maſſiva*, by a concubine. But, as natural children had no right to the crown, according to the laws of *Numidia*, *Jugurtha*, *Gauda*, and *Maſſiva*, were by their illegitimacy excluded from ſucceeding to the kingdom, ſo long as *Adherbal* and *Hiempſal*, the lawful heirs, were alive. *Jugurtha* was born before the death of his grandfather *Masiniſſa*; but that wiſe king never acknowledged him as a prince of the blood-royal. However, *Micipſa* had^b ſo much regard for his brother *Manafabal*, that he cauſed *Jugurtha* to be brought up in the royal palace with the young princes his children. But afterwards, growing jealous of him, he ſent him to the ſiege of *Numantia*, in hopes of getting rid of him. *Jugurtha* diſtinguiſhed himſelf at that memorable ſiege in a very eminent manner, and, upon the taking of the place, returned home loaded with glory, and brought with him recommendatory letters from *Scipio*, under whom he had ſerved. And now age and experience having put a ſtop to his youthful ſallies, he was ſo far from giving umbrage to the king, that by his prudent conduct he gained his favour, and cultivated his friendſhip with ſuch addreſs, that the eaſy prince adopted him two years before his death, and thereby made him capable of ſucceeding, as joint-heir to his^c kingdom, with his own children. No ſooner was the old king dead, than diſputes aroſe among the three heirs of the kingdom. After ſome days had been decently ſpent in mourning, they met to deliberate about the affairs of the new government, when *Jugurtha*, who was the eldeſt, ſeated himſelf in the middle of the throne, which was prepared for the new kings. Hereupon *Hiempſal*, who was the youngeſt, thinking himſelf injured by the ſuperiority which *Jugurtha* aſſumed, ſeated himſelf by *Adherbal*'s ſide, in order to give him the middle place, which was deemed by the *Numidians*, as by moſt other nations, the moſt honourable; and it was not without much difficulty, that his brother prevailed on him to pay ſome regard to ſuperior age, and remove to *Jugurtha*'s left hand. As ſoon as the diſputes about the ceremonial were^d ended, *Jugurtha* propoſed the diſannulling of all the edicts the late king had publiſhed within the laſt five years, under pretence, that *Micipſa*'s underſtanding being then impaired by age, he had iſſued many ordinances prejudicial to the welfare of the kingdom. *Hiempſal* replied with a diſdainful air, I am willing to come into the propoſal; and we will begin with diſannulling the act, whereby you was aſſociated with us in the inheritance of the crown; ſince this was done within the time which you have fixed for my father's dotage. Theſe reproachful words ſunk ſo deep into *Jugurtha*'s mind, that thenceforth he made it his whole buſineſs to find an opportunity of ridding himſelf privately of a young prince, who might thwart his ambitious ſchemes. For we are told, that he had formed a deſign long before, when he^e ſerved in *Spain*, of extorting the crown by force from his two couſins. At the ſiege of *Numantia*, he had contracted friendſhips with ſeveral young *Roman* officers, who had roused his ambition, by ſtirring him up boldly to ſeize the kingdom, as ſoon as the old king's eyes ſhould be cloſed. They told him, that he would find friends and protectors enough at *Rome*, where any point might be carried with money and intereſt. *Jugurtha* therefore to gratify his ambition, and at the ſame time revenge the late affront, ſuborned the chief officer of *Hiempſal*'s guard to murder him? which he did to the great grief of the *Numidians*, who had founded their hopes on his courage and uncommon underſtanding. The head of the young prince, thus treacherouſly aſſaſſinated in the flower of his age, was carried to *Jugurtha*, who beheld it with pleaſure.^f Though ſuch a notorious piece of cruelty and perfidiouſneſs ought naturally to have driven all the *Numidians* into a revolt; yet they were divided among themſelves. Thoſe, who hoped to reap advantage from the public confuſions, ſided with *Jugurtha*, while the wiſe and the virtuous, who had the good of their country at heart, declared for the pacific *Adherbal*. But, as the latter were by far the weakeſt, the young prince, though not very ſagacious, had penetration enough to ſee, that his only refuge was in the protection of the *Romans*, to whom his rival could not but be ſuſpected. He therefore acquainted the conſcript fathers with the baſe aſſaſſination of his brother, and at the ſame time, foreſeeing that the deliberations of the ſenate^g would take up much time, he began to levy troops, and put himſelf upon his defence

Hiempſal af-
fronts Jugur-
tha.

Hiempſal
murdered by
Jugurtha's or-
ders.

- a defence against any attempt of *Jugurtha*. But this warlike prince soon got the ascendant over his surviving rival, and, by taking some cities by assault and forcing others to capitulate, made himself master of almost the whole kingdom. Hereupon *Adherbal* ^{flee} to Rome. *Adherbal*, having no asylum but *Rome*, conveyed himself thither, in order to lay his complaints before the senate. *Jugurtha* was no sooner informed of his design, than he sent ambassadors to that capital, well furnished with money to gain over the republic to his interest. He was well apprised, that all things were venal at *Rome*; and therefore ordered his ambassadors to spare no expence in gaining him new friends, and in cultivating the friendships he had formerly contracted, when in *Spain*. Upon their arrival they found the senate strongly prepossessed against their master, but met with few senators, who were proof against their presents. When the day came, on which *Adherbal* and the ambassadors were admitted before the senate, it was easy to perceive, by the debates of the conscript fathers, what effect had been wrought by *Jugurtha's* money. The just complaints of *Adherbal* were despised, *Jugurtha's* ^{The corruption of the Roman} courage extolled, and his crimes palliated. *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, then prince of the senate, declared for *Adherbal*, and with him a few others; but a great majority were against him. The senate therefore, without taking any notice of the assassination of *Hiempsal*, or the usurpation of *Jugurtha*, only appointed ten commissioners to go into *Africa*, and divide the kingdom between the two rivals. *Lucius Opimius*, so famous for his zeal against the faction of *Caius Gracchus*, was at the head of this commission; and, as he had declared for *Adherbal* at *Rome*, *Jugurtha* had reason to fear his arrival and determinations. But this formidable judge, who had avenged the cause of the republic against the *Gracchi* and their powerful party, was no sooner arrived in *Africa* with his colleagues, than *Jugurtha* gained them all over with the immense sums he sent them. They found him innocent, made *Hiempsal* the aggressor, and declared, that his death had been occasioned by his own rashness. After they had pronounced this iniquitous sentence, they came to the division of *Micipsa's* dominions, which was made upon the plan proposed by *Jugurtha* himself. To him were allotted the strongest places and the richest provinces, without any regard to the complaints of *Adherbal*, who, though thus injured, submitted to the judgment of the commissioners, and thought of nothing but reigning in peace over the subjects which *Rome* had assigned him^m.

- But the ambitious *Jugurtha*, finding that there was nothing to fear from the part of *Rome*, resolved to make himself master of all *Numidia*. With this view he entered the frontiers of his brother's kingdom at the head of his troops, laid waste the country with fire and sword, pillaged the villages, and committed every-where most dreadful devastations. He hoped by these insults to provoke the resentment of *Adherbal*, and induce him to use reprisals, whence he might have a pretence to drive him from his kingdom, and to justify his conduct at *Rome*. But the timorous prince contented himself with sending an embassy to *Jugurtha* to complain of the injustice of his proceedings. Nor could even the ill treatment which his ambassadors received at *Jugurtha's* court, provoke him to take arms. Hereupon *Jugurtha*, without troubling himself any longer about pretences, entered his dominions at the head of a numerous army, and incamped near *Cirtba*. Then *Adherbal*, seeing himself reduced to the necessity of taking the field, or flying his country a second time, thought it more adviseable to run any hazards, than trouble *Rome* again with his complaints. Having therefore assembled his forces and made new levies, he brought an army into the field, but more considerable for its number than courage. As he came in sight of the enemy, when the day was far spent and it was too late to engage, he incamped in haste in order to rest his troops, fatigued with long marches. But *Jugurtha*, without waiting for the return of day, attacked his brother's trenches in the dead of the night, forced them, and put all to the sword who withstood him. *Adherbal's* army was dispersed in an instant, and the king himself forced to take refuge in *Cirtba* his capital. *Jugurtha* fought every-where for his rival, whom it was his chief business to destroy; but the prince had the good luck in his misfortunes to escape the fury of his enemy. Some *Italian* cohorts he had in his army covered his retreat, and hindered the conquerors from entering the city with the conquered. Had it not been for this seasonable relief, the war had been begun and ended the same day. However, the siege of *Cirtba* was not delayed a moment. *Jugurtha*, who well remembered the lessons ^{Adherbal de- feated.} he

Commissioners
sent from
Rome to bring
the parties to
an accommo-
dation.

he had learnt of *Scipio* before *Numantia*, pushed it on with great vigor ; but the a
valour of the *Italian* troops protracted it longer than he expected. In the mean time,
news was brought to *Rome* of these unwarrantable proceedings ; but the usurper's
money had such an effect there, that the senate sent only a kind of mock commis-
sion into *Africa*, to persuade the parties to an accommodation. The commissioners
found *Jugurtha* untractable ; he told them, that he did not doubt but his conduct
would be approved by the senate, who were well acquainted with his integrity ;
that, *Adherbal* having made an attempt upon his life, he had been obliged to raise
troops to guard against the villainy of a brother, who was an assassin ; and that the
republic was too equitable to disapprove of a just defence, which was agreeable to
the laws of nations. With this answer he dismissed the deputies, without suffering b
them to confer with *Adherbal*, who was shut up in the besieged city.

As soon as they were gone, *Jugurtha* pursued the siege with vigor, and, following
the method which he had seen *Scipio* take in *Spain*, incompassed the place with a wide
ditch and a rampart, guarded with towers at proper distances, to keep out succours and
convoys. In this extremity *Adherbal* prevailed on two soldiers of the garison to cross
the enemy's trenches in the night, and carry a very affecting letter to *Rome*. When
it was read in the senate, some voted for marching an army immediately against the
usurper. But the venal senators, who were most numerous, opposed this motion,
and reduced the decree to this single point, that a second deputation should be sent
to *Jugurtha*, consisting of men eminent for their probity, and venerable for their age ; c
and that *M. Scaurus*, president of the senate, should be at the head of it. As the
affair required dispatch, the deputies were ready to set out in three days ; soon crossed
over into *Africa*, and landing at *Utica*, summoned *Jugurtha* to appear before them.
The prince was thunderstruck with this summons, and long in suspense what to do.
At length he resolved to make a general assault upon the place, and not to appear before
the *Roman* ambassadors, till he had completed his conquest. But he did not succeed
in his attempt, his soldiers being repulsed with considerable loss by the *Italian* cohorts.
In the mean time, *Scaurus* began to be tired with these delays ; and, as it was danger-
ous to provoke him, *Jugurtha* resolved to obey the summons ; and, leaving his camp,
came guarded by a small body of horse to plead his cause before the ambassadors. d
Scaurus at first broke out into bitter invectives against the *Numidian* king, reproaching
him with having basely assassinated one of his brothers, and shut up the other in his
metropolis, with an intention to destroy him by famine ; he ordered him to raise the
siege forthwith, under pain of being declared and deemed an enemy to the senate and
people of *Rome*, who had taken the innocent and injured *Adherbal* under their pro-
tection. But the anger of the *Roman* was soon abated. He heard *Jugurtha's* excuses
with great composure, acquiesced in the frivolous accusations he brought against his
rival, and returned home, without so much as ordering the cruel and ambitious king
to raise the siege. This sudden departure made *Scaurus* suspected of having sacrificed
the publick good to his private interest ; and his conduct afterwards confirmed this e
suspicion. *Jugurtha*, having got rid of the *Roman* ambassadors, returned before *Cirtba*,
and shut it up with more care than ever. As the famine began to be very troublesome
to the garison, the *Italian* troops persuaded *Adherbal* to capitulate, and thereby secure
his life, leaving the rest to the *Roman* republic, which was concerned, both in honour
and interest, to re-establish him in the dominions she had allotted him. *Adherbal*,
not thinking it safe to reject the advice of armed troops, began, with the utmost
reluctance, to treat with his rival, and agreed to deliver up the place, on condition
that he and his garison should have their lives spared. This *Jugurtha* readily pro-
mised ; but he no sooner entered the city, than he put all he found in arms to the
sword, extended his fury even to the foreign merchants, and, to complete the scene, f
seized on *Adherbal*, and inhumanly murdered him in his own palace, after having
made him suffer the most exquisite torments, his cruel temper and the desire of revenge
could invent. The news of this base murder soon reached *Rome*, where it was heard
by all honest men with the utmost horror and indignation. But the friends of *Jugurtha*
endeavoured to get the decree put off, which was ready to pass against him, in hopes
that time would abate this first heat. And indeed the villainy of the *Numidian* king
would have escaped public vengeance, had not a zealous tribune, named *Caius Mem-
mius*, acquainted the people in the comitia with the heinous crimes that were laid to that
prince's

Cirtba surren-
dered.

Adherbal
murdered.

a prince's charge, and bitterly exclaimed against the venality of the senate. The people, convinced by their tribune, that the scandalous prevarication of the patri-
 cians was the effect of the money, which the emissaries of *Jugurtha* had liberally distributed among them, resolved to bring the affair before their own tribunal. Hereupon the conscript fathers, to avoid the reproach of a scandalous censure upon themselves, decreed, that, as soon as the elections were over, one of the new consuls should have *Numidia* for his province; which was declaring, that they designed to make war on *Jugurtha* the next year °.

The senate resolve to make war upon Jugurtha.

WHEN the time came for the elections, the assembled tribes promoted to the consular dignity two men of very opposite characters, *Lucius Calpurnius Piso Bestia* and *P. Cernelius Scipio Nasica*. The latter possessed all the virtues of his ancestors, had always rejected with indignation the offers of *Jugurtha*, and shewed a great detestation of the general corruption of the senate. The former was a man of great personal bravery, very active and vigilant, a strict observer of military discipline, and consequently fit to strike terror into an enemy, and command respect from his own troops. But these valuable qualities were tarnished by a sordid avarice; for he looked upon war merely as a trade, and a means to get money. So that *Nasica* was the more proper man to be sent into *Numidia*, since the avarice of the generals was more to be dreaded, than the forces of the enemy. But *Numidia* unfortunately fell to *Bestia's* lot, and *Italy* to *Nasica's*. The former began, without loss of time, to make the necessary levies, and prepare for his expedition. In the mean time, *Jugurtha*, being informed by his emissaries at *Rome*, that a consular army was raising against him, and that *Calpurnius Bestia* was to command it, immediately dispatched his son to *Rome*, attended by two lords of distinction, with orders to spare no expences in keeping steady his old protectors, and purchasing new ones. Though his crimes had made such a noise, that no-body could so much as take his part openly, yet he did not doubt, but the blow might be still averted by the irresistible power of money. The consul *Bestia*, who looked upon his *African* expedition as a glorious harvest, heard with great concern the news of the *Numidian* prince's arrival in *Italy*. He was afraid, lest, by his intrigues and presents, he should prevail upon the conscript fathers to postpone the war, from which the consul proposed to reap great riches. He therefore opposed the embassy with all his interest, and got a decree passed, ordering *Jugurtha's* son and his attendants to depart *Italy* in ten days, unless they were come to deliver up the king of *Numidia*, and all his dominions, to the republic, by way of dedition. This decree being notified to them by the consul, they returned, without so much as having entered the gates of *Rome* P,

Year after the flood 2892. Before Christ 107. Of Rome 641.

Jugurtha's son sent to Rome.

But is ordered to quit Italy.

UPON their departure *Bestia* hastened his preparations. As he was not ignorant, that he might one day be called to a severe account for his conduct by the tribunes of the people, he had the precaution to chuse for his council and lieutenants some of the most eminent members of the senate, under pretence, that he stood in need of persons consummate in the art of war and well skilled in negotiations. But his real design was, to throw upon them the odium of his future misconduct, and screen himself under their names and credit against all inquiry. *Scaurus*, with whose vices he was well acquainted, though the prince of the senate affected to conceal the depravity of his heart, appeared to him a very proper man for his purpose; since both his extreme avarice and his weight in the senate were proper qualifications for it. *Scaurus* readily consented to follow the consul, promising himself great wealth from a war, which was to be carried on in a country never before entered by any *Roman* army. And now, all things being ready, the legions marched by land to *Rhegium*, there imbarqued for *Sicily*, and from *Sicily* crossed over into *Africa*. The consul upon his arrival briskly attacked *Jugurtha's* dominions, reduced several cities, took some castles, and made a great many prisoners. This he did in order to bring *Jugurtha* into his measures. And indeed these acts of hostility did not much affect the *Numidian* king. Though he was not acquainted with the consul's character, he conceived great hopes from the presence of *Scaurus*, to whose avarice he was no stranger. He therefore sent a deputation to the consul, desiring a conference, and promising to come himself to the *Roman* camp, upon an assurance of safety for his person. The offer was accepted, and from that moment a suspension of arms took place. And now, to bring the *Numidian* king to the conference he had desired, and at the same time

Calpurnius Bestia sets out for Africa.

° SALLUST. bell. Jugurth.

P Idem ibid.

The corruption
of Bestia and
Scaurus.

The Scordisci
and Triballi
defeated by
Minucius.

time to save appearances, the consul and *Scaurus* agreed to send the quæstor *P. Sextius* a to the city of *Vacca*, where *Jugurtha* resided, under pretence of getting a certain quantity of corn, which, they said, the king had promised in order to obtain a truce. But their real intent was, that he should be an hostage for the king's safety, who, upon this proof of their sincerity, came to the consul's camp. A council of war was immediately assembled to hear his proposals; but he there only made some excuses, endeavoured to clear himself from the crimes laid to his charge, and dropped a few words about a dedition. The rest was settled between *Bestia*, *Scaurus*, and himself, in private conferences; and it is not to be doubted, but *Rome* was betrayed by these two avaricious men, since they granted the king more advantageous terms, than could reasonably have been expected. They only obliged him to give the republic a certain b number of horses and cattle, thirty elephants, and a very inconsiderable sum of money. Upon these terms they made a solemn treaty of friendship, with one who had basely and treacherously murdered two kings, usurped their dominions, and despised the orders of the senate. All men therefore suspected, that *Jugurtha* had paid the consul and his lieutenant very dear for a peace, which was so little to the honour of the *Roman* name. However, the respect which the senators had for *Scaurus*, their president, kept them in suspense, no one daring to propose the disannulling of the treaty, till they had heard the particulars of the agreement from the consul himself and from *Scaurus*. In the mean while, *Scipio Nasica* dying, and the time for the great elections approaching, *Bestia*, the only surviving consul, was recalled to preside in c the comitia, in which *M. Minucius Rufus* and *Sp. Posthumius Albinus* were chosen consuls. *Numidia* fell by lot to *Posthumius*, and *Macedon* to *Minucius*. The latter marched against the *Scordisci*, who, though driven back beyond the *Danube*, as we have related above, repassed that river every winter on the ice, and laid waste the *Roman* provinces. The *Triballi* (E), a people of *Lower Mæsia*, and the *Daci* (F), of *Upper Mæsia*, had joined them, and together penetrated as far as *Macedon*, where they committed most dreadful devastations. But the consul having attacked them among rocks and mountains, put them to flight, and obliged them to cross the *Ilebrus*, on the banks of which river the battle was fought. As the river was then frozen over, the enemy ventured to cross it on the ice; but that breaking under the d weight of their heavy carriages, the river swallowed up great numbers of them, and the rest dispersed; so that *Minucius*, after having settled all those countries in peace, returned to *Rome* the following year, where he was honoured with a triumph⁹.

BUT the people were little affected with the success of these wars in the north. Their whole attention was turned towards *Numidia*. The peace lately made with *Jugurtha* was looked upon with detestation at *Rome*. The senators indeed continued silent out of respect to their head; but *Caius Memmius*, tribune of the people, addressed himself to the comitia, and, after having bitterly inveighed against the senate, concluded his speech thus: *We are told, that the Numidian has yielded up to the republic himself, his troops, his strong-holds, and his elephants. Let us convince ourselves of the truth e of this assertion by summoning Jugurtha to Rome. If he has truly submitted, he will obey your orders; if he does not obey, you may easily judge, that what they call a treaty is nothing but a collusion between that crafty prince and our generals.* His discourse stirred up the public animosity to the highest degree. As the people could know with certainty

⁹ LIV. epit. FRONT. strat. l. ii. VELL. PATERCUL.

(F) The country, now known by the name of *Bulgaria*, was inhabited by the *Triballi* at the time we are speaking of. *Strabo* indeed places the *Triballi* in *Thrace*; but we have observed in our history of that country, that the ancients extended its boundaries far beyond the river *Strymon*, which divided it from *Macedon*, and beyond mount *Hæmus*, which parted it from *Mæsia*. *Herodotus* speaks of *Thrace* as the largest country in the world, except the *Indies*; *Pliny* extends its frontiers to the *Danube*, and *Appian* joins it to *Illyricum*. And hence it is, that *Stephanus* reckons the *Triballi* among the *Illyrian* nations.

(F) *Dacia* is generally placed by geographers between the *Borysthenes* and *European Sarmatia* to the north; *Upper Hungary* to the west; the *Danube* to

the south; and the river *Pruth* and the *Euxine* sea to the east. This vast country is divided by geographers into three large provinces, viz. *Dacia Alpestris*, *Dacia Ripensis*, and *Dacia Mediterranea*. The first contained part of *Upper Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Rascia*, and the bannat of *Temeswar*; the second *Walachia* and *Moldavia*; and the third the greatest part of *Upper Hungary*. *Dio* places in *Dacia* all the countries on both sides of the *Danube*, from mount *Hæmus* to the mouth of that river. *Pliny* supposes the *Daci* and *Getæ*, who inhabited *European Scythia* near the *Euxine* sea, to be one and the same nation; and adds, that the people, who were called *Getæ* by the *Greeks*, were named *Daci* by the *Latins* (1).

(1) *Plin. l. vii. §. l. xxii.*

certainty only from the mouth of *Jugurtha* himself, whether *Opimius*, *Scaurus*, or *Bestia* had been corrupted with his money, the people upon this consideration likewise passed a decree, summoning *Jugurtha* before their tribunal. The prætor *Cassius*, a *Jugurtha* man of great address and unspotted probity, was thought a proper person to carry ^{summoned before the people.} the decree of the people into *Numidia*. Accordingly, he was charged with this important commission, and set sail without delay for *Africa*, where he found the army universally corrupted. The inferior officers and the private men, following the example of their general, thought of nothing but acquiring riches. Some had sold to *Jugurtha* the thirty elephants, which he had given to the republic; others had set the deserters at liberty for money, plundered the countries of their allies, and committed every-where most dreadful ravages. But the prætor, without taking notice of these disorders, which it was not his province to correct, applied himself wholly to cure *Jugurtha* of his suspicions, and to persuade him to come to *Rome*. The *Numidian*, after a long struggle with himself, resolved at length to comply with the orders of the *Roman* people, having for his safeguard the public faith, and, what he chiefly relied on, the word of *Cassius*. A great honour indeed to the *Roman* people to see the powerful and warlike king of *Numidia* come to *Rome*, in compliance with ^{Comes to Rome.} their summons, and by that act of obedience acknowledge their sovereignty. The king, to raise compassion, entered the city without any pomp or attendance, and dressed in a very negligent manner. He was no sooner arrived, than he had recourse to his usual weapons, money. He knew, that the securing of one of the tribunes was sufficient to put a stop to all proceedings before the assembly of the people. He therefore, without loss of time, gained with a large sum one of the ten, named *Caius Bæbius Salca*, a man of great boldness and unbounded avarice. Having secured this ^{Gains over one of the tribunes.} point, he presented himself before the people assembled, when the tribune *Memmius* reproached him with his ingratitude to the family of *Micipsa*, his cruelty, his excessive ambition, the murder of his two adopted brothers, his disobedience to the orders of the senate, and his private intelligence with those whom the senate had commissioned to carry them, which, he said, was highly criminal and odious to the republic. The zealous tribune ended his speech with these words: *You would never have carried your audaciousness to so great a height, if you had not been supported by a Roman faction, which you have purchased with money. We know them all; their zeal for supporting you in your iniquity has betrayed them. But it concerns us to have their names from your mouth. You may hope for all favour from the faith and clemency of the Romans, if you honestly declare to us, without any evasions, the persons whose protection you have purchased. But if you conceal, or disguise, the truth, you are irrecoverably lost. Speak, Jugurtha, speak, and answer the expectations of the Roman people.* While *Jugurtha* was preparing to reply, *Bæbius*, the mercenary tribune, whom the king had purchased, stood up, and with an imperious tone, *Though they press you to speak, Jugurtha, said he, I enjoin you silence.* This unexpected opposition raised such murmurs and clamours, as would have confounded a man of less impudence and intrepidity than *Bæbius*. But he obstinately persisted in his opposition; so that the people, betrayed by one of their own magistrates, were forced to break up the assembly, without having received the least information. *Jugurtha*, having thus escaped the judgment of the people with impunity, carried his villainy ^{He escapes with impunity.} to an excess scarce to be imagined. We have observed above, that *Gulussa*, brother to *Micipsa*, left an illegitimate son, named *Massiva*. This prince had espoused the cause of *Adherbal*, as the most just; but, after the taking of *Cirta* and the cruel death of the king his relation, he had fled for refuge to *Rome*, where the few men of honour, whom *Jugurtha* could not corrupt, encouraged him to demand of the senate and people the crown of his ancestors, which *Jugurtha* had forfeited by the many crimes he had committed. The consul *Posthumius Albinus*, to whose lot *Numidia* was now fallen, was his avowed friend and most zealous protector. At his motion the people were strongly inclined to bestow the crown of *Numidia* on this prince, who, though he had not been adopted by *Micipsa*, was of the blood-royal, and grandson to *Masinissa*. But *Jugurtha*, to defeat at once all the designs of his enemies, caused *Massiva* to be assassinated, in *Rome* itself and in the face of the republic. The ^{Causes Massiva to be assassinated.} wretch who executed the villainy was instantly seized, and brought before the prætor, to whom he confessed, that he had been hired by *Bomilcar*, one of the king's attendants, to commit the murder. Hereupon *Bomilcar* was cited to appear before the prætor; but *Jugurtha* found means to convey him privately out of *Rome*, and send him

Is ordered to
quit Rome.

him back into *Africa*. Upon the sudden disappearing of *Bomilcar*, all the odium ^a of the base assassination fell upon *Jugurtha*. But, as the treating him like a criminal was contrary to the promise made him, he was ordered by the senate to quit *Rome* immediately; which he did, without taking leave of the conscript fathers, and, for fear of being stopped, made all possible haste to imbarque at the nearest port. As he was on the road, he looked back on the city, and cried out, *O mercenary city, thou wouldst even sell thyself, if thou couldst find a man rich enough to purchase thee*. He was no sooner gone, than the senate by a special decree disannulled the infamous peace which *Bestia* had made with him; and then *Posthumius Albinus*, having raised with all possible expedition the necessary troops, crossed over into *Africa*, flattering himself, that he should be able to put an end to the war, before the year of his consulate expired; ^b though it was already far advanced. But the artful *Numidian* found means to amuse him, at one time pretending to be ready to surrender himself up to the *Romans*, at another declaring, that he would sooner part with his life than his crown. When the consul began to push on the war with vigor, he sent deputies to treat of a peace, and promised to submit to all that was demanded of him; but when he was pressed to perform his promise, he found out a thousand pretences to put off the execution of the articles which he had agreed to. Thus, by one evasion or other, he gained time, which he improved to the best advantage in the regulation of his affairs. And now, the consular year being ready to expire, *Posthumius* was obliged to return to *Rome* to ^c preside in the comitia for the new elections; so that he left *Africa* without having concluded any thing, either by action or treaty. Upon his arrival at *Rome*, he was loaded with the curses of the people, and strongly suspected of having betrayed his country, as his predecessors had done. No-body believed, that the *Numidian* could have found means, by artifices alone and without any connivance in the general, to suspend the motions of a large army, which *Rome* maintained in *Africa* at a vast expence ^r.

The Licinian
law against
luxury.

THE consul on his return found great disturbances in *Rome*, occasioned by some tribunes of the people. *Licinius Crassus* had passed a law against luxury and expensive tables, and *C. Manilius* another for erecting a tribunal to try those whom *Jugurtha* had corrupted. The law published by *Licinius* was in substance this; that on the ^d days of the calends, nones, markets, and great games, any one might lay out on his table thirty asses, that is, 1 s. 11 d. but that on other days no man should have more than three pounds of fresh meat, and one of salt, at a meal; but as to pulse, herbs, and fruit, every one might have what quantity of them he pleased. This, though a severe edict, met with so ready a compliance from the citizens, that they put it in execution, even before it was confirmed by the people. Upon the merit of this law, *Licinius* endeavoured to get himself continued in his office; as did also his colleague *Manilius*. But this ended only in protracting the elections, which at last came ^e on, when *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* and *M. Junius Silanus* were chosen consuls. During their administration, the commissioners, appointed to try those who had been corrupted by *Jugurtha*, pursuant to the law passed at the motion of *Manilius*, ended their inquiries, after they had been two years in that commission. *Scaurus*, prince of the senate and the most guilty among them, was artful enough to get himself nominated at the head of the commission, which he discharged with the utmost severity, punishing ^f many, who were less criminal than himself. He condemned to banishment several consular men, and even one pontifex, a thing never heard of before. He did not even spare his accomplice *Lucius Calpurnius Bestia*, but banished him with the late consul *Sp. Posthumius Albinus*, and the famous prosecutor of the *Gracchi*, *L. Opimius*, who died of want at *Dyrrachium*. *Cicero* never mentions the banishment of *Opimius*, but with indignation. *To the shame of the Romans*, says he, *this great man, who had just saved his country from the fury of the Gracchi, could not find a quiet retreat for his old age in the city he had preserved*. *Rome proclaims the importance of his services by a famous monument erected to his memory in the forum; and yet forces him to seek a sepulchre in a foreign country*. Thus *Scaurus*, who had been himself most scandalously bribed by *Jugurtha*, not only escaped punishment, but judged and punished others for having suffered themselves to be bribed.

The Romans
defeated by the
Cimbri.

THE new consuls having drawn lots, *Narbonne Gaul* fell to *Silanus*, who marched against the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*; but his army was routed at the first onset, and, in consequence

^r Idem ibid. ^s Cic. pro Sextio. pro Planco, & in Pison.

- a consequence of this defeat, all *Narbonne Gaul* exposed at once to the ravages of those barbarians. *Rome* only continued mistress of those cities, which the *Cimbri* could not take for want of skill in carrying on sieges. As for *Metellus*, it fell to his lot to make war in *Numidia*, where he was attended with better success. *Jugurtha* had gained a considerable advantage over the *Roman* army, after the departure of the late consul *Posthumius Albinus*. That general, before he left *Africa*, had given the command of the army to his brother *Aulus Posthumius*, whose only qualification was his being the consul's brother. He no sooner saw himself at the head of forty thousand men, than he resolved to take advantage of the consul's absence, in order to gain himself both riches and glory. Though the troops were in winter-quarters, and the month of *January* was a very improper time for military expeditions, he assembled all his forces, marched into the field, and, through roads almost impassable, brought them before *Suthul*, a strong-hold in *Numidia*, where the king's treasures were lodged. This was the lure that drew him; but the castle stood upon the brow of a hill, and was surrounded by marshes, which in the winter made it altogether inaccessible. However, *Aulus*, blinded by his avarice, ventured to besiege it. *Jugurtha*, overjoyed to see him lose his time and tire his troops, in so difficult an undertaking, caused several proposals to be made to him, as if he dreaded the success of his arms. To keep up his presumption, he sent deputies from time to time to beg peace, in as submissive terms, as if he had been under the greatest apprehensions. He did not, however, neglect to advance with his army, as if he intended to throw succours into the place.
- c As he drew near *Suthul*, he pretended to be terrified at the sight of the *Roman* forces, and, in order to increase the confidence of the general, he retired from post to post through difficult roads. *Aulus*, quitting *Suthul*, pursued him close, lest he should find means to make his escape. But the crafty *Numidian*, who was well acquainted with the country, drew him insensibly into narrow passes, and then returned to his usual artifices. He held the general in so great contempt, that he did not think it worth his while to bribe him: but he applied himself to the officers and soldiers of the army, and gained over, by his emissaries, not only two cohorts of *Thracians* and one of *Ligurians*, but many of the legionaries themselves, who basely agreed to sacrifice the good of their country, and the lives of their fellow-citizens, to their private interest. As *Jugurtha's* camp was not far from that of the *Romans*, the king ordered his light-armed *Numidians* to mount the enemy's ramparts in the dead of the night; which they did with inconceivable swiftness, and filled the camp with terror and confusion. In the mean time, the chief officer of the third legion, pursuant to his agreement with *Jugurtha*, opened to him two gates of the camp, and, being joined by the *Ligurian* and *Thracian* cohorts, covered the *Numidian* army as they entered. The *Romans* with their general abandoned the camp, and fled in the utmost confusion. The slaughter was not great, the darkness of the night favouring the retreat of the fugitives; they fled through the two other gates of the camp, and, taking different roads, gained a neighbouring eminence, and posted themselves there.
- e When it was day, *Aulus* found scarce any of his men wanting, except those who had sold themselves to the enemy; but the greatest part of them had thrown away their arms, that they might fly with more expedition.
- EARLY next morning, *Jugurtha* surrounded the hill, on which the *Romans* were posted; and then *Aulus*, seeing himself besieged by a victorious enemy, sent a shameful deputation to *Jugurtha*, demanding quarter only, and offering a lasting peace, which he would undertake to get ratified by the senate and people. The *Numidian* answered, that he would grant the *Romans* life and liberty, upon condition, that they should all pass under the yoke, and quit *Numidia* in ten days. To this the timorous general submitted, and marched with all his army between two posts set up for that purpose, amidst the taunts and shouts of the *Numidian* soldiers. The *Roman* troops, thus disgraced, disbanded themselves, and retired into the *African* province, that is, the ancient dominions of *Carthage*, which were now possessed by the republic. The senate was no sooner informed of this shameful peace, than they declared it void, and recalled *Aulus*, who was soon after tried by *Scaurus*, and condemned to banishment. *Metellus*, to whose lot *Numidia* was fallen, as we have related above, hastened the necessary preparations for carrying on the war with the utmost vigor. He was a senator of great virtue and integrity, and, besides, had given proofs of uncommon valour and

Aulus Posthumius besieges Suthul

Jugurtha takes the Roman camp.

The Roman army passes under the yoke.

Metellus sent into Numidia.

Marius lieutenant to Metellus.

Vacca taken by Metellus.

Jugurtha defeated by Metellus.

prudence in the command of armies ; so that all things seemed to promise success to his enterprise. The *Romans*, fully persuaded that it would not be in *Jugurtha's* power to corrupt him with offers, readily decreed him the recruits he desired, and at his request even disannulled some laws which reduced the pay of the legionaries. In short the people refused him nothing which he thought necessary for the carrying on of the war, and wiping off one of the most shameful reproaches, that had ever been cast on the *Roman* name, since the disgrace of the *Caudine Forks*. As for *Metellus* himself, his chief concern was, to chuse such subalterns as he could confide in, and whose skill in the art of war had been already proved. Among these was the famous *Marius*, who, as he had neither birth, fortune, nor eloquence sufficient to raise him to the first dignities, had continued quite idle at *Rome*, ever since his prætorship. He therefore joyfully accepted the offer *Metellus* made him, of being one of his lieutenant-generals. When all things were ready, the consul set out without delay, and, landing in *Africa*, spent the whole summer in disciplining his troops, which lived dispersed about the province in the utmost disorder, declaring, that he would not suffer them to engage, till they had learnt how to conquer. And now *Jugurtha*, finding he had to deal with a general, whom he could neither over-reach nor bribe, sent an embassy to him, with all possible marks of a sincere submission, begging only quarter for himself and children. But *Metellus*, suspecting the *Numidian* of double dealing, opposed artifice with artifice. He took each of the ambassadors aside, and prevailed upon them to promise, that they would deliver up to him the usurper, dead or alive. But this project being disconcerted by the circumspection, vigilance, and suspicions of the king, the consul resolved to attack him with open force. Accordingly, he entered *Numidia*, and, though no enemy appeared, he kept constantly upon his guard against a surprise. His troops always marched in order of battle. *Metellus* himself led on the advanced guard at the head of the archers, slingers, and light-armed troops ; *Marius* commanded the cavalry of the legions in the rear, and *Rutilius*, another of *Metellus's* lieutenants, the foot in the centre. In this fine order the consular army appeared before *Vacca*, a trading city full of *Italian* merchants, which upon the first summons received a *Roman* garison. From *Vacca* the consul still kept advancing, in the same order, towards the heart of *Numidia*. In the mean time, *Jugurtha*, having drawn together all the troops he could, lay in ambush for the *Romans*, waiting to engage them as they should come down from a mountain, which stood directly in the consul's road. *Metellus* no sooner reached the top of the mountain, than he discovered men and horses concealed among the bushes, which were not thick enough to cover them, ; and being fully satisfied, as he drew nearer, that the enemy was in ambush there, he changed both the rout and disposition of the army. In the first place, he ordered *Rutilius* to march down the hill another way, and pitch a camp on the banks of the *Muthullus*, about twenty thousand paces from the hill. This was a wise precaution to secure water for his troops in that dry and burning climate. As he was resolved to leave the hill on his right hand, he altered the disposition of his troops, and made his right wing three times as strong as usual, knowing it would be most exposed to the enemy. In the centre he placed his infantry, intermixed with some manipuli of light-armed troops, and ordered his cavalry to cover the army in the flanks. In this order he marched down the steepest part of the hill, and advanced slowly towards the plain. *Marius* commanded in the centre ; and *Metellus* himself in the right wing, which must naturally be first attacked. As soon as the consular troops had got below the top of the hill, *Jugurtha* began to move, and, having ordered two thousand men to take possession of the top of the mountain, which the *Romans* had quitted, he founded the charge. The *Romans* faced about, but could not bring the *Numidians* to a close engagement. As they had got above the consular troops, they discharged showers of darts upon them, and wounded them at a great distance. If they were pursued by the *Roman* cavalry, they dispersed and fled singly, entering the coppices, whither the enemy durst not pursue them. They then rallied, and, falling out again, fell unexpectedly on the consular army in different quarters. Never was a more extraordinary battle fought ; they all engaged in small parties, every one attacking the enemy, or defending himself, as occasion offered, without any rule or order. The day was far advanced, before it could be known which side had the advantage. Both armies were equally tired and exhausted with heat and fatigue ; and many had fallen on both sides in the several attacks, which had succeeded one another, without intermission, from morning to night. At length the *Numidians*, towards the close of the day, being

a being briskly attacked by the *Roman* legionaries, and pursued from post to post, dispersed, and no more appeared".

WHILE *Metellus* was thus engaged on the mountain, *Rutilius*, who had been sent by the consul to pitch a camp on the banks of the *Muthullus*, was vigorously attacked by *Bomilcar*, one of the king's generals. But that brave *Roman* repulsed the enemy with great slaughter, and having pursued them, took four of their elephants, and killed the rest to the number of forty; so that the consul gained two victories on one day. *Metellus* continued his march all night, and arrived before day-break with all his troops at the camp on the *Muthullus*, which he found finished. There he rested four days, to refresh his men and have their wounds dressed. In this camp he received intelligence, that the *Numidian*, being abandoned by his army, had retired to a distant place, covered with woods and rocks, and was there forming a new one. Desertion was no crime amongst the *Numidians*, who, after the first defeat, were at liberty to return home, or continue in the army, as they pleased. However, the *Roman* general did not think it adviseable to follow the fugitive king, but contented himself with sending out parties to plunder the country. On the other hand, *Jugurtha* behaved with the address and ability of a great commander. He seemed to be in all places, appeared, when least expected, at the head of a flying army, and falling upon the *Romans*, dispersed about the fields, cut great numbers of them in pieces, and then retired to the mountains and forests. In the mean time, news being brought to *Rome* of the victory gained by *Metellus* and his lieutenant *Rutilius*, the temples were opened, and supplications made by way of thanksgiving to the gods, for the success which had attended the arms of the republic in *Numidia*. The probity, disinterestedness, valour, and wisdom of *Metellus* were in the mouth of every *Roman*".

In the mean time, *Rome* raised *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* and *Q. Hortensius* to the consulate. But the latter, who was father to *Q. Hortensius*, *Cicero*'s rival in eloquence, either declined the burden of the office, or was prevented by death from enjoying that dignity; it being certain, that another was soon after chosen in his room, viz. *M. Aurelius Scaurus**. At the same time *Metellus* was continued general of the *Roman* army in *Numidia*, with the title of proconsul. As for the new consuls, *Italy* fell by lot to *Galba*, and *Narbonne Gaul* to *Scaurus*, whither he repaired to make war upon the *Cimbri*, who had reduced almost that whole province. But to return to *Numidia*: *Marius*, whose ambition was awaked by the applauses *Rome* had given his general, was now become his rival, narrowly watched all his steps, and laid hold of every opportunity that offered to defame him. We are told by *Plutarch*, that *Marius* carried his ingratitude so far, as to boast, that he was not so much indebted to *Metellus*, as to fortune, which had led him into *Africa*, as to a great stage, where he should, in the end, display those talents with which nature had liberally endowed him. And indeed the point he had now in view was, to raise himself at the expence of his general and benefactor. He was impatient of getting the consulship, that he might put an end to the *Numidian* war, and be honoured with a triumph. His pretensions were supported by all those qualifications which are requisite in a great commander. For he was famous for an heroic valour, a great love of discipline, a strange ascendant over the soldiers, a temperance carried to the severest abstinence, great intrepidity in sudden dangers, an uncommon coolness and presence of mind in battle, and an extraordinary readiness at expedients after bad success. But as for those virtues and dispositions of mind, which form the character of an honest man, *Marius* was quite destitute of them. Honesty and ingratitude are incompatible. *Metellus*, who saw into the designs of his lieutenant, began to be jealous of him, and to fear least he should be supplanted by him at the end of the year. He therefore took great care not to give any advantage to his malicious rival by ill conduct. He took care to have his convoys strongly guarded, and always sent out his whole cavalry together, ordering them not only to pillage the country, but to destroy whole towns with fire and sword. The *Numidian*, seeing his country utterly ruined by this new way of making war, at last left his fastnesses, and followed the *Romans*, being always intent both on surprising and avoiding the enemy. He burnt up the forage, and poisoned the waters in all places, where the legions were to pass. He was every moment harassing either *Metellus* or *Marius*, and as soon as he had attacked them vigorously in the rear, he immediately regained the mountains. *Metellus*, finding he could not draw *Jugurtha* to

* SALLUST. bell. Jugurth. & PLUT. in Mario. † SALLUST. ibid. FLOR. l. iii. ‡ FAST. CAPITOL.

Metellus resolves to besiege Zama. a

Jugurtha defeated by Marius. b

The siege of Zama raised. c

to a battle, resolved, if possible, to force him to it. In order to this, he resolved to besiege *Zama*; but *Jugurtha*, upon the first notice of his design, flew thither, got to the place before him, and placed a strong garison in it of *Roman* deserters, on whom he could depend. Then he hastened to *Sicca*, whither the proconsul had detached *Marius* for provisions. He was very desirous of entering the lists with that commander, who had been his intimate friend, and had learnt the military art with him under *Scipio*, at the famous siege of *Numantia*. He arrived just as *Marius* was marching out of the city with his convoy, and fell upon him with a fury not to be expressed. But the *Roman* repulsed him, and, though surprized, behaved with such presence of mind and intrepidity, as made him ever after dread the very name of *Marius*. When the convoys came up, *Metellus* invested *Zama*, and made a general assault upon the place: but the besieged repulsed the aggressors, and discharged such showers of darts, stones, and fire-brands upon them, that they were obliged to retire in the utmost confusion. During the heat of the action, *Jugurtha* appeared on a sudden, and as most of the legionaries, left to guard the *Roman* camp, were gone out to see the attack, he made himself master of one of the gates. Hereupon some of the *Romans*, who guarded the tents, ran to their arms, others betook themselves to flight; but a small body of forty men only, posting themselves on an eminence within the camp, defended it with surprizing valour, till *Marius* came to their relief. For *Metellus* no sooner heard, that the king had surprized his camp, than he detached that brave commander with all the cavalry to drive him out. *Marius* flew with joy to a second engagement with the *Numidian*, forced his way into the camp, and obliged the king to fly out of one of the gates, and shelter himself among the rocks. As for *Metellus*, after a vain attempt upon the town, he retired to pass the night in his camp. The next day he renewed the attack, but with no better success, the besieged, who were all *Roman* deserters, repulsing the aggressors with unparallelled bravery. During the assault, *Jugurtha* appeared anew, but, after a sharp conflict, was put to flight by the cavalry, which *Metellus* had posted with some manipuli on the road the king had taken the day before. In the mean time, night coming on, the proconsul returned to his camp; and, as the season was far advanced and the garison made a resolute defence, he thought it adviseable to raise the siege, and put his troops into winter quarters in the *Roman* province. d

As *Metellus* did not doubt, but he should be continued in the command of the army till all *Numidia* was reduced, he employed his time in making the necessary preparations for the next campaign. He found means to have a private interview with *Bomilcar*, who, as we have related above, had been the chief agent in the murder of *Massiva*. *Bomilcar* was greatly attached to *Jugurtha*; but, as he was a *Numidian*, *Metellus* did not despair of prevailing upon him to betray his master. He therefore not only promised him impunity, but assured him of the protection of the republic, in case he should either dispatch *Jugurtha*, or deliver him up alive into his hands. The *Numidian* hearkened to the proconsul's offers, and treacherously persuaded *Jugurtha*, that it was absolutely necessary for him to surrender himself up to the *Romans* without reserve: Prevent, said he, the fatal designs which your own subjects may have on your life. Have recourse to the *Roman* clemency, and depend on the sincerity of their offers. *Metellus* has even more honour than bravery. The king, not suspecting any treachery, was easily prevailed upon to dispatch an embassy to the proconsul, acquainting him, that he was ready to submit to such conditions as he should think fit to impose upon him. Upon this *Metellus*, having assembled from all the places, where the army was quartered, such officers as were of senatorial families, held a great council of war, in which it was agreed, that the king of *Numidia* should, by way of preliminary, send the *Romans* two hundred thousand pounds weight of silver, with all his elephants, and a certain number of horses and arms, and deliver up all the deserters. The king complied with these hard conditions, and immediately ordered all the deserters, to the number of about three thousand, mostly *Thracians* or *Ligurians*, to be seized and sent to the proconsul, by whose orders some had their hands cut off, others were set in the ground up to their waists, and shot to death by the *Roman* archers, and the rest burnt alive. The other two articles were likewise executed with great punctuality; the elephants, horses, and arms, required by the proconsul, were delivered up, and the money paid down. And now the king, having stripped e

Jugurtha delivers up his elephants, money, arms, &c.

- a stripped himself of his money, his elephants, his horses, and his deserters, in whom consisted the main strength of his army, the proconsul ordered him to repair in person to *Tifidium*, a city in *Numidia*, there to receive further directions. He started at this last step, began to hesitate, and spent several days, without being able to come to any resolution. The remembrance of his enormous crimes stung him with fresh remorse; he dreaded the severe punishment, which his guilty conscience represented to him, in a very strong light, as due for so many murders; the charms of a crown, and the horror of falling from a throne into slavery, made so deep an impression upon his mind, that he resolved, at all adventures, to try once more the fate of war. *A sceptre, said he, is not so heavy as chains. To arms! to arms! let us renew the war. But afterwards resolves to pursue the war.*
- b It is better to perish at the head of an army, than to fall at once from empire to slavery. And from this time he never shewed the least inclination to peace. He was now wholly intent on raising a new army, on fortifying the places which continued faithful to him, on providing arms, and endeavouring to surprise those cities which had surrendered to the Romans. *Vacca* was an important post, of which *Metellus* had made himself master soon after his arrival in *Africa*, as we have related above, and given the government of it to *Turpilius Silanus*, a citizen of *Collatia*, a man of known equity and moderation, and his intimate friend. *Turpilius*, quite free from all pride and avarice, gained the affections of the inhabitants by the mildness of his government; but their aversion to a foreign yoke prevailed over the esteem they had for their governor. The chief men of the city suffered themselves to be gained over to the interest of *Jugurtha*, and plotted among themselves the massacring of the Roman garison. To compass their treacherous design, they took the opportunity of a public festival to invite the officers to feast at their houses; and, when they had eat and drank plentifully, every man, as had been agreed on before-hand, stabbed his guest. Such as got into the streets, were overwhelmed and killed with stones from the tops of the houses; so that *Turpilius* was the only man who escaped the common massacre. The proconsul no sooner heard of the revolution in *Vacca*, than he ordered the legion, which was quartered near him, to arms, and, joining with them a great number of those *Numidians* who had submitted to *Rome*, marched in person to avenge the blood of his Romans. The inhabitants had shut their gates for fear of a surprise; but when they saw from their ramparts a body of *Numidian* cavalry advancing towards their city, without committing any devastations, they concluded, that *Jugurtha* must be at the head of them, and upon this presumption marched out to meet him. But their mistake proved fatal to them: the *Numidian* cavalry fell upon the disarmed multitude, and cut them in pieces; and, in the mean time, the *Roman* legion coming up seized the gates of the city, retook, and plundered it. Thus the treacherous inhabitants of *Vacca*, after having enjoyed their liberty but two days, were brought again under subjection, and treated with the utmost severity. Tho' *Metellus* was fully convinced, that *Turpilius* was no-ways guilty, he was obliged, by the clamours of the army, contrary to his own inclination, to have him tried by a council of war. *Marius*, who was one of his judges, merely out of spite to *Metellus*, became his accuser. He charged him with having sold the town and the lives of the Romans under his command, laid great stress on the distinction shewn him in having his life alone spared, and prosecuted the affair so warmly, that he got him condemned to be first beaten with rods, and then beheaded. Soon after the execution of the sentence, the innocence of *Turpilius* plainly appeared; and then the other officers made their apologies to the proconsul for the sentence they had pronounced, and bewailed with him the unfortunate end of a man, whom he had judged worthy of his friendship; but *Marius* publicly rejoiced at the death of the innocent *Turpilius*, and had even the insolence to boast, that he had found means to torment *Metellus* with a perpetual remorse and an avenging fury, which would be continually requiring of him the innocent blood of his friend^a.
- c The Romans massacred in *Vacca*.
d *Vacca* retaken.
e *Marius's insolent conduct.*

AND now, upon the news that the senate and people were inclined to continue *Metellus* in the command of the army, till the war with *Jugurtha* was ended, *Marius's* hatred to his general broke out into open attacks upon him. He began with decrying and calumniating him among the soldiery; he represented him as an ambitious man, who prolonged the war, only to keep himself the longer in power and command; he pretended, that the natural sloth and timorousness of *Metellus*, which were increased by age, made him incapable of opposing an active and vigilant enemy; he

He defames his general.

^a SALLUST. PLUT. *ibid.*

he bragged among the common soldiers, with whom he made himself very familiar, a that, with half the troops *Metellus* had in his army, he would undertake, in one single campaign, to bring *Jugurtha* to *Rome* dead or alive. Whatever *Marius* said, the soldiers wrote to their relations and friends at *Rome*; and these letters, being communicated from house to house, prejudiced the people against *Metellus*, and at the same time raised the reputation of his lieutenant, who, not content with advising the soldiers to send bad accounts of their general to *Rome*, went so far as openly to beg the votes of the *Roman* merchants at *Utica*, for chusing him consul at the next election, in order thereby to enable him to supplant his general and benefactor. He also prevailed on *Gauda*, the brother of *Jugurtha*, but by a different mother, whom *Metellus* had disobliged (G), to write to the senate against the proconsul, and much in his b favour. These solicitations proved very advantagious to *Marius*, who being informed, by his emissaries at *Rome*, of the favourable inclination of the people towards him, publicly desired leave of the proconsul to return to *Rome*, to make interest for the consulat. *Metellus*, tho' a man of great honour and probity, was not quite free from that pride, which is almost inseparable from noble birth. He therefore received this application with haughtiness, and answered *Marius* with a kind of raillery; *It will be soon enough for you, Marius, to stand for the consulat, when my son shall be old enough to be your colleague.* Young *Metellus* was then scarce twenty years of age; whereas a man was to be at least forty before he could be chosen consul. In short, the proconsul told his lieutenant in plain terms, that he would not give him his discharge, so c long as he had any occasion for his service. At the same time he applied again to *Bomilcar*, putting him in mind of the promise he had made of delivering up *Jugurtha* to him dead or alive; but *Bomilcar*, who had been suspected by the king ever since he advised him to surrender, applied to *Nabdalsa*, a *Numidian* lord of distinction, and one of the greatest favourites the king had. He communicated to him his design of sacrificing the king to the welfare of his country. *Nabdalsa*, who was one of the most wealthy lords of *Numidia*, readily entered into the plot, which would secure his great estate, and both his own life and the lives of his children. The two traitors agreed to surprise their king, and carry him to the proconsul; the time was fixed for the execution of the design, and the ambush prepared. On the day appointed, d *Bomilcar* came to the place agreed on; and if *Nabdalsa* had performed his part, an end had been put at once to the *Numidian* war; but *Nabdalsa* not appearing, *Bomilcar* wrote a letter to him, putting him in mind of his promise, and representing to him, that the affairs of *Jugurtha* were desperate; that he must soon perish, either by their hands, or the hands of the *Romans*; that it was not worth their while to sacrifice their estates, their liberty, the lives of their wives and children, for an usurper and assassin; that, by delivering him up to the *Romans*, they would save their country from impending ruin, secure their lives and estates, and gain the favour of the powerful republic, &c. This letter was delivered safe into *Nabdalsa's* hands, while e he was lying on a couch, resting himself after a violent exercise. After he had read it, he laid it on his pillow, and, musing upon the contents of it, fell asleep. In the mean time, his secretary coming into the room, and finding a letter open, read it, in order to answer it; but, being shocked at the proposals of *Bomilcar*, he went immediately to acquaint the king with the plot. *Nabdalsa* soon after awaked, missed the letter, and finding, upon inquiry, that his secretary alone had been in his room, and had suddenly disappeared, he dispatched without delay some of his attendants after him; but, as he had got the start of them, the letter was already in the king's hands.

Here-

(G) *Metellus* had not treated this prince with that honour and respect which he expected. When he first came to the *Roman* camp, he desired two marks of distinction, *viz.* that in all public assemblies he should be placed at the general's right-hand; and that a troop of *Roman* horse should be assigned him for his guard. *Metellus* refused him both; the first, because it was a mark of distinction, which the *Romans* shewed to those only whom they acknowledged to be kings; and the second, because he thought it an affront to the *Roman* knights, to make them in a manner *Numidian* guards. *Marius* therefore, applying himself to the young prince,

in the heat of his resentment, endeavoured to exasperate him against the proud proconsul, whom he represented as taking delight in seeing the sons of kings groveling at his feet. He likewise assured him, that, if he was general, he would treat him with all the respect due to his character, and soon place him on the throne of his ancestors, as the next heir to the crown. By these discourses *Marius* easily attached *Gauda* to himself; and the *Numidian* wrote to the republic, in terms of great bitterness, against the proconsul, and as much to the advantage of his lieutenant (2).

- ^a Hereupon *Nabdalsa* flew to court, and assured the king, that he would have discovered the plot, if his treacherous servant had not prevented him. *Jugurtha*, for fear of raising a sedition, for *Nabdalsa* was greatly beloved by the soldiery, seemed to be satisfied with the excuse; but condemned *Bomilcar* and most of his accomplices to die ^b. The loss of *Bomilcar* frustrated the hopes of *Metellus*, who thereupon resolved to take the field. As he was now quite tired with the importunities of *Marius*, he gave him at length leave to go to *Rome*, but only twelve days before the election. ^c Ambition gave *Marius* wings; for he reached the city in six days after his setting out, and there made the best use of the little time he had left to gain the favour of the people. He calumniated the proconsul, accused him of timorousness, assured the people, that, as he was well acquainted with the country, and, without all doubt, more vigorous and active than *Metellus*, he would, with half the troops the proconsul commanded, in one campaign, take *Jugurtha* dead or alive; in short, he omitted nothing, that could either discredit his general, or gain himself a great reputation. As the nobility had of late constantly chosen two patricians to the consulate, contrary to the ancient law, *that one of the consuls should be a patrician, and the other a plebeian*, the people were highly displeased with the patricians in general, and wholly bent on promoting *Marius*, who bore an irreconcilable hatred to the nobility. All the mob of *Rome* crowded to his house, the artificers left their shops to attend him, and nothing was heard in the comitia, but the praises of *Marius* and invectives against *Metellus*. In short, he was raised to the consulate by a great majority, with *L. Cassius Longinus*. His next business was to supplant his benefactor, and get himself nominated to succeed him in the command of the army in *Numidia*. The senate had already, by a special decree, appointed *Metellus* to be proconsul in *Numidia* for the third year; but *Marius* applied to the people by their tribune *Manilius Mancinus*, and at his motion they determined, that *Marius* alone should carry on the war with *Jugurtha*. His colleague had *Narbonne Gaul* for his province, where he fell into an ambush laid for him by the *Tigurini*. *L. Calpurnius Piso*, one of his lieutenant-generals, a man of great resolution, prudence, and courage, endeavoured to rescue him; but perished with his general in the attempt. Then the *Roman* army was left wholly to the conduct of the other lieutenant-general, by name *Popilius*, an officer of no valour, and very little merit of any other kind. He, to save his life, offered to capitulate, shamefully surrendered his arms and baggage, and, with his whole army, passed under the yoke. As soon as he returned to *Rome*, where his name was become odious, he was accused before the people, and prosecuted with uncommon zeal; but he, to save his reputation, went into banishment of his own accord, before sentence was pronounced against him ^c. *Æmilius Scaurus*, prince of the senate, got himself elected consul in the room of *Cassius*, for the remaining part of the year (H).
- BUT to return to *Marius*; his being obliged to preside in the comitia for the election of the new consul, kept him longer in *Rome* than he desired. Being now invested with the supreme magistracy, he treated the nobility with the utmost contempt, declaring publicly, that it was matter of greater glory and triumph for him to have humbled the conscript fathers, by obtaining of the people the command of the army in *Numidia*, which the senate had given to *Metellus*, than it would be to subdue that kingdom, and lead *Jugurtha* in chains. He insulted all the patricians he met, and abused them in the grossest manner. All his speeches to the people were filled with his own praises, and with most bitter invectives against the nobility and the senate. He was no orator; but every thing was well taken from a man, who was become the idol

The conspiracy discovered, and Bomilcar executed.

Marius obtains leave to go to Rome.

Where he is chosen consul, and appointed to succeed Metellus.

The Romans are defeated by the Tigurini, and pass under the yoke.

Marius's insolent behaviour.

^b SALLUST. PLUT. VEL. PATERC. ibid. Gall. l. i. CIC. l. iii. de legib.

^c TACIT. de German. morib. CÆS. de bell.

(H) *Scaurus* had one *P. Rutilius* for his competitor; but got the better of him by a piece of chicanery. He accused *Rutilius* of bribery in canvassing for the consulship; and, in proof of his accusation, produced a note under his hand, whereby *Scaurus* pretended, that his competitor had promised a citizen money for his vote. The note contained only these four letters, *A. F. P. R.* which *Scaurus* interpreted thus; *Actum fide P. Rutilii*, that is, *P. Rutilius promises to perform the obligation*. But *C.*

Cannius, a Roman knight, who was present at the trial, gave a very different interpretation to the four letters, making them stand for the following sentence; *Æmilius fecit, plectetur Rutilius*, that is, *Æmilius made the note; but Rutilius will be punished for it*; which was accusing *Scaurus* of forgery, and at the same time shewing the folly of laying stress on the interpretation of initial letters, which are capable of many senses. However, *Rutilius* was excluded, and *Scaurus* promoted (3).

(3) Cic. in Bruto.

idol of the people. This encouraged him to demand with insolence a greater number of troops than the consuls had been usually allowed, and to send, of his own authority, to demand auxiliaries of the nations and kings who were in friendship with the republic. At *Rome*, he made his levies with the utmost rigor, obliging those who were famed for valour in all parts of *Italy* to come to *Rome*, and take the military oaths, tho' they had already served the time required by law; but the people took all the severities of their plebeian consul in good part, and were so zealous to follow him into *Africa*, that his legions were soon completed, and mostly filled with men of the lowest classes, who were exempted by their poverty from the service. These *Marius* preferred to any others, as if he had been afraid of having any soldiers in his troops, who were of a better condition than himself^a.

In the mean time, *Metellus*, ignorant of what passed at *Rome*, and not doubting, but he should be continued in the command of the army, till the intire reduction of *Numidia*, took the field; and having, after long and tedious marches, found out at last *Jugurtha*, posted in places which he thought inaccessible, he forced him to a battle, in which the *Numidians* were defeated and dispersed. The king escaped by flight through vast deserts and roads, with which he alone was acquainted, and retired to *Thala*, a place well fortified, where he had lodged his jewels and treasures. *Metellus* followed him cross the desert, which was about fifty miles in extent, carrying with him corn enough to support the army fourteen days, and a vast number of skins and barrels filled with water. The inhabitants of *Thala*, who thought their city inaccessible, were struck with terror at the approach of the *Roman* army. The king, dreading to be shut up in the place, immediately abandoned it, and rambled from desert to desert, his fear of being betrayed keeping him from fixing any-where; but the garison, consisting mostly of deserters from the *Roman* army, made all the resistance that could be expected from brave men driven to despair. But when, after forty days siege, the *Romans* had made a large breach in the wall of the city, the garison, finding it impossible for them to avoid destruction, carried all the valuable things they could find to the king's palace, set fire to it, and perished all to a man in the flames. The proconsul had scarce entered the place, when he was informed, that one *Hamilcar*, a citizen of *Great Leptis*, was labouring under-hand to draw over his countrymen to *Jugurtha*. Hereupon he immediately detached thither four *Ligurian* cohorts, under the command of *Caius Anicius*, and by that means kept the neighbouring country in a state of tranquillity. *Jugurtha*, having now neither troops nor a place of refuge left, determined to go and treat in person with a people, who had never yet heard of the *Roman* name. These were the *Getuli*, a barbarous nation, who inhabited the inner part of *Africa*, and led their flocks from pasture to pasture, living always in tents, without any fixed habitation. The king, having found means to induce them to follow his standards, assembled the scattered shepherds, and taught them to keep their ranks, and obey the officers he set over them. From *Getulia* the *Numidian* king advanced to the confines of *Mauritania*, where *Bocchus* reigned over an *African* people, somewhat less barbarous and better disciplined, than the *Getuli*. As that prince had married one of *Jugurtha*'s daughters, he was easily prevailed upon to enter into an offensive and defensive league with the *Numidian*. And now the king, being joined by the *Getuli* and all the forces of *Bocchus*, appeared anew in the field, and approached *Cyrtha*, the capital of *Numidia*, which *Metellus* had formerly taken, and made a magazine of arms and provisions for his army. This obliged the proconsul to alter his conduct; he no longer offered battle, or bid defiance to the enemy, but kept close within his intrenchments, and there watched the motions of the two kings, being determined to venture nothing, for fear of losing all^e.

SUCH was the state of affairs in *Numidia*, when news was brought to *Metellus* of the promotion of *Marius* to the consulate, and likewise to the command of the army. The proconsul, tho' a great and wise man, was thunder-struck to hear, that a mean plebeian, an ungrateful creature of his own, raised by his family from the dust, had found more credit and favour at *Rome*, than himself, notwithstanding his nobility and exploits. He was so much affected, that he could not forbear weeping, forgetting in a manner the dignity of his character; and indeed what could be more mortifying, than to have a conquest so far advanced snatched out of his hands, by one of the

Jugurtha defeated by Metellus.

Thala besieged by Metellus.

And taken.

Jugurtha is joined by Bocchus and the Getuli.

^a PLUT. in Mario. SALLUST. ibid.

^e Idem ibid.

- a the meanest of the people, drawn out of obscurity by himself? But, after all, he was not so much grieved, as *Sallust* informs us, at the glory he lost, as at the advancement of *Marius*, who had decried his conduct, only to raise himself upon the ruins of his reputation. However, as in great minds the public good prevails over private resentment, the proconsul spared no pains to draw off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*, tho' this would greatly facilitate the reduction of *Numidia* for his rival. He spent the whole time he remained in *Numidia* in private negotiations with that prince, who thereupon was less pressing to give battle, which was partly what the proconsul had in view. At length advice came, that *Marius* was landed at *Utica*, with a very numerous body of *Romans* and allies. Hereupon *Metellus*, not being able to bear the thoughts of paying his homage to the new consul, who had so treacherously and basely supplanted him, instantly left the camp, which he had pitched near *Cyrtba*, and returned to *Italy*, after having appointed *Rutilius*, one of his lieutenants, to deliver up the army to his perfidious and ungrateful rival. His presence at *Rome*, and the account he gave of the success of his arms, of the towns he had taken, of the provinces he had conquered, and of the battles he had fought, soon wiped off the calumnies, which had been cast upon him. The esteem and respect, which the people had formerly shewn for that great man, revived; he was received every-where with loud acclamations, and the people, to make him some amends for the injustice done him, decreed him, with an unanimous consent, the honour of a triumph and the glorious surname of *Numidicus*. *Velleius Paterculus* observes here, that there were, at this time, above twelve persons of the family of *Metellus* in *Rome*, who had been successively raised either to the consulate or censorship, and many of them honoured with triumphs, in less than twelve years. But, notwithstanding his nobility, his exploits, and his great reputation for probity, a tribune of the people had the boldness to accuse him of having plundered the province from which he came; but when he produced his books in his defence, the *Roman* knights, who were judges in these civil causes, refused to examine his accounts, declaring, that they thought the whole course of his life a stronger proof of his innocence, than the wax, on which he had set down his disbursements and receipts.
- d In the mean time, *Marius* put himself at the head of the army; but, as the troops he had brought with him were for the most part new levies, he did not care to run the hazard of a general action. He only watched the motions of the two kings, besieged some weak places, and prevented the enemy from making incursions into the countries which had submitted to *Rome*. *Marius*, having thus spent the summer, without any considerable exploit, his troops began to despise him, and to look upon *Metellus* as a much better general than his successor. To remove these prejudices, which began to prevail, he resolved on an enterprize, which would be sufficient to raise his reputation, and eclipse the glory of his predecessor. The city of *Capfa* stood in the middle of the burning sands of *Africa*, surrounded on all sides by a vast desert, which made it in a manner inaccessible, especially by great armies. This city he resolved to besiege; and having provided corn and water, which he knew he should want in the desert, he set out on his march, without communicating his design even to his own lieutenants. He marched only by night, the rays of the sun being so strongly reflected by the sand, that his men could not bear the heat by day. In this manner he crossed that inhospitable country, which was inhabited only by serpents of an enormous size, which heat and hunger made very troublesome. After three nights march, with what danger and fatigue the reader may imagine, the army came within two miles of *Capfa* before day-break. They then halted among some hills, which covered the city and intercepted the sight of the legions, and there waited, as in an ambush, till the sun appeared; when *Marius* detached his light-armed infantry to seize the gates, and, appearing at the same time with his whole army before the place, struck the inhabitants with such terror, that they offered to surrender, upon condition that they should have their lives spared; but *Marius*, to fill all *Numidia* at once with the dread of his name, entered the place sword in hand, levelled it with the ground, put all the citizens, who were able to bear arms, to death, and sold the rest for slaves. This barbarous instance of severity spread terror far and near; the people, where-ever he came, submitted to him, and many, without waiting for his presence, sent deputies to him, imploring his protection, and offering to supply his army with all sorts of provisions.

f VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 2.

g Idem ibid.

h VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 18. CIC. ad Attic.

l. i. epist. 16.

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Besieger Mu-
lucha.

provisions, He marched to the utmost confines of *Numidia*, and, in that long march, a
met with one place only which refused to submit to him. This was a castle called
Mulucha, situated on the summit of a rock, and perhaps the strongest fortress then
in the world. It was of no larger extent than the top of the rock, which was one
intire body of flint, standing quite by itself, and naturally so very smooth; that
there was not the least hold for the hands, or projection for the feet to rest on. The
only way up to it was what the inhabitants had cut in the rock, so narrow, that two
men could not, without difficulty, walk a-breast in it. However, *Marius* under-
took the reduction of the place; but the besieged threw such a quantity of firebrands
from the tops of their ramparts, and rolled down the rock such vast stones, that the
machines were burnt, and those who managed them dangerously wounded. The b
attempt was often renewed, but always proved fruitless; besides, the castle was so
well stored with provisions and ammunition, and the season so far advanced, that the
Roman general could not entertain any hopes of reducing it by famine: yet he per-
sisted; and at length mere chance did more than his utmost efforts could have effected.
A *Ligurian* soldier, having observed some snails creeping along the rocks, as he was
filling his pitcher at a neighbouring fountain, took it in his head to climb up after
them. The higher he went, the more snails he found in the cracks of the rock, which
was moister on this side than any other. In the mean time, the attack was carrying
on on the opposite side; and this encouraged the *Ligurian* to mount up to the very
top of the rock. When he came to the foot of the wall, he found it quite deserted c
on that side by the garison, who were all engaged in repulsing the aggressors on the
other. Being therefore under no apprehension, his curiosity led him to get up upon
the wall, which he did by the help of an old oak that grew close to it. When he
had, from the wall, taken a view of the place, he slid down the rock, without being
discovered, and returned to the camp. He did the same thing a second time, and
particularly examined, whether it were possible to introduce a company of active and
intrepid men into the place that way. In the mean time, *Marius*, discouraged by the
ill success of his attempts, was in suspense, whether he should give over the enterprize
and put an end to the campaign; but when the *Ligurian* acquainted him with his
exploit, he conceived some hopes of making himself master of the place, and imme- d
diately sent experienced officers to view the rock, and report their sentiments. Of
these some thought the thing impracticable; but others, more bold and enterprising,
declared, that, in their opinion, the attempt, if well conducted, might succeed. As
the loss, at all adventures, could not be great, the opinion of the latter prevailed;
and the *Ligurian* was put at the head of four centuries of chosen men, provided with
hooks, cramping-irons, nails, and hammers. These filed off in the night, and lay in
ambush near the fountain, till the attack was renewed the next day. Then, while
the garison was engaged on the opposite side, with the help of their tools they got
up, not without great labour, to the foot of the wall, which they easily mounted.
Marius had sent a company of trumpets with them, ordering them to sound the e
alarm, as soon as they got on the ramparts; which they did accordingly, and with
that unexpected noise so terrified the besieged, that they abandoned the attack on the
other side, and by that means gave the legionaries an opportunity of advancing up
the narrow path to the gate, which they broke down, and entering the fortress,
joined their companions. Being thus masters of the place, they put both the garison
and inhabitants to the sword without distinction, seized the king's treasures, and
then went into winter-quarters, loaded with glory and bootyⁱ.

Mulucha
taken.

The character
of Sylla.

Soon after the reduction of *Mulucha*, *Lucius Cornelius Sylla* landed at *Utica*, with
a reinforcement for the consular army. He was by birth a patrician, and descended
from one of the most illustrious families in *Rome*. He had something very engaging f
in his conversation, was of a graceful aspect, a noble air, easy manners, affable, infi-
nuating, and ever ready to oblige all, even at the expence of his own fortune, which
was but very small; for his branch of the *Cornelian* family had been long eclipsed.
One of his ancestors, by name *Publius Cornelius Rufinus*, a senator of great reputation,
having been degraded by the censors, for keeping in his house, contrary to law, ten
pounds weight of silver in plate, his disgrace descended to his posterity, who conti-
nued long in obscurity, and were excluded from honours and public offices, as *Plu-
tarch* informs us, to the sixth generation. *Sylla*, in his youth, fell in with the customs
of

ⁱ SALLUST. *ibid.* FRONT. *Strat.* l. iii. c. 9.

- a of the young patricians of his time, and gave himself intirely up to pleasures and debauchery, keeing company only with lewd women, stage-players, and buffoons ; in short, he was reckoned one of the most debauched and effeminate young men in *Rome*. A young courtesan, named *Nicopolis*, taken with his graceful person, supplied him plentifully with money, which was the fruit of her debaucheries ; and, as the young *Roman* proved constant to her, she left him great wealth at her death. Soon after his mother-in-law likewise died, and left him a plentiful estate. From that time, as he was fatiated with pleasures, he began to be tired with a private life, and, his wealth rousing his ambition, he demanded, and obtained the quæstorship, the same year that *Marius* was raised to the consulate. The people, whom he easily gained by
- b his gentle and obliging carriage, appointed him to serve under *Marius*, who was then ready to set out for *Africa* ; but that general, thinking, that a man of pleasure could never prove a good soldier, or that a body, enervated by vice and debauchery, could bear the fatigues of war, was highly displeased with the quæstor allotted him, and therefore left him behind in *Italy*, under pretence of raising a reinforcement of auxiliary troops among the allies, but in reality to get rid of a man, of whose conduct in war he had but a very mean opinion. The quæstor, tho' very sensible of the contempt shewn him, obeyed, and came not to the army till after the reduction of *Mulucha*, when the troops were ready to go into winter-quarters. The moment he arrived in *Africa*, he threw off the man of pleasure, was always ready to under-
- c take the most painful and laborious duties, contented himself with the food of the common soldiers, and, by affecting to imitate *Marius*, gained both his esteem and friendship : so that nothing now seemed wanting to the quæstor, but an opportunity to give proofs of his valour. It was the quæstor's province to supply the troops with provisions, and the necessary sums for carrying on the war ; but this office did not exempt him from partaking of the dangers, or prevent his commanding the troops. In an action the quæstor performed the office of the first lieutenant general of the army, immediately under the chief commander ; and in this office *Sylla* signalized himself, as we shall see in the course of this war, and carefully improved the opportunities that offered of recovering the time he had lost^k.
- d *Marius*, after the taking of *Mulucha*, retired towards the sea-coast, with a design to put his troops into winter-quarters in the maritime cities, that by this means they might be the more easily supplied with provisions. But in his retreat his army was surprized by the united forces of the two kings, who, coming unexpectedly upon them towards the close of the day, charged them with great fury. As the *Romans* were neither upon their guard, nor armed for fighting, nor drawn up in battalia, the legionaries, being hard pressed by the *Mauritanian* and *Getulian* cavalry, began to give ground. But, in the mean time, the *Roman* cavalry, arriving very seasonably, made head against the enemy, and sustained the shock of their cavalry, till the legionaries drew up, and put themselves in a posture of defence. Then a tumultuary
- e battle, or rather a great fray, ensued : none of the soldiers repaired to their colours ; but fought, as they could, horse and foot mixed together, without any rule or order. Both *Marius* and his quæstor distinguished themselves on this occasion in a very eminent manner ; the latter fell, like a lion, on a troop of barbarians, who had already surrounded one of the manipuli, and cut most of them in pieces ; the former seemed to be in all places at once, and, being attended by a body of choice troops, obliged the enemy to give way where-ever he appeared. When it began to grow dark, *Marius* retired by degrees to two neighbouring hills, and, having there rallied his troops, fortified in all haste that which was least steep, posting his men on the declivity of the two hills, and in the valley between them. At the foot of one of the hills was a
- f plentiful spring of fresh water, a great refreshment to troops fatigued with a long march and a warm battle. The two kings surrounded the hills, on which the *Romans* were posted, with numberless multitudes of *Numidians*, *Mauritanians*, and *Getulians*, who all looked on this action only as the beginning of a certain victory, which they should complete at the rising of the sun. *Jugurtha* did not doubt, but he should be able to extinguish the *Roman* name in *Numidia* ; and the *African* soldiers, looking upon the consular army as a certain prey, kindled great fires, danced round them with loud shouts, and passed the best part of the night in feastings and rejoicings. *Marius*, who saw, from the eminence on which he was incamped, all that passed, kept within his intrenchments,

^k SALLUST. *ibid.* PLUT. in *Syll.* & *Mar.*

Who surprises
them in his
turn, and puts
them to flight.

The confede-
rate kings de-
feated a
second time.

Sylla's bra-
very.

Bocchus
treats with
the Romans.

Sends embas-
sadors to the
consul and to
Rome.

trenchments, till the enemy, tired with dancing and revelling, retired to their tents ^a
to refresh themselves with sleep, that they might be able to renew the attack at break
of day with more vigor. He then drew out his legions in order of battle; and,
placing all the trumpets in the first line, advanced in silence and good order towards
the enemy. When he was within reach of them, the trumpets sounded the charge,
and made so terrible a noise, that the barbarians, who were most of them asleep, had
not in that surprise the courage to take up their arms, but fled, many of them half
naked, in the utmost confusion. The *Romans* pursued the fugitives, and made a
dreadful slaughter of the disarmed multitude. We are told, that *Jugurtha* and
Bocchus lost more men in this surprise, than in any other action. Four days after
this defeat, they again came up with the *Roman* army, hoping to find them once more ^b
off their guard. But *Marius*, who was ready to receive them, made such a slaughter
of the barbarians, that he had reason to believe the war near ended. The enemy's
army, which had been just reinforced by a numerous body, under the command of
Volux the son of *Bocchus*, and consisted of ninety thousand men, was almost intirely
cut off. *Jugurtha* on this occasion gave uncommon proofs of his valour and con-
duct. At the head of his cavalry he broke through the first line of the *Romans*, and,
shewing his bloody sword to the legionaries, cried out in the *Latin* tongue, which
he had learnt at the siege of *Numantia*, *Marius is dead. This sword is stained with*
his blood. Hereupon the second line of the *Romans* began to give ground, and the
Numidians, animated by the example of their king, renewed the charge with more ^c
fury than ever. But, in the mean time, *Sylla*, having routed the numberless forces
of *Bocchus* and *Volux*, arrived very seasonably at the head of the cavalry, revived the
courage of the legionaries, and falling upon the enemy's flank robbed them of a
victory, which they thought certain. The *Numidians*, in spite of their utmost efforts,
were forced to fly before *Sylla*, who, laying hold of all opportunities to efface the
prejudices entertained of his effeminacy, performed wonders. The king himself,
who retired with his *Numidians*, narrowly escaped falling into his hands. Thus *Sylla*
displayed for the first time his courage and intrepidity greatly to his advantage. *Marius*
had the honour of conducting the whole action with the prudence of a great comman-
der, and *Sylla* that of executing the orders of his general with uncommon valour ^d.
THE labours of the campaign were succeeded by negotiations. *Bocchus*, who had
been long inclined to peace, sent an embassy to the consul, desiring him to dispatch
some persons to him, to whom he might safely communicate his thoughts. Hereupon
Marius immediately appointed *Sylla* his quæstor and *Manlius* one of his lieutenants,
to wait upon the king. In their first audience, *Sylla* endeavoured, not only to draw
off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*, but to prevail upon him to deliver up the *Numidian* king
alive into the consul's hands. But *Bocchus*, without taking any notice of what *Sylla*
had said on that head, only begged leave to send an embassy, first to the consul, and
then to *Rome*, to negotiate a peace and alliance with the *Roman* senate and people.
This the quæstor readily granted, and then set out with his colleague *Manlius* for *Cirtba*, ^e
where *Marius* then was in winter quarters. They were soon followed by five embas-
sadors, all men of great distinction, from the king of *Mauritania*; but, *Marius* being
gone from *Cirtba* to surprise a castle at a great distance, which was said to be full of
Roman deserters, the ambassadors proceeded to *Utica*, where *Sylla* commanded the
main body of the army in the consul's absence. *Sylla* received them with the highest
marks of honour; and, upon the return of the consul, who failed in his attempt upon
the castle, their proposals were accepted, a truce was agreed on between the *Romans*
and *Mauritanians*, and two of the ambassadors sent back to carry the news to the king,
while the other three imbarqued for *Italy*, with the second quæstor *Cneius Octavius*, who
was lately come from *Rome*, with large sums for the payment of the troops and other ^f
expences of the war. When they arrived at *Rome*, they found *C. Attilius Serranus*
and *Q. Servilius Cæpio* in the consulate. The latter had *Narbonne Gaul*, and the for-
mer *Italy*, for his province. *Marius* was continued in the command of the army in
Africa in quality of proconsul, and *Sylla* confirmed in his office with the title of pro-
quæstor. The senate, when they had heard from the ambassadors the request of their
master, returned them the following answer: *The senate and people of Rome are not*
easily reconciled to those who have dared, without any provocation, to bear arms against
them. Nevertheless, the repentance of Bocchus disarms us. Let him enjoy the truce with
which.

¹ SALLUST. & PLUT. *ibid.*

a which Marius has favoured him, and the peace which we now grant him. But as to an alliance with Rome, it is incumbent on him first to deserve it by some important services. By this Bocchus well knew was meant his delivering up Jugurtha, and being resolved to comply with the desire of the senate, he intreated Marius to send Sylla to him, in order to facilitate the execution of his design. Sylla, ready to run all hazards in the negotiating of an affair, which would put an end to the war at once, willingly accepted of the office. Jugurtha, in the mean time, though in want of every thing, still supported himself by his courage. When he heard of the treaty which the Mauritanian had just concluded with Rome, he sent one Aspar, a faithful and able minister, to Bocchus, not doubting, but he should be able, by well-conducted negotiations and by the mediation of his son-in-law, to get himself included in the treaty, and save both his person and part of his dominions. As Aspar arrived at the Mauritanian court before Sylla, he insinuated himself so much into the king's affections, that he had very like to have gained him over entirely to his master's interest. A Numidian prince, named Dabar, grandson to Masinissa by a concubine and greatly attached to the Romans, being then at the court of the Mauritanian, employed all his interest in favour of the republic, and with much ado kept Bocchus wavering between Rome and Jugurtha.

Sylla was already upon the road to Mauritania, with a pretty numerous guard of cavalry, light-armed infantry, archers, slingers, and a whole cohort of Peligni. After five days march he was met by Volux, the son of Bocchus, at the head of a thousand chosen men. The pro-quæstor received the king's son with all the politeness and address that was natural to him, and marched with him the first day without the least appearance of distrust. When the sun was down, they incamped together; and then Volux, entering in great haste the Roman commander's pavilion, told him, that he was informed by his scouts, that Jugurtha was near with a body of troops far superior to theirs when joined together. This, with the advice the Mauritanian gave Sylla, made the Roman suspect both him and his father of treachery. Let us fly, said the young prince, and leave our camp and men to the mercy of the enemy. I will take upon me to conduct you to a place of safety in the dark. The brave pro-quæstor, shocked at this proposal, replied resolutely, Shall I fly before an enemy who has been so often vanquished? Shall I be coward enough to abandon my men without a leader? I know the valor of my troops; and either they shall conquer with me, or I perish with them. However, Volux prevailed on Sylla to decamp immediately, and pursue his march in silence. But Jugurtha, being informed of what had happened, got before them, and posted himself on the road through which the Romans were to pass. When the Romans, after having marched all night, observed early next morning Jugurtha's army incamped about two miles from them, they cried out, We are betrayed; Volux has sold us to Jugurtha; let us kill the traitor. But Sylla, putting on an air of security, encouraged his men to behave like Romans; and then taking Volux aside, I am fully convinced, said he, that you have betrayed us; but that I may not be as wicked as yourself, I will save your life. Be gone from the camp this minute, and join the army which Jugurtha has brought against us. The Mauritanian, astonished, in appearance, at these words, replied, I cannot think Jugurtha so imprudent, as to insult an ambassador who is under the protection of the son of the only friend he has in the world. His only aim in stopping the way into Mauritania is, to make a merit with the republic of giving Sylla a free passage through the midst of his troops. You will see him embrace with pleasure the opportunity that now offers of making his court to you. Let us go together, without any troops; he will let us pass unmolested. Sylla thought this a dangerous experiment; but nevertheless resolved to run the hazard of it; and accordingly, followed only by his attendants as ambassador, he passed through Jugurtha's army without molestation. The Numidian, by thus suffering Sylla to pass unmolested, hoped to gain his friendship, and by that means be included in the peace. But be that as it will, Sylla from this extraordinary piece of good fortune was ever after called *The Fortunate*. After he had thus happily escaped the hands of Jugurtha, he proceeded with Volux to the court of Bocchus, where he was received in the most respectful manner. The king, who was still wavering between Rome and Numidia, gave audience to Sylla, and Aspar the king of Numidia's agent, at the same time. The former delivered his message with all the pride of a Roman, in these words; I only come to know whether you will have war or peace. Take your choice, that I may be gone. This stopped the mouth of the Numidian ambassador; and Bocchus made only this short reply; I am not yet determined. I will take ten days

to consider of it, and then declare my resolution. *Bocchus* was inclined to favour *Jugurtha*; a but, on the other hand, he dreaded the power of the *Romans*; and therefore made it his business to deceive both ambassadors. However, he seemed to pay most deference to *Sylla*, with whom he had, the night following, a private conference in his own apartment; when he declared, that his arms, auxiliaries, money, and in short the whole power of his kingdom were intirely at the disposal of the senate and people of Rome. *I give up*, said he, *Jugurtha to your resentments, and am determined to lend no further assistance to a prince who has incurred your displeasure. What more can you desire?* *Sylla*, on the other hand, justified the proceedings of Rome against *Jugurtha*, magnified the favour shewn to the *Mauritanian* by the peace, and then, with regard to the most material part of his commission, went on thus: *The most powerful kings cannot obtain b an alliance with Rome, but by some very extraordinary piece of service. Seize then the opportunity which fortune offers you. It is now in your power to seize and deliver up Jugurtha to us. Your sacrificing that perfidious usurper will procure you the friendship of our republic, and establish you on the throne of your ancestors for ever. Nor is this all: the best part of Numidia will be the reward of your bringing to punishment a wicked, ungrateful, and treacherous wretch, whose hands are yet stained with the innocent blood of his brothers. Assist Rome then in executing the vengeance of the gods; deliver up Jugurtha into my hands before my departure, and depend on the perpetual protection and friendship of the Romans.* *Bocchus*, pretending to be surpris'd at the proposal, cried out, *What! betray a father-in-law, a neighbouring king, a friend, an ally! What will all Africa think c of such a black treachery?* But *Sylla*, who was very eloquent, by pressing and urging in the strongest terms, that nothing else could procure him the friendship of Rome, obtained at length an express promise from him to deliver up the king of *Numidia* into his hands. The expedient they agreed on to insnare him was, to give him some hopes of being included in the treaty of peace with Rome, and by that bait draw him to the court of the *Mauritanian* king. Accordingly, the next morning *Bocchus* sent for *Aspar*, and, with an unusual air of gaiety, told him, that the *Roman* ambassador seemed inclined to include his master in the treaty of peace. Inform him therefore, said he, that the critical time for putting an end to so destructive a war is come, and advise d him to hasten hither, and finish the negotiation in person. With this good news *Aspar* immediately set out for *Jugurtha's* camp, and in eight days returned to *Bocchus's* court with this answer; that his master was very desirous of putting an end to so troublesome a war; but that, as the senate often disannulled the treaties concluded with their consuls, no wise man would enter into negotiations with them, unless he had some security for the performance of the articles; that in the present case he saw nothing that could secure to him the peace which *Marius* was negotiating, except the delivering up of the proconsul's ambassador into his hands; that if he were detained, this would be a powerful motive for the senate to confirm a treaty, which they could not break but by sacrificing so illustrious a patrician. The *Mauritanian* was so struck with this proposal, that he immediately came into it; so that he had now basely engaged to e deliver up the *Roman* to the *Numidian*, and the *Numidian* to the *Roman*. As he had solemnly given his word to both ambassadors, they both equally expressed their satisfaction. There was no distrust or jealousy between them; each depended on the promise made him, and looked on his rival as insnared and sacrificed by the treacherous king. As for *Bocchus* himself, he still continued wavering; his heart was with *Jugurtha*; but his interest inclined him to favour *Sylla*. In short, he did not determine which of the two he should betray to the other, till the very night before the appointed conference between himself, *Sylla*, and *Jugurtha*. For the latter, depending upon the promise of his son-in-law, had left his army, and was already incamped with a small body of chosen troops within reach of the court. When *Bocchus* f received advice of the approach of *Jugurtha*, he fell into greater perplexity than ever; he could not prevail upon himself to betray *Jugurtha*, his relation, his friend, and his ally; and, on the other hand, he was afraid to seize *Sylla*, and by that piece of treachery draw upon himself and his posterity the vengeance of the powerful republic. He passed the night in great anxiety, and was observed to walk to and fro in his apartment with unusual agitations of body; to change colour often, and to fall into deep reflections. After having spent some hours in private, he at length came to a final determination; and having sent for *Sylla*, entered into measures with him for drawing *Jugurtha* into the snare. A very high hill was appointed for the place of the conference; and thither *Bocchus*, by the advice of *Sylla*, sent some troops before day-

Bocchus promises to deliver up Jugurtha to Sylla.

The double treachery of Bocchus.

- a day-break, with orders to conceal themselves among the neighbouring rocks, and invest the hill as soon as *Jugurtha* should appear upon it. This done, *Bocchus* and *Sylla*, upon advice that the king of *Numidia* was drawing near, set out together to meet him. After the first civilities, the two kings and the *Roman* ambassador proceeded towards the hill. *Jugurtha* was so fully persuaded, that his father-in-law was going to deliver the illustrious *Roman* into his hands, that he took no other guard with him but some few friends. As soon as they arrived at the top of the hill, the *Mauritanians* came out of their ambush; but this sight did not in the least affect the king of *Numidia*, though naturally very suspicious. He believed they were coming to seize *Sylla*, and therefore expressed great joy in seeing himself, as he imagined, at length b
 b sure of his prey. Nor was he undeceived, till the detachment, falling upon his attendants, cut them in pieces, and then surrounded and seized him. He scarce believed his own eyes, till he was delivered into the *Roman* ambassador's hands, who loaded him with chains, and set out with him, under a strong guard, for *Cirta*, which *Marius* had chosen for the usual place of his residence. When *Sylla* entered that city with the captive king, the *Roman* army received him with loud shouts, and such demonstrations of joy and marks of esteem, as cannot easily be described. They looked upon him as the chief conqueror of *Numidia*; and this raised the envy of his general, who could not help shewing his displeasure at the praises, which the soldiers so liberally bestowed on the pro-quæstor. He burnt with envy in seeing his subaltern thus honoured by the soldiery, and in a manner preferred to himself. And indeed c
 c it was but just, that *Marius* should have the mortification of seeing the glory of the campaign divided between a subaltern and himself. He had supplanted his predecessor for *Metellus* by secret artifices and public calumnies; and providence now raised up one to avenge his quarrel. From this small beginning the famous wars between *Marius* and *Sylla* took their rise, and did not end, as their mutual jealousy daily increased, but with the destruction of the republic^m. Never was there more universal joy in *Rome*, than at the sight of the illustrious captive whom *Marius* had sent them from *Africa*. By the taking of *Jugurtha* the war in *Numidia* was at an end, and that great kingdom intirely reduced. As for the captive king, he was kept in close confinement, to grace the triumph of the proconsul, when he should return from *Africa*. d
 d DURING these transactions in *Numidia*, the consul *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, to whose lot *Transalpine Gaul* had fallen, as we have observed above, recovered the city of *Tolosa*, now *Toulouse*, the capital of the *Tectosages*, from the *Cimbri*; but stained the glory, which this conquest deserved, by his avarice and rapines. For he gave the city up to be plundered by his soldiers, though the inhabitants themselves had delivered it up into his hands, and robbed the temples of those immense sums which the *Tectosages* were said to have brought thither, after having plundered the famous temple of *Delphos*. Those writers among the ancients, who are the most modest in their computations, make the sum, which *Cæpio* found in the temple of *Apollo* in *Toulouse*, amount to a hundred thousand pounds weight of gold, and as many of silver. Some e
 e writers tell us, that the *Tectosages* brought from *Delphos* a hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight of gold and five millions of pounds weight of silver, which they lodged in their temple of *Apollo*. But *Strabo*, *Pausanias*, and *Polybius*, assure us, that not one of those *Gauls*, who were concerned in the plundering of the temple of *Delphos*, returned home, both gods and men having in a manner combined to extirpate that sacrilegious race. The immense treasures therefore, with which the temples of the *Tectosages* were enriched, could not have been brought from *Delphos*; but were most likely, according to *Strabo* and *Pausanias*, dug out of the silver and gold mines, with which the country of the *Tectosages* formerly abounded. But from what part soever f
 f these treasures were brought, it is very certain, that they were immensely great, and that the general and his troops enriched themselves by the sacrilege, without suffering the republic to reap any advantage by it. The consul pretended to set apart a considerable share for the public treasury, and sent it away under a small guard to *Marseilles*; but at the same time he placed a numerous body on the road, who seized it, and privately conveyed it to him. However, as he had retaken *Toulouse* from the *Cimbri*, he was continued in the government of *Narbonne Gaul* with the title of proconsulⁿ. During the present consulate, two great men were born, who will furnish

Jugurtha delivered up to Sylla.
Year after the flood 2898.
Before Christ 101.
Of Rome 674

Cæpio recovers Toulouse from the Cimbri;

And plunders the temples there.

The avarice of Cæpio.

^m SALLUST. bell. Jugurth. PLUT. in Mario & Sylla. GELL. l. xv & epist. ad Attic.

ⁿ VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. PLUT. AUL.

furnish us with ample matter for the sequel of this history, viz. the great *Pompey* at a *Rome*, and the celebrated *Cicero* in the territory of *Arpinum*, a city of the *Volsci*.

The dominions
of Jugurtha
how divided.

THE following year, *P. Rutilius Rufus* and *Cn. Mallius Maximus* were advanced to the consulate; the former a patrician of known abilities and unspotted reputation; the latter a man of no birth or talents. Nevertheless it fell to the lot of *Mallius* to carry on the war with the *Cimbri* in *Transalpine Gaul*, at the head of a new army, while his colleague continued inactive in *Italy*. As for *Marius*, he was continued proconsul in *Numidia*, where he divided the dominions of the deprived king in the following manner: That part which lay next to *Mauritania*, and was known by the name of *Masfelia*, was assigned to *Bocchus*, and from this time took the name of *New Mauritania*. *Numidia*, properly so called, was divided into three parts; one was given to *Hiempsal*, another to *Mondrestal*, who were, without all doubt, the next heirs to *Masiniissa*; and the third, which lay next to the *Roman* province, the republic reserved for herself, and subjected it to the prætor, whom she annually sent to govern the *African* province.

Cæpio and
Mallius quar-
rel.

IT the mean time, the consul *Mallius* hastened into *Gaul* to assist the proconsul *Cæpio*, who was not strong enough to stop the inundation of the *Gauls*, who were marching from all parts to join the *Cimbri*, with a design to cross the *Alps* and invade *Italy*. The *Ambrones* the *Tigurini*, the *Tugenés*, the *Urbigines*, and in short all the nations that inhabited the country now known by the name of *Suizzerland*, were in motion to join the *Northern Gauls*, who had already made themselves masters of almost all the country between *Narbonne* and the *Pyrenees*. *Mallius* soon after his arrival quarrelled with *Cæpio*. Perhaps the latter, who was far superior to the consul with regard to birth and knowledge in military affairs, did not pay him the respect which was due to his character. However that be, it is certain, that their disputes were carried to such a height, that the officers of the two armies, finding they could not by any means agree, advised them to separate: A fatal advice, which brought the republic into greater danger, than had ever threatened her since the foundation of the city. The barbarians no sooner saw the *Roman* forces divided, than they fell upon a strong detachment of the consular army, which was commanded by *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, a lieutenant-general of great distinction, who had been consul three years before, cut them all to a man in pieces, and made *Scaurus* himself prisoner. *Mallius*, greatly intimidated at this defeat, thought proper to call *Cæpio* to his assistance. But the proconsul answered in a haughty manner, *We have each our province; let the consul take care of himself*. However, he afterwards drew nearer the consular army, fearing the consul might conquer the *Gauls* without his assistance, and by that means have all the glory of the campaign. To prevent this, he incamped in the way where the *Cimbri* must pass to fall on the consular army, hoping, that he should be able to withstand the enemy with his own troops, and thereby deprive his rival of the opportunity of sharing the honour of the victory. As for the *Cimbri*, when they saw the two generals draw near each other, they concluded, that they had made up their differences, and were in perfect union and friendship. They therefore sent deputies to the consul to propose a peace. As these deputies could not help passing through *Cæpio's* army, he ordered them to be brought before him; and finding that they were empowered to treat only with *Mallius*, he treated them like spies, and would have put them to death, had not both the legionaries and officers of his army restrained his fury, and even forced him to go to the consul's camp, and confer with him about the proposals which the enemy had sent to the republic. But, as he went to the consul's tent against his will, he opposed him in all things, contradicted him with great obstinacy and rudeness, and insulted him in the grossest manner. This increased the hatred between the two commanders; and the *Gauls* and *Cimbri*, being informed by their deputies of the misunderstanding between the generals, laid hold of this opportunity to give battle. The *Gauls* attacked *Mallius's* camp, and the *Cimbri* *Cæpio's*. The slaughter they made was exceeding great. Four score thousand men, *Romans* and allies, with the two sons of the consul, and forty thousand servants and sutlers, perished on this fatal day. Of the two *Roman* armies only ten men escaped, with the two generals to carry the news of so dreadful a defeat to *Rome*. Among these was the famous *Sertorius*, who, being yet very young, was making his first campaign under *Cæpio*. As he served in the cavalry and was well mounted, he saved himself by swimming cross the *Rhone*. The conquerors destroyed all the spoils they took, pursuant to a

Cæpio and
Mallius in-
tively de-
feated by the
Cimbri and
Gauls.

VOW



a vow they had made before the battle. The gold and silver they threw into the *Rhone*, drowned the horses they had taken; and put to death all the prisoners. Thus they revenged, without avarice, the injuries done to *Apollo*; whose temple the sacrilegious and covetous *Romans* had plundered^p.

THE news of this misfortune filled *Rome* with fear and consternation. At the same time advice came from *Spain*, that a prætorian army had been cut in pieces there by the *Lusitanians*. As both these melancholy accounts arrived on the eve of the nones of *October*, the senate ordered, that this should for ever be reckoned among the unlucky days. In this general consternation, all the shops in the city were shut up; and the citizens, laying aside the *toga*, put on the military habit. They saw themselves threatened with a new deluge of *Cimbri* and *Gauls*, numerous enough to over-run the whole country. Two consular armies, which were their chief dependence, were utterly destroyed, and *Rome* in so imminent a danger left quite defenceless. The people, highly incensed against *Cæpio*, issued a decree, deposing him, and declaring him incapable of any command in the *Roman* armies for the future. As no *Roman* general, how faulty soever, had suffered so great a disgrace since the beginning of the republic, the decree of the people did not pass without opposition. The nobility and senate exclaimed against it as a novelty, and a blow which affected the whole body of the patricians, and raised such disturbances in the comitia, that *C. Junius Norbanus*, tribune of the people, was forced to drive the patricians by force out of the assembly. In the fray which happened on this occasion, *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, prince of the senate, was wounded on the head with a stone. The nobility being driven out of the assembly with two of the tribunes, *L. Cotta* and *C. Didius*, who protested against the law their colleagues had proposed, the sacrilegious *Cæpio* was deposed (I)^q. Upon his deposition the whole government of the republic for the rest of the year fell to *P. Rutilius Rufus*, who, being impowered to guard *Rome* against the misfortunes that threatened her, raised a new army with incredible expedition, no citizen, who was of age to bear arms, being exempted. The consul would not dispense even with his own son, whom, though scarce seventeen, he obliged to serve as a common soldier in one of the legions. *Rutilius* on this occasion first introduced fencing masters into the *Roman* camp, whose business it was to teach the young soldiers how to handle their arms, attack the enemy, and defend themselves. By this means the consul, who was a skilful commander, prepared for his successor an invincible army^r.

IN the mean time, the *Cimbri* and *Gauls* held a council of war, in which some were for passing the *Alps*, descending into the plains of *Insubria*, and advancing towards *Rome*. Others thought it more adviseable to reduce first the new *Roman* province. But before they came to any resolution, they thought it proper to bring into the council their prisoner *Aurelius Scaurus*, and ask his opinion of their descent into *Italy*. The *Roman* with great constancy and intrepidity told them, that they were not to expect from him any advice, which could be prejudicial to his country, but that he would give them such as might be useful for themselves. He then advised them to lay aside all thoughts of passing into *Italy*, where they would meet with the same misfortunes which had formerly befallen *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal*: Enjoy, said he, the glory fortune has given you in your first battle. You have gained a victory by the disagreement of two bad commanders; but when you come to engage the forces of the

^p PLUT. in Sertorio. VALER. AUSTIAS apud LIV. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxxvi. ^q VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 9. CIC. de orat. l. ii. in Brut. & pro Balbo. ^r LIV. & VAL. MAX. l. ii. c. 3.

(I) *Cæpio*, according to some authors, was condemned to banishment; according to others, he died in prison. His body, if we believe *Valerius Maximus* (4), was cut in pieces by the public executioner, and exposed to the view of all the *Roman* people. He had been honoured with a triumph, with the dignity of pontifex maximus, and the title of *Protector of the senate*. But notwithstanding his former honours and deserts, he was treated like a common criminal on account of his having been the chief cause of the defeat of the *Romans* by the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*. Some writers even tell us,

that his body was dragged to the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, and there barbarously abused by the incensed multitude. But *Cicero* says in express words (5), that *Servilius Cæpio*, being banished *Rome*, retired to *Smyrna*; whence some writers, in order to reconcile the ancients, have imagined; that he was by the interest of his family and friends recalled from banishment; but that the tribunes, having revived the old accusations against him, prevailed on the people to sentence him to death for having sacrificed the interests of his country to his avarice and ambition.

(4) *Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9*

(5) *Cic. in orat. pro Balbo.*

Aurelius
Scaurus mur-
dered by the
Cimbri.

Marius a se-
cond time con-
sul.

His triumph.

Death of Ju-
gurtha.

Marius ap-
pointed to
command
against the
Gauls and
Cimbri.

The Domitian
Cassian, and
Servilian
laws.

Marius sets
out for Tran-
salpine Gaul.

the republic under the conduct of an experienced general, you will find them invin- a
cible. *Scaurus* had scarce done speaking, when *Bojorix*, one of the kings or leaders
of the *Cimbri*, thinking this too insolent a speech from the mouth of a captive, drew
his sword and stabbed him. In the mean time, the republic chose new consuls, and
raised to that dignity *C. Fulvius Fimbria* and *C. Marius* a second time. Two laws were
urged against the promotion of the latter, one forbidding the choice of any absent
person, the other enacting, that no one should be raised to the consulate a second time,
till ten years after the first. But the people made the laws give way to the public
good. This news was a very agreeable surprise to *Marius*, who was busy in regulating
his conquests in *Africa*, and thought of nothing less than his new promotion. He b
left *Numidia* without delay, and, returning to *Rome* about the end of *December*, on
the first day of *January* both entered on his office and triumphed on account of his
Numidian conquest. His triumphal chariot was preceded by the riches which he had
brought from his province, consisting of three thousand seven hundred pounds weight
of gold in ingots, 5775 pounds weight of silver in bars, and 287000 drachmæ, or
silver denarii, in specie. But nothing struck the spectators so much as the sight of the
captive king, who with his two sons was led in chains before the conqueror's chariot.
After he had been made a shew to the insulting populace, he was used with the utmost
insolence by the soldiery after the procession. They tore his ears in a barbarous
manner in snatching away his pendants, with which insult the unhappy prince was
deeply affected. After he had been abused in the grossest manner by the rabble, he c
was thrown into a dungeon, in which he soon perished. *Livy*, *Eutropius*, and *Oro-*
sius tell us, that, as soon as the ceremony of the triumph was over, he was carried
back to prison, and there strangled. His two sons survived him, and spent their
lives in captivity at *Venusium* ^s.

As soon as the victor came down from his chariot, he went to the senate-house in
his triumphal robes, either by mistake, or out of affectation. But, as the thing was
new and the senators expressed their resentments by their looks, he went out imme-
diately, pulled off his triumphal robes, and returned in a *prætecta*, the usual dress
of consuls. The people had already decreed, that *Marius* should manage the war d
beyond the *Alps*, and that *Sylla* should serve under him as his lieutenant-general. As
for *Fimbria*, he was ordered to continue in *Italy*, to oppose the barbarians, in case they
should cross the mountains. All that remained was to divide the two armies now
on foot between the consuls. *Marius* had his choice, and he readily preferred the
new legions, which *Rutilius* had instructed, to the old troops which he had brought
from *Africa*. So many honours heaped on a plebeian were a great mortification to
the patricians, and encouraged four of the tribunes to make attempts in favour of the
people, and greatly to the disadvantage of the senate and nobility. *Domitius Abe-*
nobarbus, the great grandfather of the emperor *Nero*, *Cassius Longinus*, *Servilius*
Glaucia, and *Marcus Philippus*, all proposed new laws, tending to the diminution of e
the power of the senate, and the three former succeeded. The first transferred the
power of electing the pontifices from their own college to the people. The second
got it enacted, that every citizen, degraded by a *plebiscitum*, should for ever be
deprived of his seat in the senate. This took away from the senators the power of
reinstating those in their honours, whom the people had disgraced. The third pre-
vailed on the people to pass a law, in virtue of which, the allies of *Latium*, who
should accuse a senator, and prove their charge, were to enjoy all the privileges of
Roman citizens. As for the tribune *Marcus Philippus*, he attempted to revive the
law of *Tiberius Gracchus* concerning the distribution of the lands; but this was thought
a seditious attempt, and therefore not seconded by the generality of the people ^t.

In the mean time, *Marius* set out for *Transalpine Gaul*, but finding that the enemy, f
after the defeat of *Cæpio* and *Mallius*, had, instead of passing the *Alps*, marched into
Spain, being drawn thither by the hopes of booty, he applied himself wholly to the
perfecting of his troops in discipline against their return. He taught his troops fru-
gality by his example, and by the severity that appeared in his whole deportment.
There was a wildness and fierceness in his looks not to be described. The very tone
of his voice was so rough and harsh, that whenever he gave orders, he made those
who received them tremble. This kept his men in exact obedience and subjection.
In order to inure them to the dangers of battles, he sent most of the young soldiers
under

^s LIV. epit. l. lxxvii. FRONT. STRAT. l. iv.
Cic. in Verr. act. 3. in Bruto & in Balbo.

^t SÜET. in Nerone. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 5.

a under the command of *Sylla* to make war on all the enemies of the republic, who were dispersed from *Narbonne* to the *Pyrenees*. *Sylla* on this occasion maintained the reputation he had acquired in *Numidia*, defeated in several battles the *Tectosages*, and took one of their kings, named *Copillus*, prisoner of war. Notwithstanding these advantages, *Marius*, not thinking the troops he had brought from *Italy* sufficient to withstand the numberless multitudes of *Cimbri*, *Teutones*, and *Gauls*, who would fall upon him on their return from *Spain*, sent for succours to the most remote parts of the east. *Nicomedes*, king of *Bitbynia*, to whom, among others, his deputies applied, answered, *That his dominions were quite exhausted of men by the vast numbers of his subjects, who had been carried away and kept in slavery by the Roman knights, who*

b *farmed the revenues of the republic in the Levant*. The senate had regard to this just complaint, and passed a decree, ordering all men of free condition, brought from the country of any ally, to be set at liberty. But this decree, however just, gave rise to a new war, of which *Marius* was the innocent occasion.

The occasion of the war with the slaves.

UPON the first news of this decree, the unhappy slaves, without waiting for further orders, broke their chains and set themselves at liberty. The first commotion was raised at *Nuceria*, a city of *Campania* on the banks of the *Sarnus*; but the tumult was there soon suppressed. A more violent storm was raised at *Capua* by a young Roman knight, named *Vettius*. After he had squandered away his fortune in debauchery, he fell violently in love with a beautiful slave, whom he bought upon credit

c for seven *Attic* talents. But when the time came, that he was either to pay the price agreed on, or return the slave to her former master, to avoid both, he made an insurrection among the slaves, who cultivated the lands of the public in his district, making use of the decree of the senate to seduce those unhappy wretches. He soon drew together four hundred of them, and his first exploit was to murder those who had pressed him to pay for his mistress. He then led his small company to the neighbouring villages and farms, which he put under contribution, being every-where joined by the slaves whom he set at liberty. When he had assembled about seven hundred of them, he posted himself in an advantageous situation, got himself proclaimed king by his followers, who in a short time amounted to three thousand five hundred, and

d fortified himself in his post, which he made an asylum for all fugitive slaves. The senate, upon the first news of this insurrection, dispatched *Lucius Lucullus* the prætor against him, who, taking four thousand six hundred regular troops with him, attacked *Vettius*, but was repulsed with great loss. The prætor, finding he could not prevail by force, had recourse to artifice, gained over one *Apollonius*, who was general under *Vettius*, and by his means made himself master of the place, which the rebels had fortified. But *Vettius*, seeing himself betrayed, escaped the punishment due to his crime, by laying violent hands on himself. But this was only a prelude to a more

e important war in *Sicily*, which was at this time governed by a prætor, named *Licinius Nerva*, a weak and timorous man. He at first obeyed the decree of the senate, set at liberty four hundred of those unfortunate men, and ordered all, who had any remonstrances to make concerning their slavery, to repair to him at *Syracuse*. The number of these poor wretches was much greater than he imagined. He found, that the publicans had, under various pretences, reduced many thousand freemen to slavery, especially in the east, and sent them into *Sicily* to cultivate the lands which they farmed of the public. The prætor, quite surprised at such villainous proceedings, resolved to set all those at liberty who were of free condition, pursuant to the decree of the senate. This alarmed the publicans, who thereupon had recourse to the prætor, and by rich presents prevailed upon him to suspend the execution of the decree, and to turn his compassion into cruelty. Being corrupted by the Roman knights, he began to

f look upon this multitude of people, who had been carried away by force from their respective countries, only as a troublesome mob, and sent them back to their masters. But they, instead of returning home, retired to a sacred grove, and there took a resolution of recovering by force the liberty which had been unjustly refused them. They then seized a castle in the neighbourhood, and laid the adjacent country under contribution. The prætor marched against them; but, being too weak to attack them, he prevailed on one of their leaders, named *Caius Titinius*, to deliver up the castle to him, which he entered in the night. The slaves, though thus surprised, made a vigorous resistance, and perished all to a man, either by the swords of the Romans, or by throwing themselves down from the top of the walls. *Licinius* having suppressed this first commotion, instead of keeping the field, disbanded his troops, which

The slaves' rise at Capua.

Vettius their leader betrayed.

An insurrection among the slaves in Sicily;

gave

Who chose one
Salvius for
their king :

And defeat
the Roman
prætor.

A fresh insur-
rection raised
by Athenio.

Salvius fixes
his habitation
at Triocala.

Seizes Athe-
nio.

gave the slaves an opportunity of rising again. They assembled in a few days to the number of six thousand, and, thinking it dangerous for so great a multitude to continue together without a head, they chose one *Salvius*, a flute-player, for their general, and gave him the title of king. *Salvius* immediately divided his people into three parties, which he sent out under three leaders to pillage the country, and bring all the slaves they could find to his camp. These expeditions succeeded beyond his expectation ; for his parties brought him so many men and horses, that he was soon in a condition to form a numerous army, consisting of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. He then laid siege to *Morgantia*, a strong city on the banks of the *Simæthus*. But while *Salvius*'s troops were engaged before that place, the prætor *Licinius*, with an army of ten thousand men, partly *Italians* and partly *Sicilians*, surprised their camp, which he found almost deserted, and seized the booty which they had brought from the neighbouring farms and villages. From thence the prætor before day-break advanced to the besieged city, and attacking the enemy in the dark, slew great numbers of them and dispersed the rest. But before sun-rising, the new king, having rallied his troops, returned the surprise upon the *Romans*, who, thinking themselves victorious, were no ways upon their guard, attacked them with great vigor, and having defeated the prætor in his turn, killed six hundred of his men, and took four thousand of them prisoners ^a.

THIS victory encouraged *Salvius* to renew the siege of *Morgantia* with more vigor than ever. The slaves of the place, upon their masters promising them their liberty, if they repulsed or tired out the aggressors, performed exploits which could hardly be expected from men of their condition ; inasmuch, that *Salvius* was at length obliged to raise the siege. But the *Morgantines*, at the instigation of the base prætor, refused to grant the deliverers of their country the liberty they had promised them ; which so incensed these brave men, that they abandoned their masters, whom they had defended with so much gallantry, and went over to the enemy. Thus the evil daily increased, and the contagion spread through all parts of *Sicily*. A slave, born in *Cilicia*, and named *Athenio*, made a fresh insurrection among his fellows in the neighbourhood of *Egesta* and *Lilybæum*, and, having killed his master, put himself at the head of the two hundred slaves he had in his service ; and, his party being soon increased to the number of ten thousand, he had the confidence to lay siege to *Lilybæum*, at that time by far the strongest place in the island. After he had spent much time in this fruitless attempt, he pretended to be advised by the gods to abandon the enterprise, crying out, as in a sudden transport, *Let us, my friends, be gone this instant from a place where a melancholy fate is preparing for us. If we persist in this attempt, we shall be undone. Let us then make our advantage of the knowledge that is given me from heaven.* While his army was decamping, a fleet arrived from *Mauritania*, sent by *Bocchus* to the assistance of the *Romans*, under the command of one *Gomon*, who, entering the port of *Lilybæum*, landed his troops, and fell upon the rear of *Athenio*'s army. The head of the rebels had, without all doubt, been informed of the approach of this fleet ; but his soldiers looked upon him ever after as a man highly favoured by the gods. On the other hand, *Salvius*, finding his army to be thirty thousand strong, resolved to make *Triocala* the capital of his new dominions, and accordingly built a citadel there on the ruins of an old demolished castle, raised himself a fine palace, surrounded the place with a wide ditch, and even settled a kind of polity in his city, choosing himself a council, consisting of his friends and the most prudent of his subjects. When he had settled all things in his new colony, he invited *Athenio* to come and partake of the pleasures of the place, and to deliberate about the proper measures for promoting their common interest. *Athenio* accepted of the invitation, and came attended with only three thousand of his men. But he no sooner entered *Triocala*, than *Salvius* caused him to be seized, and clapped up in his new castle. Such were the beginnings of this war, which cost the *Romans* a great deal of blood ^b. But to return to *Marius*.

WHILE he was waiting for the return of the *Cimbri* to *Narbonne Gaul*, he kept an exact discipline in his camp, and punished vice with the utmost severity. From the following instance we may judge of the abhorrence he had for the most infamous of all debaucheries, which licentiousness too often introduced into the *Roman* armies. His nephew *Caius Lucius*, having made a scandalous attempt upon a young soldier,

^a FLOR, l. iñ. c. 19. DIODOR. SICUL. Eclog. i. l. xxxvi.

^b DIODOR. SICUL. ibid.

- a by name *Trebonius*, was killed by him. As he was a military tribune, his death made a great noise. But the consul, though much affected with the death of his nephew, not only acquitted *Trebonius*, whom some vile flatterers warmly accused; but rewarded him for his courage, putting with his own hand one of those crowns on his head; which generals only bestowed on soldiers who had signalized themselves by some valiant action. The applauses the army gave *Marius* on this occasion soon reached Rome, and greatly contributed towards continuing him in the consulate, and in the command of the army in *Transalpine Gaul*. Though absent, he was, without opposition, proclaimed consul a third time. Even his most inveterate enemies, *Crassus Metellus* and *Marcus Scaurus*, approved of his election; sacrificing their private sentiments to the public welfare. The colleague the republic gave *Marius* was *L. Aurelius Orestes*, who continued some time at Rome, where he was employed in trying *T. Albucius*, prætor of *Sardinia*, whom the people condemned to banishment, for vainly decreeing himself a triumph in his province, without the consent either of the senate or people, though he had done nothing that deserved it. During these transactions at Rome, *Marcus Fulvius*, the prætor in *Spain*, gained great reputation by his conduct against the *Cimbri*. Though he had but one legion under his command, he found means to harass those barbarians in such a manner, as made them leave *Spain* and return to *Gaul*. But, before their arrival, a swarm of *Marsi* appeared there, with a design to join the *Teutones*, and enter *Italy* with them. The *Marsi* were natives of Germany, and inhabited the banks of the *Lupia*, or, as *Strabo* calls it, the *Luppia*. This river rises at *Lipsprink*, a village of *Westphalia*, and falls into the *Rhine* after having watered the dutchy of *Cleves*. *Marius* detached *Sylla* to oppose this new inundation of barbarians; and he chose rather to make use of persuasion than force; he desired a conference with their leaders, in which he prevailed upon them to change their resolution, and come over to the Romans. From this time we find no farther mention made of *Sylla* in the army of *Marius*, but in that of the colleague the republic gave him the next year. Perhaps *Marius* was glad to get rid of a subaltern, who began to eclipse the glory of his general. Towards the end of the present year, the consul *Aurelius Orestes* died in his camp, at the foot of the *Alps* on the side of *Italy*; so that the republic was obliged to recal *Marius* to preside at the new elections. He left the command of his army to *Manius Aquilius*, and returned with joy to Rome, where he acted a part very suitable to his ambition. The point he had in view was, to get himself nominated consul for the next year. But this was a tender point, and might give offence to the people, it being a thing unheard-of, that the same person should so often be chosen consul successively. He therefore publicly declared, that he would not even suffer his name to be entered among those of the candidates. But, at the same time, *Lucius Apuleius Saturninus*, one of the tribunes and his creature, being in the secret with him, acted a very different part. He in all his harangues exhorted the people to force *Marius* to accept of the consulate. But the more pressing the people were with him, the more determined he pretended to be not to comply with their request. The tribune in one of his speeches even called him knave and traitor, for resisting the will of the people, and refusing to serve his country when threatened with great danger. In short, the game was so artfully played, that the people nominated *Marius* consul the fourth time, and forced him, much against his will, as they imagined, to accept of the dignity. The nobility indeed laughed at his sham modesty; and saw through the disguise; but thought his assistance necessary, at a time when the state was in the utmost danger; and therefore did not oppose his election. The colleague given him was *Q. Lutatius Catulus* (K), a man greatly esteemed both by the senate and people.

The equity of
Marius, in his
nephew's cause

The Marsi
gained over by
Sylla.

Marius again
consul.

ALL

7 JUL. OBSEQ. c. 103. Cic. de provinc. consular.

2 PLUT. in Mario. Cic. in Bruto. & pro Sextio.

(K) *Cicero*, in different places of his works, gives us the character of *Quintus Lutatius Catulus*. His good nature, says he, and his polite behaviour prejudiced all men in his favour. His eloquence, his agreeable manner of speaking, and the purity of his expressions gained him the hearts of his hearers. He was an orator, an historian, and a poet. He wrote historical memoirs of his consulate after the manner of *Xenophon*, whom he took for his model. He employed his leisure hours in poetical performances; but, according to *Ovid* and *Pliny the younger*, the

levity of his muse did not become the gravity of his character. *Aulus Gellius* has preserved one of his epigrams on a child named *Theotimus*, which he produces as a master-piece of elegance and politeness (5). *Cicero* quotes another wrote by *Catulus* on young *Roscius* (6), whose beauty he greatly extols, though the youth squinted, as *Cicero* observes. Tho' *Catulus* was much beloved by the people, and highly esteemed by all ranks of men, yet he had the mortification to be twice disappointed of the consulate, and to see men of no merit preferred to him (7).

(5) Vide *Aul. Gell. Noct. Atticæ*, l. xix.
VOL. V.

(6) *Cic. de nat. deor.* l. i.
K

(7) *Cic. in Bruto.*

The Cilician
pirates de-
stroyed by M.
Antonius.

Disturbances
raised by the
tribune Apu-
leius.

Fossa Maria-
na.

Marius re-
strains the ar-
dor of his sol-
diers.

ALL Gaul was in motion, and the season and approach of the enemy made the consuls hasten to their posts. The two consuls set out from Rome at the same time, leaving the city in great consternation, on account of the new troubles both abroad and at home. Abroad, the *Thracians* had raised great disturbances in *Macedon* ever since the last year. The rebellious slaves laid waste *Sicily*, and reduced Rome to great streights for want of corn. The *Cilician* pirates infested the *Mediterranean*, and contributed as much to the famine which afflicted Rome, as the devastations in *Sicily*. Against the pirates was sent a man, who seemed most nearly concerned to destroy them, viz. the famous orator *M. Antonius*, whose daughter they had carried into captivity. He soon cleared the seas of those robbers, and on that account was honoured with a triumph^a. At home, new disturbances were raised by *Lucius Apuleius Saturninus*, who endeavoured to promote one *Lucius Equitius Firmanus* to the tribunate. He was a freed-man, and his parents, nay even his tribe, were utterly unknown. But *Apuleius* knew him to be a bold, active, and intriguing man, an inveterate enemy to the nobility, and therefore a proper tool to be employed against the patricians. As the seditious tribune was well apprised, that the birth of *Equitius* would be the greatest obstacle to his advancement, he made him take the name of *Gracchus*, and presented him to the people as the son of *Tiberius Gracchus*. But *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, surnamed *Numidicus*, being at this time one of the censors, discovered the cheat, and refused even to inroll *Equitius* among the *Roman* citizens. His refusal had like to have cost him dear; for he very narrowly escaped being stoned by the populace, at the instigation of *Apuleius*.

IN the mean time, *Marius* was waiting for the *Cimbri* in *Transalpine Gaul*. But they appeared there no more, having in a great council of war resolved to enter *Italy* by two different ways, the *Cimbri* over the eastern, and the *Teutones*, *Ambrones*, and other *Gaulish* and *Helvetian* nations over the western, *Alps*. *Marius* therefore marched to oppose the latter, and posted himself near the place where the present city of *Arles* stands. As the mouth of the *Rhone* was stopped up with heaps of sand and mud, which the waves continually lodged there, *Marius*, to supply his army with provisions brought up the river, undertook a great and laborious work, which from him was called *Fossa Mariana*. He dug a large canal, into which he turned the waters of the *Rhone*, and thereby opened a new communication between his camp and the sea. Through this canal the largest transports could pass; by which means he supplied his army with plenty of provisions; and, being incamped between the two arms of the river and the sea, had no reason to fear the attacks of the enemy. Some writers pretend, that the name of *Camargue*, which the neighbouring district bears, is a corruption of *Castra Marii*, that is, the camp of *Marius*. Be that as it will, *Marius* had scarce finished his works, when the barbarians appeared, covering with their innumerable multitudes a vast tract of land. They advanced to his trenches, but finding they could not force them, they made frightful shouts, and challenged the *Romans* to come out and fight them, but *Marius* was not in haste to venture a battle, there being something inexpressibly fierce in the looks of those barbarians, which struck the *Romans* with terror. The consul therefore, that their countenances, out-cries, and the clatter of their arms might become the less terrible by being familiar to his men, ordered his troops to mount the ramparts, as often as the barbarians appeared. He likewise sent out detachments, under the conduct of brave and experienced officers, to lay waste the country, and by that means distress the numberless barbarians for want of provisions. The more the scarcity increased, the more earnest they were to come to a decisive battle, insulting the *Romans* in their camp. But their insults only affected the common soldiers, whose ardor *Marius* restrained, telling them, that all rashness was to be laid aside, and no hazards to be run upon any account whatsoever. But this served only to make the legionaries more impatient to come to a battle with the barbarians, whom they now began to despise, observing to one another, that shouts and outcries do no execution, that ghastly looks and a savage mein can only frighten cowards, and that well-disciplined troops will always have the advantage over a disorderly and ill-conducted multitude. These sentiments gave the consul great pleasure; but, being resolved to hazard nothing, when all other means failed him, he had recourse to superstition to keep his soldiers in a more ready obedience. His wife *Julia*, who was of the family of the *Cæsars*, had sent him a woman from Rome,

^a VELL. PATERCUL. l. iii. FLOR. l. iii. LIV. epit. l. lviii. TACIT. Annual. 12. CIC. de orat. l. i.

Chap. 9.

- a by name *Martha*, whose skill in predictions, she said, she had experienced. The consul received and treated her with the most profound respect, as if she had been intrusted with the secrets of fate. But, in reality, she was rather an interpreter of the will of *Marius*, than of the gods; he informed her of his designs, and the pretended prophets never failed to approve of the measures which the consul had before resolved on. Having consulted her, whether he should humour his soldiers and engage the enemy, *Martha* answered, that in the present circumstances an engagement would prove fatal to the republic. This answer quieted the troops, and kept them in an intire subjection to their general. As the *Teutones* were continually hovering about the camp and insulting the *Romans*, one of them, a man of gigantic size, advancing one day to the foot of the rampart, challenged the consul himself to a single combat. But *Marius*, without regarding his bravadoes, answered, *If the German is in haste to die, let him go and hang himself.* At length the *Teutones*, quite tired out with *Marius's* delays, resolved to attack the *Roman* camp, but not succeeding in the attempt, they decamped at length, with a design to force a passage over the *Alps* some other way. We are told, that they were six whole days, without intermission, in passing by the *Roman* camp. In their march they cried out to the *Romans* upon the ramparts, *If you have any message to your wives, we will soon deliver them at Rome.* *Marius*, being forced to decamp likewise, followed the barbarians into the inner parts of the *Roman* province, and came up with them near *Aquæ Sextiæ*, now *Aix*. There the consul thought it adviseable to fortify a camp, that, at all events, he might be sure of a retreat. But while his troops were employed in this work, the servants of the army, who were gone in crouds to fetch water from the *Cenus*, now the *Arque*, were attacked by a body of *Teutones*, who guarded that river. As the servants made a great outcry, some of the legionaries ran to their assistance. Hereupon the whole army of the enemy took arms, which obliged *Marius* to draw up his troops in battalia. The legions halted at some distance from the river, while the *Ligurians* advanced to begin the action. The *Ambrones*, to the number of thirty thousand, faced the *Ligurians* in good order, and briskly marched up against them, beating time on their bucklers, and crying out *Ambrones! Ambrones!* probably to encourage each other, or to intimidate the *Romans*, by a name which the defeat of *Cæpio* and *Mallius* had made formidable; for to the *Ambrones* chiefly was owing the total overthrow of those two generals. The *Ligurians* were put to the rout at the first onset. But when the legions came to engage, the face of affairs was changed. The undisciplined multitude of barbarians, not being able to stand the shock of regular troops, were repulsed in their turn, and driven to the banks of the river, where the *Romans* made a dreadful slaughter of them. The river was stained with their blood, and only a small number of them gained the opposite bank, whence they fled, being closely pursued by the victorious legions, to a kind of fortification, which they had made with their carts. Their wives, who had staid there during the engagement, seeing their husbands flying and the *Romans* at their heels, armed themselves with axes, and, gnashing their teeth, fell with great shrieks on the pursued and pursuers without distinction. Without any any regard to their own defence, they threw themselves upon the combatants seized their swords and endeavoured to snatch away their bucklers. But when their first rage was spent, they desired to capitulate upon this single condition, that their honour should be preserved. When this condition was denied, those unfortunate women, being reduced to despair, first killed their children, and then themselves, not one remaining alive out of so great a multitude. So remarkable was the love of chastity, which remained among those whom the *Romans* called barbarians, after it was extinguished at *Rome*^b.
- f HOWEVER, this victory was far from being complete. The *Ambrones* indeed were defeated; but the *Teutones*, who were incamped at some distance from the river, still remained. They did not stir all that night nor the next day; so that the *Romans* had time to fortify themselves on the eminence which their general had first chosen. The third day after the battle, *Teutobocchus*, or, as others call him, *Teutobodus*, general of the *Teutonic* army, drew up his troops in the plain. On the other hand, *Marius*, having formed his infantry on the declivity of the hill, ordered his cavalry to go down the hill, attack the barbarians briskly, and by a feigned flight draw them towards the eminence. The stratagem succeeded. The *Teutones*, impatient to come to an engagement,

The Teutones decamp.

A battle between the Romans and Ambrones.

The Ambrones defeated.

^b PLUT. in Mario. FRONT. strat. l. iv. c. 7. & l. v. c. 11. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 1 OROS l. v. c. 15.

engagement, advanced in good order to the foot of the hill, and, notwithstanding the ^a disadvantage of the ground, attacked the *Romans* with great intrepidity. They stood the showers of darts which the enemy discharged upon them, and, though forced to climb, closed with the legionaries in spite of all opposition, and fell upon them sword in hand. The *Romans*, who were posted on the declivity of the hill, by only pushing the aggressors back with their bucklers, often tumbled them over one another. Besides, the sun shone with great strength, and full in their faces. But, notwithstanding these disadvantages; they kept the victory doubtful till noon. The night before the battle *Marius* had detached *Claudius Marcellus* with a body of infantry, and given him, instead of cavalry; the servants of the army, mounted, without saddles, on all the beasts of burden he could find. They were ordered to lie in ambush in the hollow ^b road behind the enemy's camp, and to fall upon them in the heat of the action. Though the detachment was small, yet the great number of servants, thus oddly mounted, gave it the appearance of a great army. The *Teutones*, who had hitherto behaved with great intrepidity, no sooner saw this detachment advancing to attack them in the rear, than, their courage and strength failing them at once, they betook themselves to a disorderly flight. The *Romans*, who in a manner surrounded them, made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives; took their camp and plundered it. *Teutobocchus* was; according to some; made prisoner; according to others; killed in the battle (L). As to the numbers of the slain and the prisoners in the two battles, they amounted, according to some writers, to two hundred and ninety thousand; according ^c to the lowest calculations a hundred thousand were killed upon the spot. The dead were so numerous, as some writers tell us, that the inhabitants made fences for their vineyards with their bones; they add, that the field of battle was so enriched by the bodies buried there, that the *Marseillaise*, to whom it belonged, had the next year a much more plentiful crop from it than usual ^c.

WITH the joyful news of this victory, *Marius* dispatched a messenger to *Rome*; where the people were so transported with it, that, in gratitude, they advanced him to the consulate the fifth time. While the people at *Rome* were heaping honours on their deliverer, the soldiers in the camp offered him all the booty. But he generously reserved only what might grace his triumph, and dedicated the rest to the gods. All ^d the combustible things were gathered together in one pile, to which the consul himself, with great solemnity, set fire. In the mean time, messengers arrived from *Rome*, with the congratulations of the people and the news of his fifth election, presenting him at the same time with a decree of the senate, which gave him leave to triumph. *Marius* accepted these new honours with gratitude, and without betraying any extraordinary joy, *I accept the consulate*, said he, *as a new obligation upon me to conquer the Cimbri, as I have the Teutones. As for a triumph, I desire it may not be mentioned till I have made my victory complete. The pomp of a triumph will be very unseasonable, so long as there shall remain any barbarians in the neighbourhood of Italy.* The colleague given *Marius* was *Manius Aquilius*, of whom hereafter. As for *Catulus*, he was continued in ^e the command of the army with the title of proconsul. This new year was begun with acts of religion, which the people thought the more necessary, because two enormous crimes were now committed, which had never been heard of since the foundation of the city. An unnatural son, by name *Publicius Malleolus*, killed his mother; a crime for which the *Roman* legislators had appointed no punishment, not presuming it possible for a man to be guilty of so enormous a villainy. A new punishment was therefore allotted for this new crime. The parricide was sewn up in a leathern sack; and with a thousand execrations thrown into the *Tiber*. The other crime was that of mutilation. A slave mutilated himself in imitation of the priests of *Cybele*. But the senate, apprehensive ^f of

^c VELL. PATERCUL. OROS. EUTROP. LIV. ibid. FLOR. l. iii. AUTH. de vir illustr. PLUT. in Mario.

(L) *Honorius Bouche* in his history of *Provence* tells us, that near the village of *Tretz* was found a stone which preserved the name of *Teutobocchus*; whence that writer infers, that he was killed in the battle, and buried near the above-mentioned village. *M. de Peirese* speaks of a brick sepulchre discovered in 1613 near the conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Isere*. It was thirty foot long, twelve broad, and eight

high, with this inscription on a large stone; *Teutobocchus Rex*. But *Florus* tells us in express terms, that *Teutobocchus* was taken prisoner, and by *Marius* carried to *Rome*, where he graced the victor's triumph. That author adds, that his head reached above the trophies, which were carried before the triumphal chariot (8).

(8) *Flor. l. iii.*

a of the consequences of so dangerous a delusion, banished the eunuch for ever from Rome^d.

In the mean time, *Catulus*, not being able to withstand the numberless multitudes ^{The Cimbri enter Italy.} of the *Cimbri*, by the advice of *Sylla*, who served under him in quality of his lieutenant-general, retired before the barbarians, and pitched two camps on the opposite banks of the *Atthesis*, now the *Adige*, intending there to make a stand against them. The *Cimbri* entered *Italy*, and advancing to the *Atthesis*, with a design to attack the *Romans*, attempted first to ford that river; but finding it not fordable, they pulled up great trees by the roots, and threw huge stones into it, hoping by that means so to fill it up as to make it passable. The terrible appearance of the numberless multitudes of barbarians struck the *Romans* with such a panic, that it was not in the power of *Catulus* to hinder those in his larger camp from flying shamefully before the enemy. Some ^{And strike the Romans with a panic.} of the *Roman* knights rid full speed to *Rome*, leaving their general and fellow-soldiers to the mercy of the enemy. Among these was the son of *Scaurus*, prince of the senate; but, as soon as his father was informed of his cowardly desertion, he sent him orders never to appear again in his presence. Hereupon the young *Roman*, who had been afraid of dying honourably in the field of battle, fell ingloriously by his own hand. In the mean time, those in the little camp made a vigorous resistance. One of the *Cimbri* having challenged to a single combat the bravest men among them, was shamefully overcome by *L. Opimius*. But the example of this brave man was not sufficient to encourage all the officers. There was in the camp but one legion, commanded by six tribunes, of whom five were for attempting to break through the enemy; but the sixth, not so resolute as the rest, opposed so dangerous an attempt. Whereupon a centurion, named *Petreius*, stabbed the cowardly officer, and being chosen commander by the legion, obtained an honourable capitulation, led his small body to a place of safety, and from thence marched to join the main body of the army incamped on the banks of the *Po*. Had the *Cimbri* known how to improve their victory, they might have made themselves masters of *Rome*, which was then quite defenceless, all orders of men being in the utmost consternation. But they delayed in expectation of the coming up of the *Teutones*, and thereby gave the *Romans* time to recall *Marius* and his troops from *Gaul*. By order of the senate he joined his troops to ^{Marius sent against the Cimbri,} the proconsul's army on the *Po*, and upon their union was declared commander in chief, his consulate and reputation giving him a superiority over *Catulus*. However, he received here a sensible mortification from his old lieutenant *Sylla*. That brave officer had, by a superior conduct, found means to supply the camp of *Catulus* with great plenty of provisions, while *Marius's* men wanted even necessaries. *Sylla* therefore went to the consul's camp, and maliciously offered to relieve his troops in their distress, with the overplus of the provisions which he had amassed in the proconsul's camp. Necessity obliged *Marius* to accept the offer; but never was present received with more reluctance^e. From this time *Sylla* entered into an open competition with *Marius*, notwithstanding the superiority which five consulates gave him, over a man who had not yet been raised to any of the great employments of the republic.

In the mean time, the *Cimbri*, finding the *Teutones* did not appear, resolved to come to action without them. But that they might act with some appearance of justice, they first sent a deputation to the *Roman* general, desiring him to assign them and their allies the *Teutones*, lands in the country where they were, and threatening, in case of a refusal, to make the *Romans* feel the weight of their arms. *Marius* answered sternly, *You ask lands for your allies the Teutones; I have given them some already. Their carcasses are now rotting in the fields by the Cenus, and their bones made use of for fences to the vineyards.* The deputies, exasperated at this severe jest, threatened to make him repent of his insults, as soon as the *Teutones* should pass the *Alps*. *You need not then delay a moment,* answered *Marius*; *they have already passed the Alps, and you shall immediately see them.* Then shewing them the chiefs of the *Teutonic* army in chains; *Pray salute your allies,* said he to the deputies with a sneer, *and make yourselves ready to come and join them.* These insults provoked the *Cimbri* to such a degree, that *Bojorix*, one of their kings, came in person to *Marius's* camp, and challenged him to fix the day and place of battle. This the *Romans* had scarce ever done; but *Marius* pitched upon the plain of *Vercellæ*, which was not large enough to contain half the enemy's forces, As for the day, he named the eve of the calends of *August*, the third day from

^d JUL. OBSEQ. c. 100. DIODOR. SICUL. ecl. 1. xxxvi.

^e PLUT. in *Sylla*.

An engage-
ment between
the Romans
and the Cim-
bri.

The Cimbri
entirely de-
feated by Ma-
rius and Ca-
tulus.

The victory
chiefly owing
to Catulus's
men.

The victory
ascribed at
Rome to Ma-
rius alone.

from that time. Both generals kept their agreement. The army of *Catulus* amounted a to twenty thousand three hundred, and that of *Marius* to thirty-two thousand. The enemy's cavalry were no more than fifteen thousand; but their infantry seemed innumerable; for we are told, that they covered, when drawn up in a square, thirty furlongs. *Marius*, as commander in chief, drew up the whole army; and, in order to deprive the proconsul of any share of the glory of the day, he posted his troops in the centre, and his own in the two wings, which projected before the main body, and must consequently sustain the efforts of the enemy's army. But his measures were disconcerted by an unforeseen accident. For, before the action began, the cavalry of the *Cimbri* made a motion, as if they intended to wheel about and flank the *Roman* army. Hereupon *Marius*, at the head of the two wings, advanced against them. The b *Cimbrian* horse at his approach retired, and drew the consul after them. When he was at some distance from the main body, the enemy's infantry charged the legions commanded by *Catulus* and *Sylla* with incredible fury. The *Romans*, animated by the example of their leaders, stood the shock without giving ground, keeping themselves upon the defensive till the enemy's first fury was spent. When they found their strength began to fail them, the legionaries charged them in their turn. As the sun shone with great violence, those northern people, not accustomed to the heats of *Italy*, were soon covered with sweat, and scarce able to lift up their arms to strike a blow; so that they made but a faint resistance. They were soon overcome; but they had put it out of their own power to save themselves from the victorious enemy by flight. c That they might keep their ranks the better, they had, like true barbarians, tied themselves to one another with cords fastened to their belts; so that the *Romans* made what havock they pleased of those helpless barbarians. To complete their misfortune, *Marius*, returning with his troops from the pursuit of their cavalry, fell upon them, when quite exhausted with fatigue and the heat of the day. All that followed was a dreadful butchery, the whole plain being covered with dead bodies. From the field of battle the *Romans* marched to the enemy's camp, where they had a new battle to fight with their wives, who were even more fierce than their husbands. From their carts and waggons, which formed a kind of fortification, they discharged showers of darts on their friends and enemies without distinction. Then they first suffocated their d children in their arms, and afterwards killed themselves. The greatest part hanged themselves on trees. One was found hanging from a cart with two of her children at her heels. Many of the men, for want of trees and stakes, tied strings in running knots about their necks, and fastened them to the tails of their horses, and the horns and feet of their oxen, to strangle themselves that way. Thus those unhappy creatures put an end to their lives by all the methods they could contrive. Two of their kings or leaders stabbed each other. *Bojorix* and *Luig*, their chief commanders, died in the action sword in hand. *Clodic* and *Seforix*, two of their generals, were made prisoners with sixty thousand of their men, who were all put in chains, and sold to the best bidder: a hundred and twenty thousand of the barbarians were left dead upon e the spot; whereas the *Romans* had scarce three hundred men missing in both armies. Thus was this whole nation almost extirpated, whose incursions and robberies were looked upon as a public scourge. After the battle, all the spoils and ensigns were brought to the camp of *Catulus*, which was a plain declaration, that the victory was chiefly owing to his men. But hereupon a dispute arising between the soldiers of the two camps, the generals agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of the ambassadors of *Parma*, who happened at that time to be in the army. These being led to the field of battle, found almost all the darts, with which the barbarians had been killed, marked with the name of *Catulus*, who had taken care to imprint it on the arms of his soldiers before the battle. Besides, *Marius's* men had taken from the enemy only f two standards; whereas *Sylla* brought to the proconsul's camp thirty-one, with the brazen bull, which the *Cimbri* worshipped. Upon the whole, the arbitrators gave sentence in favour of *Catulus*; so that *Sylla* saw with pleasure the greatest part of the glory of the action taken from *Marius*, who had endeavoured to ingross it all to himself. However, when the news of this signal victory was brought to *Rome*, the people gave all the honour of it to *Marius*, calling him *the third founder of Rome, the deliverer of his country*; nay, they even invoked him as a god; and neither time, nor the most circumstantial accounts, could undeceive them, so as to bring them to allow any share of the success to *Catulus*. But *Marius* himself had not the confidence to deprive *Catulus* of the glory which was due to him. Besides, he was afraid that the army of *Catulus* would

- a would oppose his triumph, if he pretended to exclude their general. They were therefore both honoured with a triumph. The spoils taken from the enemy were carried before the triumphant victors; but, if we give credit to *Florus*^f, no part of the shew struck the people so much as the sight of king *Teutobocchus*, who was, according to that writer, of such a gigantic stature, that his head appeared above the trophies which were carried in procession. After the triumph, both generals, pursuant to a vow each of them had made, built a temple in memory of their victory: *Marius*, who had no taste for arts, in a very plain manner, to *virtue and honour*; and *Catulus*, with great elegance and beauty, to *the fortune of this day*. *Marius*, on the day his temple was dedicated, entertained the people with games after the Greek manner; but, as war was his element, he was immediately tired with them, and withdrew^g.
- b Thus was *Italy* delivered from her fears by the defeat of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*. The only enemy the *Romans* had now to contend with were the rebellious slaves in *Sicily*. The republic had sent against them, two years before the defeat of the *Cimbri*, the prætor *Lucius Licinius Lucullus* with an army of fourteen thousand men, legionaries and auxiliaries, exclusive of the succours that were sent him from *Greece* and *Lucania*. As soon as the *Roman* army landed, *Salvius*, who had shut up *Athenio* in the citadel of *Triocala*, as we have related above, delivered him from his confinement, and advised with him, as he was a man of some experience, about the means of resisting the new general. In a council of war, which they held, it was agreed, that *Salvius* should continue in the city of *Triocala* to defend it, if attacked, and that *Athenio* should, at the head of forty thousand men, march against *Lucullus*, and give him battle. Accordingly *Athenio* advanced with his army into the neighbourhood of *Scirtæum*, and there came to an engagement with the prætor, in which the victory was warmly disputed. The slaves, who for the most part had served in war before they were reduced to slavery, fought with a regularity and courage which the *Romans* did not expect. Insomuch, that the success would have been doubtful, if *Athenio*, advancing into the middle of the enemy's battalions at the head of three hundred horse, had not been wounded in both his knees. He fell from his horse through faintness, and was covered with a heap of dead bodies. Hereupon his troops, having no commander of reputation to head them, dispersed and fled in the utmost confusion. The *Romans* pursued the fugitives, and killed above twenty thousand of them. The news of this defeat no sooner reached *Triocala*, than the cowardly *Salvius* abandoned the place. But, in the mean time, *Athenio*, having got from under the dead bodies that covered him, gained *Triocala* with the remains of his army before the prætor, who spent nine days in useless precautions, invested the place. *Athenio* sustained the siege with an intrepidity seldom found in men of his rank, and forced *Lucullus* to raise the siege, and retire from before the place amidst the hisses of the slaves, who insulted him and his army from their walls, as they filed off. He withdrew to *Syracuse*, and there spent the remainder of the year, wholly intent on enriching himself at the expence of his province. His year therefore was no sooner expired, than he was recalled, and being accused before the people of oppression, he was condemned to banishment^h. The prætor *C. Servilius* was sent to succeed him; but that weak general was even more unfortunate than his predecessor. *Athenio*, who now carried on the rebellion alone, *Salvius* being dead, attacked the *Roman* army, gave them a total overthrow, and made himself master of their camp. After this victory *Athenio* advanced to *Messana*, and, having made a fruitless attempt upon that city, besieged *Macella* and took it. The progress of the rebellion opened at length the eyes of the senate, who sent *Manius Aquilius*, the colleague of *Marius* for the present year, to suppress it. *Aquilius* crossed over into *Sicily* with a consular army, and having made it his whole business in his consulship to reduce the rebels to great straits for want of provisions, in the year of his proconsulate he intirely destroyed them. He took the field, and brought the enemy to a battle, which both parties maintained with equal vigor, till the two generals met, and determined the victory by a single combat. *Aquilius* not disdaining to enter the lists with *Athenio*, a stop was put to the battle, the *Romans* on one side, and the slaves on the other, making way for the two champions. The proconsul, who was a man of great strength and resolution, laid his adversary dead on the ground at one blow; and the *Romans*, taking advantage of his victory and the enemy's fears, fell

Both build temples in memory of their victory.

War with the slaves.

Licinius defeats the slaves in Sicily.

But is forced to raise the siege of Triocala.

C. Servilius defeated by the slaves.

The consul Aquilius defeats the slaves, and puts an end to the war.

^f FLOR. l. iii. c. 3.
eclog. i. l. xxxvi.

^g PLUT. in Mario & Sylla. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 7.

^h DIODOR. SICUL.

fell upon them with fresh vigor, and made such a slaughter of the disheartened rebels, a that of their vast army scarce ten thousand escaped to their camp, where they chose rather to kill one another than surrender. When they were reduced to a thousand, one *Satyrius* capitulated with the proconsul, who promised him and his companions their lives, but afterwards sent them to *Rome* to fight the wild beasts in the shows of the circus. But they chose rather to fall by each other's hands. And thus ended a rebellion, which had lasted four years, and cost the republic, according to some writers, near a million of slaves. *Aquilius* on his return was honoured with an ovation, the republic having more regard to her ancient custom of not granting a triumph to the conquerors of rebels, especially if they were slaves, than to the merit and services of *Aquilius* i.

Is honoured with an ovation.

The mean practices of Marius.

His sixth consulship.

Apuleius murders his competitor, and assumes the tribunate.

Marius's association with him and Glaucia.

Apuleius revives the ancient quarrel about the distribution of lands.

b THE republic, after the defeat of the *Cimbri* and the reduction of the slaves, had scarce any enemies left abroad, but nourished such in her own bosom as proved more mischievous to her, than either the barbarians of *Germany*, or the slaves of *Sicily*. *Marius*, whose ambition knew no bounds, stood now for the sixth consulship, with as much eagerness as he had done for the first. Though naturally fierce and rough, he became mild and affable, caressed the meanest of the people, and ingratiated himself with them by the most servile condescensions. His competitor was the great *Metellus*, surnamed *Numidicus*, whose virtues and experience, joined to the wishes of all honest men, loudly called him to the government of the republic. But *Marius*, by distributing under-hand large sums among the people, got *Metellus* excluded, himself c chosen, and one *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, a very weak man, appointed for his colleague. The first step *Marius* took after his election was, to contract an intimate friendship with *L. Apuleius Saturninus* and *Servilius Glaucia*, two daring and factious men, who had all the scum of the indigent and seditious people constantly at their beck. *Apuleius* had been long devoted to the consul, and had procured him, as we have observed above, his fourth consulate. *Glaucia* was the prætor, to whom the cognizance of civil causes belonged, and was naturally factious and violent. These three entered into an association with a design to ingross all the power to themselves. *Apuleius* had been once before tribune of the people, and now stood for that post a second time. But he had the misfortune to come in competition with *A. Nonnius*, a man of d an unblemished character, and highly esteemed by the people. *Marius* used all his interest in behalf of his friend *Apuleius*; but both his intrigues and solicitations were ineffectual: all the voices were for *Nonnius*, who was accordingly declared tribune. Hereupon *Apuleius*, giving himself wholly up to the dictates of his fury, caused *Nonnius* to be stabbed at the breaking up of the assembly, and then got himself tumultuously proclaimed tribune by those of his own party, before any considerable part of the people were assembled to give their suffrages. The consul confirmed the election; and the murder of *Nonnius* was no more mentioned. And now *Marius*, *Apuleius*, and *Glaucia*, formed a kind of triumvirate, whose whole aim was to humble the senate, and assume all power to themselves. About this time ambassadors arrived at e *Rome* from *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*, sent by their master to adjust some small differences between him and the republic. These *Apuleius*, at the instigation of *Marius*, ruled in a most brutish manner. The consul, in all likelihood, weary of an inactive life, hoped by that means to provoke *Mithridates* to begin a war. However that be, the ambassadors laid their complaints before the senate, and the conscript fathers, glad of an opportunity of humbling the insolent tribune, cited him before their tribunal. But, on the day when sentence was to be pronounced, the populace surrounded the hall where the senate met, in such crouds, that they intimidated the judges; so that the factious tribune was acquitted by a majority of votes k.

f AFTER this victory over the senate, *Apuleius*, as tribune of the people, renewed the ancient quarrel about the division of the lands. *Marius* and *Catulus* had, by the defeat of the *Cimbri*, recovered some lands in *Cisalpine Gaul*, of which those barbarians had taken possession; and *Apuleius* was for unjustly taking these lands from the true owners, and giving them to *Marius's* soldiers, who were for the most part people without house or home, and intirely devoted to their general. In the law which he had prepared together with *Marius*, whose tool he was, for the distribution of the lands, there was a clause expressly providing, *That the senate should come and swear in full assembly to confirm whatever should be enacted by the people, and not to oppose them in any thing; and*

i DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxxviii. eclog. 1. FLOR. l. iii. c. 29. CIC. de orat. LIV. in epit. k DIODOR. SICUL. apud FUL. URSIN.

a *and that whoever refused to take that oath should be degraded, and condemned to a fine of twenty talents.* Nothing could be more unreasonable than such a law, since it subjected the senate to the people. On the day therefore of the comitia, when it was to be admitted or rejected, many men of great weight and authority mounted the rostra to dissuade the people from passing it. But they were pulled down by the mob of the country tribes, whom *Marius* and *Apuleius* had brought in great crouds into the city. These violent proceedings provoked the city tribes, who, finding themselves the weakest, that the assembly might be dissolved, cried out, *That they heard it thunder*; which, according to the laws, obliged them to suspend for that day all deliberations. But the country tribes, having among them many veterans, most of ^{Marius's} them men of mettle, disregarding that superstitious custom, fell upon the city tribes, ^{treachery and} and, having driven them with stones and clubs out of the forum, got the law passed. ^{double dealing.}

b The next day *Marius*, who was at the bottom of all this and the chief manager of the plot, as consul, made a report to the senate of the law in question, exclaimed against the late violences, and declared, for his part that he was determined never to take so unreasonable an oath, and that he did not doubt, but every honest man would be of his opinion; for if the law was good in itself, there was no necessity for swearing; and if it was a bad one, they were all obliged in honour not to swear. This he said to ensnare *Metellus*, whom he hated ever since their quarrel in *Numidia*. He hoped that his declaring against the oath would draw a like declaration from that great man, and did not doubt, but when he had once made such a public declaration,

c he would stand firm to his resolution, which would infallibly expose him to the hatred of the people. The event answered his expectation; *Metellus* protested, that he would not take the oath, and the whole senate did the same. A few days after, *Apuleius* summoned the senate to appear in the comitia in order to take the oath; and then *Marius* made his appearance among the rest; and while the eyes of all the senators were fixed upon him, he, to their great surprize, declared, that he had changed his sentiments: *I am not so stiff and obstinate.* said he, *as to be tied down by any declaration I may have made upon an affair of so much weight, before I had thoroughly considered it; but am ready to swear, and having sworn, will punctually observe the law, when it once becomes a law.* These last words he added, to put a plausible

d colour upon his shameful breach of faith. If it was a law, it ought without all doubt, to be obeyed. But this was a mean subterfuge and knavish pretence. It was no law, being without any of the requisite conditions; and therefore, instead of obeying, he ought to have opposed it. The senators upon this declaration of *Marius*, which was applauded by all the country tribes, were afraid to open their mouths. *Marius* took their silence for a tacit consent, and immediately went to the temple of *Saturn*, according to the ancient custom, and there took the oath, even without the restriction he himself had proposed. The senators, over-awed by the people, followed his example. But *Metellus* resolutely persisted in his former opinion, notwithstanding the representations of his friends, who earnestly intreated him to yield to the times. He told

e those, who pressed him to take the oath, that to do a base and unworthy action was under all circumstances shameful; that to do well, when no danger attended it, was common; but to do well, in the midst of dangers, was the property of a truly good and honest man. Upon his refusal, the assembly, at the instigation of *Marius* and *Apuleius*, ^{Metellus con-} condemned him to banishment. The nobility, the whole body of the patricians and ^{demned to ba-} the city tribes, offered to oppose this most unjust decree of the populace. Many, ^{nishment.} out of affection for so good and virtuous a citizen, had brought arms under their robes, being determined to defend him to the last extremity. But that wise senator, who truly loved his country, after having, in a tender manner, returned them thanks for their kindness, declared, that he would not suffer a single drop of blood to be

f spilt on his account. He then went into banishment, which in so glorious a cause did him more honour than all his victories or triumphs. He left the city with this wise reflection; *Either the face of affairs will change, and the people repent what they have done; in which case I shall be recalled and restored with honour: or they will remain in the present posture; and then it will be best for me to be at a distance from Rome.* The illustrious exile went to reside, some say at *Rhodes*, others at *Smyrna*, where, in a sweet tranquillity, he gave himself intirely up to the study of philosophy, enjoying in his retreat those pleasures which flow from a good conscience¹.

Marius,

¹ PLUT. in Mario. Cic. pro Sextio & Balbo. APPIAN. de bell. civil. Auth. de vir illustr.

Disturbances
raised by
Apuleius.

The violent
proceedings of
Apuleius and
Glaucia.

Memmius
murdered.

Apuleius and
Glaucia
openly rebel;

And seized the
capitol.

Marius, *Apuleius*, and *Glaucia* congratulated each other on their having at last a ruined their common enemy. The point *Apuleius* had in view was, to get himself continued in the tribuneship, *Glaucia* aspired at the consulate, and *Marius* was for maintaining himself in his post another year. To compass their ends, they scrupled nothing. *Apuleius*, like a monster let loose, committed the most flagrant acts of violence and injustice with impunity. *Marius*, who was the soul of the plot, left to the other two the execution of the wicked schemes which he advised. He pretended to keep the balance even between the people and the senate. On one side, he raised disturbances underhand, by means of his two confederates, in order to make himself necessary, and pave the way for his seventh consulship. On the other hand, he pretended a great desire to compose them, hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with the senate. By this artful conduct he would have gained his point, had not his deceit been discovered by an accident. One evening some senators came to wait on the consul, and to implore his assistance against the attempts of the seditious tribune. *Marius*, who was willing to keep fair with the nobility, received them very graciously, and promised to exert his power against *Apuleius*. While he was conferring with the senators about the proper measures for preserving the republic, *Apuleius* came to receive his directions about raising new disturbances, and being let in at a back door unknown to the senators, was carried into another apartment. Then *Marius*, pretending a looseness, under that colour, was continually running from one apartment to the other, exasperating the senators against the tribune, and the tribune against the senators. But this being soon after known, he became suspected by both parties. *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* began to take umbrage at his complaisance for the patricians; and the patricians grew jealous of his great intimacy with those two incendiaries. In the mean time, *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* canvassed, independently on the consul, the former for a third tribuneship, and the latter for the consulate; and both resolved to stick at nothing. Nay, *Apuleius* set up the contemptible *Equitius*, of whom we have spoke above, for tribune of the people, and, without any regard to common decency, carried matters so far, that *Marius* himself thought it adviseable to send *Equitius* to prison, ordering him to be kept there till the election of the tribunes was over. But *Apuleius*, having spirited up the people to break open the prison, set *Equitius* at liberty, and prevailed upon the turbulent populace to proclaim him tribune of the people. But the pretended tribune died before he entered upon his office. At the same time *Glaucia*, who stood for the consulate, carried his furious attempts to such excess, that he was become quite insupportable. When the comitia for the election of consuls came on, *Marius* was excluded, and the orator *Marcus Antonius* chosen in the first place; *Glaucia* expected to be nominated in the second; but finding he had a formidable competitor in *Memmius*, who was infinitely superior to him in all respects, and highly esteemed on account of his probity, he made no scruple to send one of his attendants to murder him in the open forum. After a murder so public and daring, *Glaucia* and *Apuleius* his accomplice, to avoid the punishment they deserved, openly attempted to destroy the republic itself. They carried a multitude of desperate men to the house of *Apuleius*, who there exhorted them to an open rebellion. We are told, that they appointed him to be their general, and offered him the title of king, which he is said to have accepted. But be that as it will, it was now an open conspiracy; the senate declared them enemies to their country, and passed one of those decrees, which were never made, but in times of the utmost difficulty and danger: the two consuls *Marius* and *Flaccus* were ordered to provide for the public welfare in what manner they judged proper; which was empowering them to revenge with the sword the disturbances those seditious men were raising in the republic. Hereupon *Marius* found himself obliged to arm, in order to suppress a sedition which he secretly favoured, but could protect no longer. No time was to be lost: *Glaucia* and *Apuleius* had already seized the capitol. Arms therefore were given to all those who declared for the senate; the knights, the senators, and all who had the welfare of their country at heart, armed themselves against the two rebels. But *Marius* affected delays, and plainly shewed, it was much against his inclination that he obeyed the orders of the senate. In the mean time, the whole rabble of the country tribes entered the city with a design to join their friends in the capitol, but were obliged to fight a battle in the forum before they could reach the citadel. When they were hard pressed, *Apuleius* made a sally, and covered their retreat to the capitol. During the action, the seditious tribune hoisted up a cap on the top of a lance to invite the slaves to take arms in his favour in hopes of their liberty.

- a liberty. In the mean time, the senators and knights, tired with the delays of *Marius*, A battle in the forum. who was ever pleading some excuse or other, caused the pipes to be cut, which conveyed water into the capitol, which soon reduced the rioters to a desperate condition. In this extremity *Suffeius*, one of their leaders, was for setting fire to the temple of *Jupiter*, in hopes they should make their escape, during the confusion and tumult which commonly attend such accidents. But *Apuleius* and *Glaucia*, depending upon their friendship with *Marius*, surrendered to him, after he had promised, upon the public faith, to save their lives. This promise was in itself void and unlawful, since the senate had already declared them rebels, and ordered the consul to treat them as such. The rebels in the capitol forced to surrender to Marius. But *Marius* was resolved to save a body of desperate men, whose fury might be of use to him on some other occasion. He therefore gave them leave to march out of the capitol unmolested. *Glaucia* retired to the house of one *Claudius* for refuge; but the people soon dragged him from thence, and cut off his head. His brother *Dolabella* and one *L. Geganius*, who retired to the herb-market, were murdered there. Hereupon *Marius* shut up the rest, with *Apuleius* their chief, in the old palace of *Tullus Hostilius*, giving out, that he confined them there in order to bring them to condign punishment. But the palace was in reality a place of safety for them, rather than a prison; and the guards, placed at the gates, were not so much to prevent their making their escape, as to secure them against the insults of the people. Who endeavours to save them; Of this the senators and knights were well apprised; and therefore, having assembled the people, they dispersed the guards, broke open the gates of the palace, and with clubs and stones dispatched *Suffeius*, *Labienus*, *Equitius*, *Apuleius* himself, and all the leading men of his party. But in vain. The people, not satisfied with the death of *Apuleius*, tore his body into a thousand pieces. And now, the storm being blown over, the comitia assembled in tranquillity, and all the acts of the preceding tribunate were declared absolutely null, for want of liberty in the suffrages. After this the tribes met again to chuse a colleague for *Marcus Antonius*, who had been elected on the day that *Memmius* was murdered. The person raised to that dignity was *A. Posthumius Albinus*, a man of excellent parts and an sincere friend to his country^m.
- d THE new consular year was begun with purifying the city, which had been polluted with so much blood in the late troubles. To the ceremonies used on this occasion others succeeded for averting evils, foreboded by some imaginary prognostics. It was not then known, that in the year, when these prodigies were said to have happened, a child was born in *Rome*, who would one day overturn the republic. This was *Julius Cæsar*, who came into the world on the twelfth day of the month *Quintilis*, The birth of Julius Cæsar. in the sixth consulate of *Marius*, whence the fifth month of the old Roman year was called *Julius*. The new consuls had the pleasure to see the games, which *P. Claudius Pulcher* the ædile gave, celebrated without trouble or confusion. They were the most splendid that had yet been seen in *Rome*. We are told, that *Claudius* was the first who caused the scenes to be painted; which was so artfully done, says *Pliny*ⁿ, that the birds attempted to alight on the tops of the houses, and to perch on the trees, which were painted on the cloth. Thus were the first months of this year spent in tranquillity. But it was not long, ere the leaven of sedition, which *Marius* had sown among the tribunes, began to shew itself in *Sextius Titius*, who attempted to ingratiate himself with the people, and raise new troubles, by reviving the *Gracchian* law about the division of lands. Sextius Titius tribune of the people, banished. But the consul *M. Antonius* prevented the mischief he intended, and brought him into such contempt, that, as soon as he was out of his office, he was accused of the most infamous and unnatural practices, and condemned to banishment. And now, after *Marius* and his adherents were thus fully disappointed, it was thought a proper season to recall the great *Metellus*. All the *Cæcilian* family, of which the *Metelli* were a branch, interested themselves in the cause of their relation. The exile's son appeared in deep mourning, fell prostrate before the tribes, and did all for the recalling of his father, which persons accused of capital crimes used to do to save their own lives. This affectionate conduct towards his father procured him the surname of *Pius*, which he bore the rest of his life. The whole body of the patricians joined with the son, and intreated the people in a public assembly to recall so worthy a citizen. *Marius* did all that lay in his power to prevent the return of a patrician, who was the support of the senate, a true pattern of the old Roman probity, and the dread of the seditions. Metellus recalled. But, in spite of *Marius*'s utmost efforts, equity prevailed, and the return of *Metellus*

^m PLUT. in Mario. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. FLOR. l. iii. c. 16. CIC. pro Sextio, Rabirio, &c. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 2. ⁿ PLIN. l. xxxv. c. 7.

Marius re-
tires from
Rome.

His insolent
behaviour at
the court of
Mithridates.

Sertorius
gains great
reputation in
Spain.

Metellus was carried by a majority of suffrages. The messenger sent to acquaint him with the decree of the people, finding him at a public show in the city of *Trallis* in *Lydia*, delivered to him the letter, and at the same time whispered him, that it contained joyful news. But the illustrious philosopher, without the least change of countenance, continued his attention to the show, and did not open the packet till the games were ended. The same greatness of soul, which had kept him from dejection in his disgrace, guarded him against immoderate joy in his prosperity. All the persons of distinction in *Rome* went to receive him at the gate of the city. He was accompanied from the gate to his own house by vast crowds of people, who testified the sincerity of their joy by loud acclamations. His house was crowded from morning to night with persons of all ranks, who came to see and congratulate him. In short, his return was a real triumph. *Marius*, to avoid the mortification of seeing a triumphant enemy, left *Rome* and went into *Asia*, giving out, that he was going to perform some sacrifices, which he had vowed to *Cybele* the mother of the gods. But the true motive of his voyage into *Asia* was, to kindle a war, and cut out new work for his republic there. He owed his grandeur wholly to arms, and could not maintain it in peaceable times, being destitute of those talents which were necessary to gain applause in a commonwealth, where eloquence bore a great sway in all public deliberations. In order therefore to have an opportunity of displaying anew his talent for war, he went to the court of *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, who seemed the most disposed to quarrel. The king received him with all the honour due to his reputation, caressed him in the most affectionate manner, and did all that lay in his power to oblige a man of so much weight in his republic. But all to no purpose; he could draw nothing from the proud *Roman*, but insolent treatment. *Marius* did not doubt, but, if he could provoke that young, powerful, and brave king to take arms against *Rome*, he should have the command of the forces employed in that war; and therefore he treated him with great haughtiness and contempt. One day he addressed himself to him very bluntly in these terms; *You must either, O king, endeavour to be more powerful than the Romans, or quietly submit to their will.* The king of *Pontus*, the proudest prince of his time, was quite astonished at the discourse of the bold commonwealth's man. However, as he was a great politician, he did not think this a proper time to declare his resentments; and therefore, concealing his displeasure, he dismissed *Marius* loaded with presents.

BUT to return to *Metellus*, the people soon gave him a sensible proof of the regard they had for him. Upon his presenting to the tribes his relation *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, the people very readily chose him consul, and gave him for his colleague *T. Didius*, who had been honoured with a triumph fourteen years before, for having defeated the *Scordisci*. The two consuls drew lots for their provinces, when *Italy* fell to *Metellus*, and *Spain* to *Didius*, whither he carried a consular army to make head against the *Spanish* rebels, who had taken arms in great numbers, and committed dreadful devastations in the *Roman* province. Under *Didius* served *Sertorius* in quality of legionary tribune. He was a native of *Nursia* in *Sabinia*, and had already given many proofs of his valour; but in the present war with the revolted *Spaniards*, he gained more reputation than his general. He reduced the cities of *Castulo* and *Gyrifanium*, two places of great importance; and it was chiefly owing to his masterly conduct, that *Didius* overthrew in a pitched battle the *Vaccæi*, of whom he cut twenty thousand in pieces. After the consul had, by the help of his brave tribune, reduced the rebels, he stained his victory by an unheard-of piece of treachery and cruelty. One of the *Roman* generals had settled five years before a colony of *Spaniards* near the city of *Colenda*. These, before they were brought to this new settlement, had committed robberies in several parts of *Spain*. *Didius* suspecting, without any grounds, that they designed to return to their ancient way of living, obliged them to quit the lands they were possessed of, and promised them those of *Colenda*, which city he had just reduced after a nine months siege. The *Spaniards*, depending on the general's promise, came with their wives and children to the *Roman* camp, where, under pretence of accommodating them better, they were admitted within the intrenchments. When the cruel consul had them thus in his power, he caused the whole multitude to be divided into three companies, placing the men in one, the women in another, and the children in the third. The poor people suspected no treachery, till they heard the consul order his

legionaries

Chap. 9.

^a legionaries to fall upon them, and put them all, without distinction, to the sword. ^{The cruelty of} His orders were put in execution with the utmost barbarity, not one of those unhappy ^{Didius in} wretches escaping. A most detestable piece of cruelty! but applauded at Rome. To such a degree were the *Romans* degenerated from their antient probity! This massacre exasperated the *Celtiberians*, who taking arms faced the consular army in the open field, and came to a pitched battle with them, in which they fought like men in despair, till night parted the two armies. The loss of the *Romans* was equal to theirs; but *Didius* by a stratagem made them believe they had been worsted. He ordered most of the bodies of the *Romans*, who had been slain, to be carried out of the field of battle in the night. The *Celtiberians*, when they came early next morning, according to their ^{The Celtiberians submit to} custom, to bury their dead, were so terrified at seeing such a number of their own men ^{Didius.} slain, and so few *Romans*, that they submitted to *Didius* upon his own terms. Thus, partly by force and partly by artifice, the *Roman* general settled *Hither Spain* in peace, and returned five years after his consulship to *Rome*, where his services were rewarded with a triumph^p. This same year the prætor *Cornelius Dolabella* gained considerable advantages over the revolted *Lusitanians* in *Further Spain*. Historians indeed have not given us any account of his exploits, but in the triumphal tables he is said to have triumphed over the *Lusitanians* this present year.

In the mean time, the consul *Metellus* maintained peace at home, and punished with the utmost severity all speeches that tended to sedition. ^c *C. Plautius Decianus*, one of the prætors, was banished for dropping, in a public speech, some expressions in favour of the furious tribune *Apuleius*. The tribunes themselves durst no longer propose seditious laws, or attempt to raise disturbances among the populace. The presence of *Metellus* and the absence of *Marius* equally contributed to the public tranquillity. In *Asia*, that is, in the ancient kingdom of *Pergamus*, the excellent proconsul ^{2.} *Mucius Scævola* punished the iniquity of the *Roman* knights or publicans in a very ^{Mucius Scævola punishes} exemplary manner. He found them guilty of most enormous extortions, in raising ^{the publicans} and managing the revenues of the republic; and therefore, without any regard to the dignity or power of so formidable a body, he caused many of them to be publicly carried to prison, and condemned a slave to be crucified, who had been the agent of ^d an oppressive publican, and an accomplice in his master's knavery. He appointed men of integrity, and well versed in money affairs, to examine the books of the publicans, and by this means reformed his province in less than nine months. On his departure the *Asiatics* instituted a festival to perpetuate among them the memory of his virtues. This festival, which from him was called *Mucia*, did him more honour than a triumph. Many of the governors of the provinces followed the example of *Mucius*, and the senate charged the consuls and prætors to do the same in their respective provinces; so that a stop was put for some time to the oppressions of the publicans, which had rendered the yoke of the republic insupportable.

In the succeeding consulate of *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Licinius Crassus*, ^{Marius disgraced at} *Marius* returned from *Asia*; and, soon after his arrival in *Rome*, he built himself a house ^{Rome.} close by the forum, either to ease his clients, as he himself gave out, of the trouble of going far, or in hopes of having more numerous levees there, than in a distant part of the town. But he found, that his rough behaviour kept people from him where-ever he lived. His haughty manners were not becoming in a free state, where every one thinks himself to be upon a level with the best, and where the great can gain and maintain friends only by an obliging behaviour and good offices. He met with the fate of most warriors, who live to a great age in peace. Their victories are forgot, and they, as *Plutarch* observes, if not recommended by civil virtues, are, like old rusty weapons, laid aside as quite useless. But nothing gave *Marius* so great uneasiness as to see his old rival *Sylla* aggrandise himself, as he thought, at his expence. ^f *Bocchus*, king of *Mauritania*, after he had been declared an ally of the *Roman* people, dedicated in the capitol several trophies of *Sylla's* victories, and placed near them some golden statues, representing in what manner he had delivered *Jugurtha* into the hands of *Sylla*. *Marius*, distracted with rage, attempted to pull down a monument, which ascribed to his rival all the glory of so memorable an event. *Sylla*, on the other hand, ^{Is jealous of} opposed him with all his credit. Every one took party according to his interest and ^{Sylla's glory.} inclination; so that the whole city was divided into two factions; but by the vigilance of the consuls a stop was put to the sedition, when it was just upon the point of.

^p PLUT. in Sertorio. APPIAN. in Iberic. FRONT. strat. l. v. c. 11. ² DIODOR. SICUL. VALES. CIC. ad Attic. l. vi. & in Verr. act. 7.

Origin of the
social war.

of breaking out. *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *C. Cassius Longinus*, the two succeeding consuls, took more care to maintain peace and tranquillity at home, than to signalise themselves by feats of arms abroad. During their administration, *Rome* enjoyed all the advantages of peace and plenty, and was so sensible of her happiness, that she preferred to the many warriors, who desired to succeed them, men brought up in peaceable employments, viz. *Licinius Crassus*, the famous orator, and *Q. Mucius Scævola*, a learned civilian. But these pacific consuls sowed, without design, the seeds of one of the most bloody wars that had ever broke out in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. They got a law passed, which obliged the allies, who lived in *Rome* and falsely pretended to the right of *Roman* citizenship, to return to their own homes. By the help of these intruders some seditious tribunes had sown discord among the real citizens; whence it seemed but just, that those strangers should be sent home to their respective countries. Nevertheless this law, how just soever and equitable in itself, was so resented by the people of the *Italian* provinces, that it afterwards gave birth to the war of the allies. The consuls, after having passed this law and drawn lots for their provinces, set out, the one for *Transalpine*, the other for *Cisalpine*, *Gaul*. *Scævola*, to whom *Transalpine Gaul* had fallen, finding little to do in his province, returned to *Rome*, and generously disbanded his army before his year expired, thinking it an unnecessary burden to the republic. *Crassus*, though he sought for enemies, and searched into all the corners of the *Alps* for people to fight with, could find none, but a company of strolling robbers, whom he defeated. Nevertheless, he demanded a triumph on his return; but his colleague, out of a pure regard to equity, opposed it, declaring, that he would not suffer so great an honour to be depreciated and thrown away on such slight advantages. The following consulship of *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Cælius Caldus* was as peaceable as the former. *Cælius* was a new man (M), of no birth or merit, and surnamed *Caldus* from his warm temper; but he had no opportunity of raising any disturbances, some of the chief nobility being at this time admitted into the college of tribunes. The consulate of *C. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Herennius* was remarkable for nothing, but the pompous show of lions, with which *Sylla* entertained the people in the circus, and the unjust condemnation of *P. Rutilius Rufus* a consular. *Bocchus* sent *Sylla* a hundred lions, and with them some *Mauritanian* hunters, who were used to fight them. This was a pleasing entertainment to the people, and the remembrance of it contributed afterwards as much towards *Sylla's* promotion to the consulate, as either his reputation or exploits. *P. Rutilius Rufus* had attended *Mucius Scævola* into *Asia*, and was thought the author of his severe reformation of the publicans. He was unjustly, and purely out of revenge, accused by that powerful body, and condemned to banishment. He retired to *Smyrna*, where he was so well pleased with the conversation of the *Greek* philosophers, that he refused to return to *Rome*, when the people some years after annulled the decree of his banishment^r.

A pompous
show given by
Sylla.

Rutilius Ru-
fus unjustly ba-
nished.

Embassadors
from the king
of Parthia to
Sylla.

THE following year, when *C. Claudius Pulcher* and *M. Perperna* were consuls, the senate ordered *Sylla* to carry back *Ariobarzanes*, king of *Cappadocia*, to his dominions, whence he had been driven by *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*. This *Sylla* effected, after having defeated *Gordius*, whom the *Armenians* had placed on the throne, as we have related at length in the history of *Armenia*. On this occasion *Sylla* received an embassy from *Arbaces* king of *Parthia*, desiring the friendship of the *Roman* people. The *Roman* general thought this one of the most fortunate occurrences of his life, and esteemed it,

^r VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 4. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. PLUT. in Sylla. CIC. in Brut. & pro Muræna.

(M) The division of the *Roman* people into *Nobiles*, *Novi*, and *Ignobiles*, often occurs in history, and was taken from the right of exposing publicly the images or statues of their ancestors; an honour only allowed to those whose ancestors or themselves had bore some curule office, that is, had been curule ædile, censor, prætor, or consul. He who could expose the pictures or statues of his ancestors was styled *Nobilis*; he, who could only produce his own, was called *Homo Novus*; and he, who could neither expose his own, nor the pictures of any of his an-

cestors, was termed *Ignobilis*. So that *jus imaginis* was much the same thing among the ancient *Romans*, as the right of bearing a coat of arms among us. For a great while none but the patricians were *Nobiles*, they alone being raised to the curule offices. Hence in many places of *Livy*, *Sallust*, and other ancient writers, we find the word *Nobilitas* used for the patrician order. But in after-ages, when the plebeians were admitted to the curule offices, both they and their posterity were honoured with the title of *Nobiles* (9).

(9) Vide Sigon. de jur. civ. Rom. l. ii. c. 20.

a it a happy omen, that he should be the first *Roman* who was known to so warlike and powerful a people^r.

At Rome, *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, one of the censors, accused his colleague *L. Crassus* of excessive fondness for one of his *muræne*. The favourite *muræna* was so tame that it would come to *Crassus* at his call, and feed out of his hand. The grave censor was so fond of this fish, that he took pleasure in adorning it with the richest jewels he had. When it died, he put himself in mourning, and erected a tomb for it. When *Crassus*, who was for his eloquence, as *Cicero* tells us, the wonder of his age, came to speak in his own defence, he was very satirical on his austere accuser, and uttered his ironical jests with such gestures, as drew upon his colleague the laughter of the whole assembly. *I have been guilty*, said he, *of this enormous crime; I have, it is true, wept at the loss of a favourite fish: but you, good Domitius, have bore the loss of three wives without shedding a tear.* However, the censors, notwithstanding their quarrels, joined in many useful regulations. They drove out of Rome several masters, who had opened schools, though no ways qualified for that important employment.

The ensuing year, *Sext. Julius Cæsar* (N) and *L. Marcius Philippus* were raised to the consulate. During their administration, *M. Livius Drusus*, tribune of the people, occasioned, though undesignedly, the breaking out of that unfortunate war, at the very gates of Rome, which historians sometimes call the *social war*, or the *war of the allies*, and sometimes the *Marston war*, because it began in the country of the *Marsti*. 86.

c *Drusus* was descended of an illustrious family, and had improved the great talents nature had given him, by the study of eloquence. He was a sincere friend to his country, and therefore, with a view to the public welfare, he attempted to remedy those disorders which had been introduced into the administration. But his very remedies increased them, and rendered the distempers of the republic incurable. Though there had been of late no open sedition, he observed, that a general dissatisfaction reigned in the three orders of men, who made up the whole body of the commonwealth. The cognizance of civil causes had been, by one of *C. Gracchus*'s laws, taken from the senate and given to the knights; and this the conscript fathers could not bear, but insisted on their being reinstated in their ancient privileges. On the other hand, knights would by no means part with a prerogative, which had been given them by a law passed in the comitia. The people murmured, because the execution of the *Gracchian* law was neglected, and no care was taken to assign them lands; but the nobility refused to part with any of the lands they possessed. The *Italian* allies were no less dissatisfied than the senate and people. They aspired at the right of suffrage, and at the offices in the republic, which they had so much assisted in her conquests. They remonstrated, that they paid considerable taxes; that in the time of war their countries raised double the number of forces that were raised in Rome; that the commonwealth owed partly to their valour that prodigious power which she had acquired; and lastly, that it was but just they should share the honours of a state which they had helped to aggrandize, both with their arms and treasures. Now *Drusus* formed a scheme to reconcile all orders of men, and put an end to all discontents, which, he foresaw, would in process of time, if not removed, produce a general insurrection. A glorious design! but now impracticable. He began with endeavouring to reconcile the senators and knights, thinking he had found out an effectual expedient for gaining so important a point. He proposed to restore to the senate the cognizance of civil causes, which had been conferred on the knights, and to make that second order amends, by admitting three hundred of them into the senate. But this scheme was no sooner proposed, than both the bodies, which he designed to reconcile, declared against it with great vehemence. The senators scorned to admit into their body such a number of men far inferior to them in birth, which, they said, would depreciate the senatorial dignity. On the other hand, such of the knights, as had reason to fear they should not be in the number of the three hundred designed for senators, declared, that they would not by any means, or for any equivalent whatsoever, suffer their order to be deprived of a jurisdiction, which made them very considerable in Rome. *Q. Servilius Cæpio* put himself at the head of the knights, and the consul *Marcius Philippus* appeared for the senate,

A Roman censor puts himself in mourning upon the death of a fish.

The social war breaks out. Year after the flood 223. Before Christ 86. Of Rome 662. Drusus, tribune of the people, author of this war.

His scheme to reconcile all orders of men.

Is opposed with great warmth.

^r PLUT. in Sylla.

(N) This *Sextius Julius Cæsar* was uncle to the famous *Julius Cæsar*. His sister *Julia* was wife to *Marius* according to *Plutarch*; and *Suetonius* tells us, that she was aunt to *Julius Cæsar*, the first Roman emperor.

Drusus com-
mands the
consul Marcus
Philippus to
be carried to
prison.

senate, to oppose the designed accommodation. *Philippus*, who was a man of a warm and fiery temper, had the boldness to interrupt the tribune *Drusus*, while he was one day haranguing the people from the rostra, and to command him silence. Hereupon one of the tribune's officers collaring the consul, handled him so roughly, that the blood gushed out of his nose. After this *Drusus*, who had the people on his side, ordered the consul to be carried to prison, for attempting to interrupt a tribune in the exercise of his authority. The tribune finding his well-meant scheme opposed, with great warmth, both by the knights and senators, to ingratiate himself with the people, proposed a law for distributing gratis among the poor what bread they wanted. He represented, that there was no danger of the treasury's being exhausted by this bounty, since immense sums were annually brought into it from the provinces; that there were at that time lodged in the temple of *Saturn*, where the public treasures were kept, 1620829 pounds weight of gold; that the public treasury ought not to be like the sea, which swallows up every thing and returns nothing, &c. The law met with great opposition, but at length passed to the universal satisfaction of the indigent citizens. In the next place, *Drusus* made it his business to gain the affections of the *Italian* allies, especially of the *Latins*. In order to this, he proposed a law for investing them with all the privileges of *Roman* citizens. But this law was opposed with great violence, not only by the senators and knights, but even by the people, who could not bear the thoughts of making those their fellow-citizens, whom they looked upon as their subjects. In the mean time, the *Italian* allies flocked to *Rome* from all parts to support their protector. But, finding they could not by his means gain their point, they entered into a plot, without his knowledge, to extort by force what they despaired of getting by interest. Some of the leading men among them formed a design of assassinating the consuls, during the ceremony of the *Feriae Latinae*, which was annually performed on the hill of *Alba* after the election of the great magistrates.

The probity of
Drusus.

But *Drusus* being informed of the plot, notwithstanding all the care the conspirators took to conceal it, he immediately acquainted the consuls with the wicked designs of the allies, and by that means saved their lives. But those, whom the well-meaning tribune had saved from a conspiracy, conspired to destroy him. While he was one day returning from the forum, where he had harangued the people in behalf of the allies, a great crowd of people attended him to the door of his house, where he was stabbed with a knife, which the ruffian left in the wound, and then made his escape.

Drusus assassinated.

When *Drusus* felt himself wounded, he cried out, *Ungrateful republic! Wilt thou ever find a man more zealous for thy true interest, than I have been?* And a few hours after expired. It was never discovered who had hired the assassin; but the suspicion of this black attempt fell on the consul *Philippus*, on *Cæpio*, and on *Varus*, one of his fellow-tribunes, who soon after proposed a law, declaring traitors and enemies to the state all those, who should move for granting to the allies the prerogative of citizenship. *Drusus* was a man of an unspotted character, and for love to his country was no-ways inferior to the greatest heroes of *Rome*. He dedicated all his thoughts, cares, and life itself to the service of his republic. But, as the evil was now become incurable, all his attempts, for preserving the state from impending ruin, were unsuccessful. Not many years after the ungrateful republic lost her liberty; and the sovereign power, which *Drusus's* measures might have prevented, soon devolved to his family; for he was the grandfather of *Livia*, the wife of *Augustus*, and consequently the great grandfather of the emperor *Tiberius*.

His character

The allies arm

THE death of *Drusus*, thus basely assassinated for attempting to procure the right of citizenship to the *Italian* allies, provoked them to such a degree, that they began to arm with a design to do themselves justice. *Pompeidius Silo*, the most famous general among the *Marfi*, put himself at the head of ten thousand men, and marched towards *Rome*, which he designed to surprise and plunder. But *Cn. Domitius*, his old friend, meeting him on the road as he was going to his country-house, prevailed upon him to lay aside his design, and return to his own country. As the republic was threatened with a war, two men of distinguished merit were promoted to the consulate, viz. *L. Julius Cæsar* and *P. Rutilius Lupus*. In the very beginning of their administration, the *Marfi*, *Peligni*, *Samnites*, *Campanians*, and *Lucanians*, and in short all the provinces from the *Liris* to the *Adriatic*, revolted at once. *Rome* had never engaged more formidable enemies. As they had all served in the armies of the republic, they

* APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. Liv. epit. l. lxxi. c. 20. PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 3. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 5. FLOR. l. iii. c. 17. DIODOR. SICUL. apud VALES. CIG. de orat. l. i.

- a they were as well disciplined as her legions, and their leaders had learnt the art of war under her most famous commanders. It is said of the *Marfi* in particular, that *Rome* had never gained a victory, in which they had not a great share. The first step they took in their revolt was, to erect themselves into a republic in opposition to that of *Rome*. *Corfinium*, a great and strong city in the country of the *Peligni*, was made the capital of their new republic. Thither were carried all the hostages given by the cities in the revolt, and prodigious stores of arms and provisions. The city of *Asculum Picenum* among the rest resolved to send her hostages to *Corfinium*, which *Q. Servilius*, who governed that province in quality of proconsul, no sooner heard, than he flew to *Asculum*, and entering it, threatened the inhabitants with the vengeance of *Rome*. But they, despising his menaces, ran to arms, and cut in pieces the proconsul, *Fonteius* his lieutenant, and all the *Romans* they found in their territory. War being thus openly declared, *Rome* made what haste she could to levy troops, and appoint the consuls their provinces. *Cæsar* was ordered into *Samnium*, and *Rutilius* into the country of the *Marfi*. The latter chose for his lieutenant-general *Cn. Pompeius*, the father of *Pompey the Great*, *C. Marius*, *Q. Cæpio*, *C. Perperna*, and *Valerius Messala*. *Cæsar* nominated for his chief officers *P. Lentulus*, *Cornelius Sylla*, *T. Didius*, *P. Licinius Crassus*, and *M. Marcellus*. Thus were all the commanders of note in *Rome* employed in this new war. Neither were these lieutenants to serve barely as subalterns; every one had a body of troops under his command with the title of proconsul: nor were they confined to particular provinces or districts; every one was ordered to go where-ever he was wanted, and all directed to assist each other. While *Rome* was taking these wise measures, the allies chose also their consuls and prætors, and formed a senate consisting of five hundred persons to govern their new state; so that *Italy* was now, for the first time, divided into two great and powerful republics. In the mean time, *Cn. Pompeius*, marching with a detachment from *Rome* to revenge the death of *Servilius* on the *Asculani*, attempted to take their city by assault. But the inhabitants made an unexpected sally, put the *Romans* to flight, and pursued them with great slaughter. After this the two consuls took the field; *Julius Cæsar* entered *Samnium*, and *Rutilius* the country of the *Marfi*. The *Latins*, who still continued faithful to the republic, furnished their contingent of troops as usual. The *Hetrurians* likewise, the *Umbrians*, and the eastern kings sent large supplies to support *Rome* in so dangerous a war. The faithful *Minatius Magius*, whom *Velleius Paterculus* reckons among his ancestors, though a native of *Asculum*, raised as many men for the *Romans* as amounted to the number of a legion. *Sertorius*, at this time quæstor in *Cisalpine Gaul*, brought a reinforcement of *Gauls* to the relief of his country, fought the allies with his usual bravery, and having lost one of his eyes in this war, he ever after gloried in that honourable deformity^w.

- c THE country of the *Marfi*, which had fallen to *Rutilius*, was defended by two able generals, *Presenteius* and *Vettius Cato*. The former was opposed by *C. Perperna*, who commanded a great body of troops under the consul. The *Roman* immediately offered the enemy battle, which *Presenteius* did not decline. Both armies fought with unparalleled bravery; but the *Romans* were at last put to the rout, after having lost about four thousand men. A few days after this defeat, *Vettius Cato*, who opposed *Rutilius*, being informed that the consul designed to pass the river *Telonus* in the night, lay in ambush for the consular army, attacked them unexpectedly, and drove them back into the river. In this action eight thousand *Romans* were either cut in pieces, or drowned in the river. The consul himself was killed with a great many officers of distinction. The attack was so sudden, that *Marius*, who was encamped on the banks of the river at a small distance from the consul, had no notice of it, till the *Telonus* brought a great number of dead bodies to his camp. The news of this overthrow, and the sight of the consul's body, which was brought to *Rome*, filled the city with terror. For fear of a surprise guards were placed at all the gates, the number of the centinels on the ramparts was increased, and all the avenues to the city well guarded. These were necessary precautions during a war, wherein the soldiers of the two opposite parties were dressed and armed after the same manner, spoke the same language, and were well acquainted with the customs of each other. The legions, which *Rutilius* had commanded, were divided between *Marius* and *Cæpio*. The latter suffered himself to be shamefully over-reached by *Pompædus Silo*, commander in chief of the allies. He

And erect
themselves
into a republic

Cn. Pompeius
put to flight
by the allies.

Perperna de-
feated by the
allies.

The consul
Rutilius de-
feated and
killed.

^w VELL. PATERCUL. l. i. PLUT. in Sertorio. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i.

Q. Cæpio
defeated and
killed.

The allies
gain consider-
able advan-
tages.

The consul
Julius Cæsar
defeated.

The allies re-
pulsed by
Cæsar.

The Marucini
defeated by
Marius and
Sylla.

Sulpicius
overcomes and
kills Afranius.

Marius de-
feated.

He came as a suppliant to the proconsul, accompanied by two young slaves richly a dressed, whom he pretended to be his sons, each of them carrying in his hand a lump of lead, the one covered with a thin plate of gold, and the other of silver, which he said were the presents his children came to lay at his feet. The proconsul received *Pompædus* with great politeness, and admitted him into his confidence; when the crafty *Italian*, pretending to lead him to a place where he might surprise the enemy, conducted him into narrow defiles, where the proconsul was slain, and the best part of his army cut in pieces*. Thus fell Q. Cæpio, who, by his warm opposition to *Drusus's* scheme, had been the chief author of the present war.

THESE successes raised the courage of the allies, who under their various leaders gained considerable advantages over the Romans. *Judacilius*, *Afranius*, and *Ventidius*, three officers of distinction among the confederates, having united their forces, obliged *Cn. Pompeius* to shelter himself behind the walls of *Firmum* in *Picenum*. *Marius Egnatius* surprised the city of *Venafrum* in *Campania*, and cut in pieces the Roman garison, consisting of two cohorts. The city of *Nola* surrendered to *Aponius*, one of the consuls of the allies, and delivered up to him the Roman garison, to the number of two thousand men, with the prætor *L. Posthumius*, who commanded them. The same *Aponius* seized the cities of *Stabiae*, *Liternum*, and *Salernum*, and over-ran all *Campania*. In *Lucania*, *Lamponius* drove *M. Licinius* out of the field, killed eight hundred of his men, and obliged him to take refuge in the city of *Grumentum*. *Judacilius* reduced almost all *Apulia*, and brought the cities of *Canusium* and *Venusia* over to the confederates^y.

IN *Samnium*, the consul *Julius Cæsar* was defeated by *Vettius Cato* the Samnite, and forced to take shelter in a neighbouring city, after having lost two thousand men. However, he soon left the place of his retreat to relieve *Acerræ*, which was closely besieged by *Aponius*. That general, having released *Oxyntas* the son of *Jugurtha* from his confinement in the city of *Venusia*, brought him to his army, and there treated him as king. The *Numidians*, who served in the consul's army, no sooner heard that the son of their old king was fighting for the allies, than they began to desert by companies; insomuch, that the consul was obliged to part with all his *Numidian* cavalry, and send them back into *Africa*. This diminution of the consular troops raised the courage of *Aponius*, who came to insult the Romans at the very gates of their camp. But *Cæsar* sallying out unexpectedly, fell so briskly on the enemy, that they were forced to retire after having lost six thousand men. As this was the first victory the Romans had gained over the allies, it occasioned great joy both at *Rome* and in the army. The senate rewarded the brave consul by confirming the title of *Imperator* (O), which the soldiers had given him on the field of battle. In the mean time, *Marius*, being attacked in his camp by *Herrius Acinius*, the chief of the *Marucini*, put the enemy to flight, and forced them to take shelter in a place which they deemed inaccessible. But *Sylla*, whom they did not expect, passing accidentally that way with his flying camp, attacked them, made a terrible slaughter of their troops, and completed the victory with the death of their general; which was no small mortification to *Marius*. At the same time *Servius Sulpicius*, having defeated in a pitched battle the *Peligni* and reduced their whole country, marched to the relief of *Cn. Pompeius*, who was besieged in *Firmum* by *Afranius*, attacked his camp, killed him in the action, and cut most of his troops in pieces. After this victory, *Pompeius* laid siege to *Asculum*, whither the remains of the enemy's army had fled for refuge. In the country of the *Marfi*, *Marius*, after having continued several months in a state of inaction, to inure his troops to discipline, at length took the field, and gave battle. But he was sensible in the action, that he was not now the same man. As he was in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and subject to various distempers, his strength and former vivacity had failed him. His troops, not being animated by his example, as they expected, sustained the first shock but faintly, and then fled in disorder to their camp. The bad success of this battle was such a mortification to *Marius*, that, under pretence of his infirmities, he resigned the command, and returned to *Rome*^z.

THE

* APPIAN. *ibid.* OROS. l. v. c. 18.
1. v. c. 18.

z PLUT. in *Mario & Sylla.* APPIAN. *ibid.*

y APPIAN. & LIV. *ibid.* FLOR. l. iii. c. 18. OROS.

(O) In the times of the republic the title of *Imperator* was an occasional mark of honour, which the armies sometimes bestowed on their generals in their acclamations, and which the senate confirmed

in favour of those who had signalized themselves by important victories. But under the *Cæsars* it became a title of sovereignty.

- ^a THE fame of this victory gained by the *Marfi* induced the *Umbrians* and *Hetrurians* to declare for the confederates. It was therefore necessary for *Rome* to increase the number of her forces, in proportion as the number of her enemies increased; but as the capital alone was not able to furnish as many as were requisite to complete the many legions that were to be raised, the senate, by a step which was never taken but in the utmost danger, ordered the freed-men to be enlisted, and formed twelve cohorts of them, which were employed as garisons in the maritime cities; so that *Rome* could send all her legions, under the command of *Lucius Porcius* and *Aulus Plautius*, against the united forces of the *Umbrians* and *Hetrurians*, whom they defeated in a pitched battle, but not without the loss of many brave legionaries ^a. *Freed-men enlisted at Rome.*
- ^b As the consular year was near expiring, the consul *Julius Cæsar*, desirous to put an end to the war before he went out of his office, drew up a law, which was confirmed by the senate, and enacted, *That all the nations in Italy, whose alliance with Rome was indisputable, should enjoy the rights of Roman citizens.* This law, which was ever after called the *Julian law*, much abated the ardor of the enemy, and drew off several nations from the confederacy; however, the war was still carried on by the *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, *Marfi*, *Picentes*, &c. The new consuls therefore, *Cn. Pompeius Strabo* and *L. Porcius Cato*, no sooner entered upon their office, than they took the field. The former, who was the father of *Pompey the Great*, and called *Strabo* because he *squinted*, went to carry on the siege of *Asculum*, and destroyed a whole army of *Marfi*, who came to relieve it. Five thousand of them were killed upon the spot, with their general *Francus*, a man of great bravery and experience in war, and the rest perished with hunger and cold among the *Apennines*, where they had taken shelter. However, *Asculum* still held out against the consular army, depending on relief from the brave *Judacilius*, a native of that place. That intrepid commander ordered his countrymen to make a sally at a time appointed, promising to force his way into the city through the *Roman* army. Accordingly he made the attempt at the head of eight cohorts, and, tho' not seconded by the *Asculans*, bravely performed his promise, and entered the place; a glorious action, not inferior to the illustrious exploits of the bravest *Romans*! Having thus forced his way sword in hand into the city, he first put to death those who had prevented the sally, and then, finding he could not force the *Romans* to raise the siege, he put an end to his life by poison, that he might not survive the ruin of his country ^b. *An army of Marfi destroyed.*
- ^c IN the mean time, *Aulus Sempronius Asellio*, the *prætor urbanus*, having exasperated the rich by many judgments he gave against usury, was murdered by them, as he was offering a sacrifice to *Castor* and *Pollux* in the forum. The senate ordered inquiries to be made after the authors of so black an attempt; but the money of the usurers stopped the mouths both of the accusers and witnesses; so that this notorious and scandalous iniquity escaped unpunished. However, the tribune *M. Plautius Sylvanus*, to put a stop to the licentiousness of the people, made a law, whereby it was declared a capital crime for any citizen to come into the comitium with arms of any kind, or to disturb the judges in their courts. The same tribune, by another law, deprived the *Roman* knights of their jurisdiction, which they abused in a most flagrant manner. The *Plautian* law enacted, that each tribe should chuse fifteen men out of their own body, to whom the cognizance of civil causes should be committed. By this means men only of known probity, of what rank soever they were, had the charge of administering justice, which was done with great impartiality. This zealous tribune, in conjunction with *Caius Papirius Carbo*, one of his colleagues, put the last hand to the *Julian* law, which we have mentioned above, in favour of the allies, and got it confirmed by the people, and published in the following words: *All the citizens of the allied cities, who shall be in Italy at the time of the promulgation of this law, shall be deemed citizens of Rome, provided they register their names with one of the three prætors within sixty days.* This brought the *Italians* to *Rome* in such numbers, that the new citizens soon became more numerous than the old; but, lest this should make strangers masters of the elections, and consequently of the republic, the new censors, *Lucius Cæsar* and *P. Licinius Crassus*, did not incorporate them in the thirty-five *Roman* tribes, but formed them into new tribes, who were to vote last. By this means all matters were determined by a majority of voices, before the new tribes gave their suffrages. The allies were sensible of this artifice, but dissembled their dissatisfaction. *The prætor Asellio assassinated.*
- ^d *The Roman knights deprived of their jurisdiction.*
- ^e *The new citizens formed into tribes.*
- ^f

^a APPIAN. *ibid.*^b Idem *ibid.*

dissatisfaction, being resolved, when an opportunity offered, to put themselves upon a level with the old inhabitants of *Rome* ^c.

The Vestini under Vettius. Cato defeated. DURING these regulations at *Rome*, the war was pursued with vigor in the provinces which continued in the revolt. The consul *Pompeius*, having turned the siege of *Asculum* into a blockade, led his best troops against *Vettius Cato*, who covered the country of the *Vestini* with a great army, defeated him in a pitched battle, and reduced several cities. He afterwards granted *Vettius* a friendly conference, at which *Cicero*, who was making his first campaign under the consul, was present. How this conference ended, we are not told; but all historians agree, that the consul *Pompeius* put an end to the war with the *Vestini* ^d. In the country of the *Marfi*, the consul *Porcius Cato*, after having gained considerable advantages over that warlike people, resolved to force their camp on the banks of the lake *Fucinus*; but he was killed in the attempt by a dart discharged at him, as was suspected, not by the enemy, but by young *Marius*, who had quarrelled with him some days before, for speaking contemptuously of his father. The *Marfi* took advantage of this accident, put the *Romans* to the rout, and pursued them with great slaughter. On the other hand, the proconsul *Cosconius* defeated and killed the famous *Marius Egnatius* in a pitched battle. Upon his death, *Trebatius* the *Samnite* took upon him the command of the army; but he was likewise overcome in a second battle, and forced to take refuge in *Canussum*, after having lost in the action and the pursuit above fifteen thousand men. Then *Cosconius* over-ran the countries of the *Larinates*, *Venusians*, and *Pediculi*, and reduced them to obedience. The confederates began now to be in pain for *Corfinium*, the capital of their new republic, and therefore removed their senate and magazines to *Efernina* in the country of the *Samnites*. They also sent an embassy to *Mithridates* in *Asia*, who had now declared against *Rome*, hoping to obtain from him such supplies, as would enable them to recover their affairs; but *Sylla*, the hero of this campaign, frustrated their expectations. He besieged the city of *Stabiae* in *Campania*, took it by assault, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. He then marched against the *Roman* army, who had just murdered their general *Posthumius*; but, instead of punishing them, he, to their great surprise, treated them with uncommon civility, and added them to his own legions. When his army was thus reinforced, he undertook the siege of *Pompeii*, a strong city in the neighbourhood of *Stabiae*. *Cluentius*, one of the generals of the allies, hastened to the relief of the besieged; but was repulsed with great loss. *Cluentius*, having not long after received a reinforcement of *Gauls*, appeared again in the field, and insulted *Sylla* within reach of his intrenchments; but a *Gaulish* champion, who challenged the bravest *Roman* to a single combat at the head of the two armies, being killed by a young *Mauritanian*, the rest, struck with a panic, fled, and the troops of *Cluentius* with them. *Sylla* pursued them, cut thirty thousand of the fugitives in pieces, and then returning to the siege of *Pompeii*, reduced that important place. From *Pompeii* he marched to *Nola*, whither *Cluentius* had fled with the remains of his shattered army. He attacked him anew under the walls of that city, killed him in the battle, and with him twenty thousand *Samnites*, who had flocked from all parts to join him after his first defeat. The victorious general, having taken and plundered the enemy's camp, brought his legions into *Hirpinia*, which he reduced, after having made himself master of *Asculana*, the metropolis of the country. He then fell upon *Samnium*, where he was surrounded in narrow passes by the famous *Aponius*, and reduced to the utmost distress. However, he found means to recover this false step, and escape, when all his men looked upon themselves as lost. He agreed to a truce with *Aponius*, then stole out of his camp in the dark, and taking a compass, fell on the enemy's rear, while they were busy in plundering the deserted camp, so vigorously and so unexpectedly, that the *Samnites*, seized with terror, fled, without making any resistance. Having now no enemy to contend with in the field, he marched to *Bovianum*, and took it by storm ^e.

The city of Asculum reduced. In the mean time, the consul *Pompeius*, after a long siege, reduced the city of *Asculum*, and punished the inhabitants, who had murdered a *Roman* prætor, with the utmost severity. He saved a small number of their chiefs to grace his triumph, and caused all the other persons of distinction in the place to be put to death. To the rest of the inhabitants he granted life and liberty; but confiscated their lands, and gave their

^c APPIAN. *ibid.* AUL. GELL. l. xiii. c. 4. LIV. *epit.* l. lxxiv. c. 53. CIC. *pro Archia.* PÆDIAN. in CIC. *pro Cornelio.* ^d FESTUS in *Verranis.* CIC. *Phil.* II. LIV. *epit.* l. lxxxv. c. 19. ^e PLUT. in *Sylla.* APPIAN. *ibid.*

- a their houses up to be plundered by his foldiers: When winter approached, the generals returned to *Rome*, where *Sylla*, who had eclipsed all the other commanders during this campaign, was rewarded with the consulate: He had also interest enough to get *Sylla chosen consul.* *Q. Rufus Pompeius*, whose son had lately married his daughter *Cornelia*, chosen for his colleague. The consul *Pompeius*, on his return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, which many illustrious captives graced, and among the rest *P. Ventidius* and his wife, who carried in her arms her young son, whom we shall see in the course of this history consul in *Rome*, and riding himself in triumph to the capitol, after having conquered the most warlike and formidable enemy *Rome* ever engaged.
- b As soon as *Sylla* entered on his new office, he began to use all his interest; both with the patricians and plebeians, to get the command of the army, which was to be employed against *Mithridates*, conferred upon himself; but in this he was opposed by *Marius*, who, tho' worn out with many distempers, and insufficient for that service on account of his age, was still desirous of appearing at the head of an army. *Marius jealous of Sylla's glory.* In order to supplant his rival *Sylla*, he contracted a strict friendship with *P. Sulpicius*, The tribune of the people, whose character *Plutarch* gives us in the following words: *Sulpicius*: *Sulpicius*, says he, excelled all men in wickedness; he was a compound of cruelty, impudence, and all sorts of crimes, which, how enormous soever, he committed with the greatest confidence and unconcern. He kept three thousand desperate men in constant-pay, and had constantly about him a company of young knights, whom he styled his antisenatorial band.
- c The seditious tribune, to strengthen his own and *Marius's* party, passed several laws in favour of the people, whom by that means he gained over to his interest. He then applied himself wholly to the securing of the *Italian* allies; and, in order to this, he proposed a law, enacting, That all the inhabitants of *Italy*, who had lately obtained the right of citizenship, should be blended with the other citizens, incorporated into the thirty-five tribes, and consequently should have the very same right of voting, each in his tribe, as others had, without any distinction. This was *Proposes a law in favour of the allies.* effectually making himself master of a majority of voices on all occasions; for he did not doubt, but all the new citizens would be under his influence, and would vote as he should direct.
- d BEFORE the comitia met for the accepting or rejecting of this law, *Rome* had the satisfaction to hear, that her generals against the allies were attended with uncommon success. *Ser. Sulpicius* brought the whole country of the *Marucini* under subjection. *The Marucini, Vestini, Peligni* submitted of their own accord to the old consul *Cn. Pompeius*, who was returned, after his triumph, to his camp at *Asculum*; nay, they even promised to deliver up their leader *Vettius*: but, as they were dragging him along in chains, a faithful slave, thinking it his duty to deliver his master from the insults of his haughty enemies, first stabbed him, and then himself. *L. Licinius Muræna* and *Q. Cæcilius Pius* obliged the *Marsi*, among whom the war had begun, to sue for peace; but the brave *Pompeius* still supported the sinking cause at the head of twenty thousand slaves, whom he had just armed. Against him marched *Cæcilius Pius* and *Ser. Sulpicius*, and gave him battle, in which his army was routed and he himself killed. *The Marucini, Vestini, &c. reduced.*
- e The only place that now held out for the allies was *Nola*; and *Sylla* set out from *Rome* to reduce it: but he was soon recalled, to restrain the insolence of the tribune *Sulpicius*, who carried all before him at *Rome*, not by persuasion, but by violence and force. He had already appointed a day for the comitia to meet, in order to accept the law for incorporating the allies into the thirty-five tribes. *Sylla*, upon his arrival, joined his colleague *Pompeius Rufus*, and both agreed to order several *feriæ* or holidays to be kept, during which it was not lawful for the people to meet or transact any business. *Disturbances raised in Rome by the tribune Sulpicius.* This they did to gain time; but *Sulpicius* no sooner heard, that the consuls had proclaimed *feriæ*, than he left his house, and attended by his guards, whom he ordered to conceal daggers under their robes, marched strait to the temple of *Castor*, where the consuls had assembled the senate. The conscript fathers were surprised when they saw *Sulpicius* appear, and more so, when they heard him insolently command them to disannul the consular decree, which ordered *feriæ* to be kept. The consuls opposed the repealing of the decree, and several of the senators did the same. Hereupon the furious tribune let loose his antisenatorial band upon them, who, drawing their daggers, fell upon the defenceless senators. The consul *Pompeius* escaped in the croud; but his son, a young senator, who had lately married *Sylla's* daughter, *The son of the consul Pompeius killed.*

PLUT. APPIAN. *ibid.*

killed by the assassins. *Sylla*, being closely pursued by *Sulpicius's* ruffians, took refuge in *Marius's* house; which they not suspecting, hurried by, so that *Sylla* escaped falling into their hands. *Marius*, tho' naturally cruel and revengeful, did not care to stain his hands with the blood of a consul, who had taken refuge in his house. He only forced him to swear, that he would abolish the *feriæ*, which he had appointed. After exacting this oath, *Marius* himself let *Sylla* escape by a back-door: and *Sylla* kept his word; for he went directly to the comitium, and, in the presence of the people, repealed the *feriæ*. By this compliance he so far pleased *Sulpicius*, that the tribune did not deprive him of his office; whereas he prevailed upon the people, whose suffrages he had at his command, to depose *Pompeius*^f.

*Sylla retires
from Rome.*

*The people ap-
point Marius
to command
in Asia.*

*Sylla marches
to Rome.*

AND now *Sylla*, not thinking himself any longer safe in *Rome*, where the opposite party prevailed, left the city, and repaired in all haste to his camp near *Nola*. The *feriæ* being repealed and both consuls fled, *Sulpicius*, now absolute master at *Rome*, got the law passed, incorporating the allies into the thirty-five tribes, and at the same time extorted from the people another in favour of *Marius*. The senate had already invested *Sylla* with the command of the army, which was to be employed against *Mithridates*; but *Sulpicius* got a law passed, enacting, That the consul should continue in *Italy*, and that *Marius*, tho' now only a private man, should command the *Roman* legions in *Asia*. *Marius* no sooner received his commission, than he dispatched two military tribunes, one of whom was *Gratedius*, a relation of his own, to acquaint the troops under the command of *Sylla*, that their general was changed, and that they were no longer to obey *Sylla*, but *Marius*, whom the *Roman* people had appointed to carry on the war against the king of *Pontus*; but the soldiers, who were greatly attached to *Sylla*, instead of obeying the orders that were brought from *Marius*, buried the two messengers under a heap of stones, and cried out with one voice, *Let us march to Rome; let us revenge there the injuries done to the consular dignity, and the oppression of our fellow citizens*. On the other hand, *Marius*, by way of reprisal for the death of the two tribunes, put *Sylla's* friends in the city to the sword, and plundered their houses; which *Sylla* no sooner heard, than he determined to march strait to *Rome*. His army consisted of six legions, who, being all warmed with his spirit, breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder; but several officers, unwilling to turn their arms against their own country, quitted the service. On the other hand, many who disliked the violence of *Marius* and *Sulpicius*, left *Rome*, and took refuge in *Sylla's* camp; so that the road from *Nola* to *Rome* was crowded with people hurrying to and fro, some from the camp to the city, others from the city to the camp. Many retired into the country, to avoid taking either side in this civil war. *Q. Pompeius*, the other consul, whom *Sulpicius* had deposed, hastened to join his colleague with all the troops he could get together.

Marius and *Sulpicius* being informed, that the two consuls were advancing, at the head of a numerous army, towards the city, and having themselves no troops to oppose them, prevailed upon the conscript fathers to send two prætors, *Brutus* and *Servilius*, to meet *Sylla* upon the road, and stop him in his march. The prætors delivered their message to *Sylla* in terms a little too haughty; which so incensed the soldiery, that they broke their fasces, tore off their purple robes, and would have cut them in pieces, with their attendants; had not *Sylla* restrained their fury. When the *Romans* saw the two magistrates return without the ensigns and marks of their dignity, and in great disorder, they concluded, that all respect for the laws was laid aside, and that violence and superior power was thenceforth to determine all things. *Marius* and *Sulpicius*, who had only a handful of factious men to oppose a powerful and enraged enemy, dispatched, in the name of the senate, messenger after messenger, to amuse the consul with rambling proposals and retard his march. The consul, who was well apprised of their design, to elude one artifice with another, pretended to acquiesce in their proposals, and, in the presence of the messengers, ordered the ground to be marked out for a camp; but, as soon as the deputies were gone, he detached a strong party, under the command of *L. Bassilius* and *C. Mummius*, with orders to secure one of the gates, and marched himself at the head of his legions after them with such expedition, that he was in sight of *Rome* in a few hours. The party he had sent before seized the *Esquiline* gate, and *Sylla* reinforced that detachment with a whole legion. The consul *Pompeius*, at the head of another legion, made himself

^f PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.*

a himself master of the gate *Collina*. A third legion was posted at the head of the bridge *Sublicius*, to shut up the entrance into the city on the side of the river. A fourth legion was ordered to patrol round the walls, near the gate *Cælimontana*; and guard the approaches to it. The two other legions were ordered to march into the city sword in hand. When they came into the street that faced the *Esquiline* gate, *Marius* and *Sylla* enters Rome by *Sulpicius* appeared at the head of a company tumultuously assembled. Hereupon the trumpets of the consular army sounded the charge, which roused the martial ardor of the citizens, who were all formed to war; but, as they had no arms, they got up to the tops of their houses, and fearing the town should be plundered by *Sylla's* armed legions, discharged from thence such showers of tiles and stones upon them, as made the legionaries first halt, and then retire to the very gate. Upon this *Sylla* flew to the head of his legions, ordered them to advance, and taking a torch in his hand, threatened to set fire to the houses, if the citizens did not immediately desist from all hostilities. This terrified the people, who remained now only spectators of the battle between the two parties. In vain did *Marius* and *Sulpicius* call them to their assistance; no-body offered to take up arms, not even the slaves, tho' they proclaimed liberty by sound of trumpet to all those who should join them. *Marius*, not being able, with a handful of seditious men, to withstand the consul's regular troops, was driven back, from street to street, to the temple of the goddess *Tellus*, where he made a stand, and charged the legions with great vigor; which obliged *Sylla* to send for some legionaries he had left at one of the gates. At the sight of this reinforcement, *Marius*, fearing he should be surrounded, retired, first to the capitol, and from thence to one of the gates of the city, which he was glad to leave, for fear of falling into the hands of his enemies. And now *Sylla*, seeing himself master of the city, posted guards in all the open places, to prevent disorders. He and his colleague were in motion all night, to restrain the soldiers, and to prevent their pillaging the houses of their fellow citizens. He even caused some of his legionaries to be severely punished for entering a private house, and plundering it. As soon as it was day, the two consuls assembled the people in the comitium, and harangued them with as much tranquillity, as if there had been no blood shed in *Rome*. *Sylla*, who was an excellent orator, after having deplored the calamities of the commonwealth, in terms no less moving than lively, proposed the following laws, which, he said, would reform the many abuses that had crept into the government; 1st, That no law should be brought before the people, till it had been seen and approved of by the senate. 2^{dly}, That the comitia should not for the future be held by tribes, but by centuries. 3^{dly}, That no citizen, who had been tribune of the people, should be capable of any other magistracy. 4^{thly}, That all the laws of the tribune *Sulpicius* should be declared void and null. These proposals coming from a man, who was at the head of six legions and master of *Rome*, were readily accepted by the people.

e In the next place, articles of impeachment were drawn up against *Caius Marius*, his son, the tribune *Sulpicius*, several other tribunes of the people, two senators, and a great many of their adherents. They were all proscribed, declared enemies to *Rome*, and a reward set upon their heads. The decree of the senate proscribing them was proclaimed by sound of trumpet in *Rome*, and in all the provinces subject to the republic. Every subject, friend, or ally of the republic was ordered to seize and put them to death, where-ever they should be found. At the same time *Sylla* detached troops to all parts. *Sulpicius*, being betrayed by one of his slaves, was immediately seized, and his head struck off by one of *Sylla's* horsemen. His head was brought to *Rome*, and fixed upon a stake over-against the rostra, where he had made so many seditious speeches. The treacherous slave received at once the reward and punishment due to his treachery. *Sylla* set him at liberty, ordered the money to be paid him for the discovery of *Sulpicius*; but at the same time commanded him to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock for betraying his master.

f THE people could not behold the head of one of their magistrates exposed to public view, without a secret indignation. The senate likewise murmured at the proscription of *Marius*, from a natural compassion, always shewn to heroes, when fallen into distress. Tho' the fathers were well pleased to see the people humbled; yet, jealous of the honour and dignity of their body, they could not bear, that their colleagues should be proscribed like villains and thieves. The people in general reproached *Sylla*

Sylla with ingratitude, for condemning to death a man, who, not long before, had saved his life, when he was at his mercy. If *Marius* had given way to *Sulpicius*, who was for dispatching *Sylla*, he had, by his death, been master of all; but he chose rather to spare his life, for which *Sylla*, when it came to his turn to be uppermost, made him a very ungrateful and ungenerous acknowledgment. These reflections alienated the minds of all from *Sylla*, as he experienced at the next elections; for *Nonnius*, his sister's son, and *Servius Sulpicius*, who had long served under him, were excluded from the consulate, tho' earnestly recommended by him; but he, instead of resenting such treatment, affected to be well pleased with it, saying; That he saw with joy the people by his means restored to their full liberty of chusing whom they pleased; nay, to reconcile the minds of the people to him, he suffered them to raise to the consulate *L. Cornelius Cinna*, who was of the contrary faction, after having prevailed upon him in private to renounce, in a most solemn manner, his former principles and engagements with *Marius*, and to swear an inviolable attachment to the party of the senate. This oath *Cinna* took in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, adding to it the following imprecation; *If I do not punctually observe the oath in its full extent, may I be thrown out of the city, in the same manner, as I throw this stone out of my hand*; at which words he threw on the ground a stone which he held in his hand.

Cinna chosen consul.

His character. *Cinna* was a man of no principles, of most depraved manners; furious and inconsiderate in all his undertakings, wholly addicted to the popular faction, a declared enemy to the nobility, and capable of supporting the interest of his faction, with a courage and constancy worthy of a better citizen. The colleague given him by the tribes was *Cn. Octavius*, a man of an unblemished character, and whose love for his country was the governing principle of his life. And now *Sylla* was wholly intent on making the best use of the little time he and his colleague *Pompeius* were to enjoy the consulate. Their chief aim was, to rid the republic of the two *Marii*, father and son, for whom, tho' proscribed, interest was secretly made in *Rome*. A great price was set upon their heads, and squadrons of horse, sent out in quest of them, had been long scouring the neighbouring country, with orders to bring them to *Rome* dead or alive.

The flight and adventures of Marius.

THE sufferings and dangers of *Marius* in his flight and exile were very extraordinary, and would be as affecting, if we could forget his crimes, and remember only his victories. As soon as he was got out of *Rome*, all those who attended him in his flight, separated and dispersed; and night coming on, he retired, with young *Marius* and *Granius*, his wife's son by a former husband, to a small house he had near *Rome*. From thence he sent his son for provisions to a neighbouring farm of his father-in-law *Mucius* (P); but, in the mean time, being informed, that a party of horse was searching for him in that neighbourhood, he left his house, without waiting for his son's return, and, attended by *Granius* alone, hastened to *Ostia*, where a friend of his, called *Numerius*, had provided a ship for him against all events. He immediately went on board, and weighing anchor, coasted along the *Italian* shore. He was in no small apprehension of one *Geminus*, a leading man in *Terracina* and his sworn enemy. He therefore directed the seamen to keep clear of that place, and avoid a shore, which might prove fatal to him: which they were willing to do; but the wind shifting on a sudden and blowing hard, the mariners, fearing the ship would not be able to weather the storm, and seeing *Marius* indisposed and sea-sick, tacked about, and with great difficulty made *Circæum*. There they landed *Marius*, who, oppressed with hunger, exhausted with the fatigues of the sea, and surrounded with dangers on all sides, rambled about the fields in the utmost distress, it being danger-

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h PLUT. *ibid.*

(P) This *Mucius* was the famous *Quintus Mucius Scaevola*, one of the most virtuous and learned citizens of *Rome*. When *Sylla* appeared in *Rome* after the defeat of *Marius*, and all things gave way to the will of the conqueror, *Scaevola* alone had courage enough to oppose, in *Sylla's* presence, the sentence of condemnation, which the senators were going to pass against *Marius*. When the conqueror threatened him with the severest vengeance, if he refused to sub-

scribe the decree of proscription. You attempt in vain, said he, to intimidate me with your threatenings. You may let out, if you please, the little blood that is left in my veins in my old age. Neither the sight of the armed soldiers, who surround you, nor the fear of any punishment you can inflict upon me, shall ever force me to declare that hero an enemy to his country, to whom *Rome* is indebted for her safety, and her most glorious conquests (10).

(10) *Val. Max. l. iii.*

Chap. 9.

ous for him to meet people, and no less so to meet none, by reason of the extreme want to which he was reduced.

ON the other hand, *Marius* the son ran no less dangers at the house of *Mucius*, where he made all the haste he could to provide himself with such things as he wanted, and to pack them up; but, day-light overtaking him, he had like to have been discovered by a party of *Sylla's* horse, who appeared at some distance riding full speed towards the farm; but the faithful slave, who took care of it, found out an expedient to save the life of the young *Roman*. He hid him in a cart loaded with beans, and then putting to his horses, drove towards the horsemen, as if he were going with his cart to *Rome*. The soldiers passed by him, and breaking into the house, searched every corner of it; but in the mean time the slave conveyed young *Marius* to his wife, who immediately supplied him with money and provisions. As soon as it grew dark, he took leave of his wife, and made to the sea-side, where he went on board a ship, which was bound for *Africa*, and ready to set sail. He had a good passage, and arrived safe in a country, where the great *Marius* was known and reveredⁱ.

IN the mean time, the father, wandering about the fields in the neighbourhood of *Circæum*, towards the evening met with some cowherds, of whom he begged a morsel of bread; but they had not wherewithal to relieve him. Some of them, knowing *Marius*, advised him to be gone as soon as possible; for they had seen a little beyond the place a party of horse in search of him. He therefore turned out of the high-road, and, tho' ready to faint for hunger and weakness, got with much-ado to a neighbouring wood, where he passed the night very uncomfortably. The next day, pinched with hunger, and willing to make use of the little strength he had left, before it was quite exhausted, he travelled by the sea-side, amusing *Granius*, and the few domestics he had with him, with several stories, to lessen their fatigues and encourage them not to desert him. He told them, that, when he was a child, an eagle's airy, with seven young ones in it, fell into his lap; and that his parents, being much surprised at the accident, consulted the augurs about it, who answered, that the child would be seven times possessed of the supreme power and authority in his country. This was, no doubt, invented by *Marius*, to keep up the courage of those who were with him. *Plutarch* tells us, that an eagle never hatches more than two young ones at a time; but, be that as it will, it is certain, that *Marius*, in his exile and greatest extremities, used often to say, that he still entertained hopes of a seventh consulship^k.

WHEN *Marius* and his company were within twenty furlongs of *Minturnæ*, they discovered a troop of horse making up to them with all speed, and at the same time two small vessels under sail near the shore. Hereupon they immediately threw themselves into the sea, and swam towards the ships. *Granius* soon reached one of them; but *Marius*, whose body was heavy and unwieldy, was with great difficulty borne above the water by two slaves, and put into the other vessel. He was scarce got on board, when the soldiers, who were in quest of him, came to the strand, and from thence commanded the mariners to send the proscribed ashore, or to throw them overboard. Hereupon the sailors long deliberated, whether they should deliver up *Marius* to his enemies, or secure his escape; and at last compassion prevailed. The vessels continued their course, and one of them landed *Granius* in the island of *Ænaria*; but the sailors who had *Marius* on board, changing on a sudden their resolution, came to an anchor in the mouth of the *Liris*. There they advised him to land and take some rest, till the wind became more favourable. *Marius* followed their advice; and, lying down in an adjacent field, slept very soundly. In the mean time, the master of the vessel weighed anchor, and put to sea with a fair gale, thinking it neither honourable to deliver *Marius* into the hands of his enemies, nor safe to favour his escape. When *Marius* awaked, he found himself, to his great surprize, intirely deserted; no ship at anchor; no domestics about him; all had disappeared. This melancholy solitude increased his fears; he began to suspect his own domestics, and every thing seemed to threaten him with death. After he had lain some time pensive, he recovered his spirits, and summoning all his courage, he started up, and, walking cross the marshes formed by the overflowing of the *Liris*, wandered about, often wading through the mire and water up to the waist. At length he got to the hut of an old man, who looked after the fens, whom he earnestly besought to assist and

ⁱ PLUT. *ibid.*^k *Idem ibid.*

Marius is discovered, and seized.

and preserve a man, who, if he escaped the present danger, would make him returns a beyond his expectation. The poor man, struck with the venerable aspect of *Marius*, whom perhaps he likewise knew, told him, that if he wanted only rest, his cottage was very quiet; but, if he wanted to be concealed, he would lead him to a more private place. *Marius* desired him to do so; and the old man carried him into the fens, made him lie down in a cave by the river-side, and covered him with reeds. He was scarce laid down, when he heard a great noise round the cottage. *Geminus* had sent several troops of horse from *Terracina*, upon a suspicion that *Marius* had fled to the marches of *Minturnæ*. These threatened the poor old man with the displeasure of the consuls and senate, and the severest punishments, for harbouring and concealing an enemy to the republic. *Marius*, who heard all this, thinking himself b no longer safe in the place where he lay concealed, to deceive both the old man and the soldiers, left the cave, and, pulling off his garments, plunged into the lake of *Marcia* up to the chin in water, and covered his head with reeds; but the soldiers who were in pursuit of him, observing the water troubled and muddy about the place where he had thrown himself into the lake, after a diligent search, discovered him, and, tying a cord about his neck, dragged him out of his new hiding-place, and led him naked to *Minturnæ*, to be executed there, pursuant to the decree of the senate, which had been published in all the cities of *Italy*.

THE magistrates of *Minturnæ*, into whose hands he was delivered by the soldiers, considering that his faction was still formidable, and that *Sylla's* consulship was near c expiring, thought it dangerous to prefer either party to the other, and therefore were not in haste to put the sentence of the senate in execution. They did not even shut him up in their prison; but sent him, under a strong guard, to the house of one *Fannia*, a rich woman, who was suspected not to be well affected to him on an old account. She had been formerly married to one *Tinnius*, from whom being afterwards divorced, she demanded her portion, which was very considerable. Hereupon her husband, who had no mind to return it, accused her of adultery; and the cause was brought before *Marius* in his sixth consulship. Upon a full inquiry, it appeared, that *Fannia* had been guilty of incontinence before matrimony, and that it was not unknown to *Tinnius*; notwithstanding which he married her, and had cohabited with her a considerable time. *Marius* therefore, after having heard both parties, ordered *Tinnius* d to return the fortune, and laid a small fine upon *Fannia*. The *Minturnenses* took it for granted, that *Fannia* would resent the disgrace with which *Marius* had branded her; but she, thinking she had more reason to thank *Marius* for the return of her fortune, than to be offended at him for the easy fine he had laid upon her, took great care of him, and did all that lay in her power to comfort and encourage him (Q).

But is set at liberty.

IN the mean time, the magistrates of *Minturnæ*, after having consulted together, determined at last to obey the decree of the senate, and put *Marius* to death immediately; but none of their citizens caring to imbrue his hands in the blood of so glorious a conqueror, an executioner was chosen out of the troops of the garison; some e say he was a *Kimber*, others that he was a *Gaul*. However that be, when he went into the room where *Marius* was lodged with his sword drawn, the eyes of that great warrior, as the place where he lay was dark, seemed to dart out flames; and at the same time the ruffian heard, or imagined to hear, a loud voice, saying, *Stop, wretch! darest thou kill Caius Marius!* This filled him with terror; he dropped his sword, and rushing out into the street, he uttered these words only, *I cannot kill Caius Marius!* This raised the compassion of the *Minturnenses*, who immediately reversed their sentence, and were even angry with themselves for making such an unjust and ungrateful return, to one who had preserved *Italy*. They therefore cried out with one voice, *Let him go where he pleases; let him find his fate somewhere else; we beg pardon of the gods for thrusting Marius distressed and naked out of our city.* After this, they crowded into his room, f

(Q) When *Marius* was brought to *Fannia's* house, as soon as the door was open, an ass came running out to drink at a spring hard-by; and looking very brisk and lively upon *Marius*, first stood before him, then brayed aloud, and pranced by him. This was enough to raise the spirits of the proscribed general, who was superstitious even to childishness. What was purely accidental often passed with him for some mysterious event. He now fancied, that the sea would be more favourable to him than

the land, since the ass neglected its dry pasture, and turned from it to the water; and therefore, when the *Minturnenses* resolved to favour his escape, he conjured them to conduct him to the sea-side. A man must be made up of superstitious follies to put such an interpretation, as *Marius* did, on that action; and nevertheless, what is pleasant enough, the event seemed to justify his conjectures: for at the sea-side he found a vessel ready equipped, which conveyed him safe to *Ænaria*.

a room, removed him from thence, and conducted him towards the sea-side, every one lending a helping hand to forward his flight, and striving to outdo each other in relieving and comforting the distressed hero. In order to get to the sea-side, they were obliged either to pass through a grove consecrated to the nymph *Marcia*, or to go a vast way about, which would have taken up too much of their time. The *Minturnenses* had a singular veneration for this grove, and never suffered any thing to be removed out of it, that was once within it. They therefore scrupled to pass through it, and were in great perplexity, fearing they might be overtaken by one of Sylla's parties, who were scouring the country, before they reached the sea-side the other way. While they were deliberating among themselves which way they should take, an old man among them cried out, *There is no place so sacred, but we may pass through it for the preservation of Marius*. Hereupon *Marius* first entered the grove, and the whole company marched after him, and arrived safe at the sea-side, where *Marius* went on board a small vessel, which had been provided for him by one *Belæus*. *Marius*, when he returned to *Rome* at the head of an army, caused this whole adventure to be represented in a large piece of painting, and hung it up in the temple of *Marcia*, whom some take to be the same with *Circe*¹.

HOWEVER, the illustrious exile was not yet come to an end of his labours. He ordered his pilot to steer for the island of *Ænaria*, where he arrived safe, and rejoined *Granius*, whom he took on board with his other friends, and then sailed for *Africa*; but, their water failing them in their passage, they were forced to touch at *Eryx* in Sicily. There the Roman quæstor, who was appointed to guard the coast, and put to death such of the proscribed as should land there, had like to have seized *Marius*, and actually killed sixteen of his retinue, who were gone ashore to fetch water. Hereupon *Marius*, putting to sea again with all expedition, made the island of *Meninx* near the *Little Syrtis*, where he was informed, that his son had made his escape with *Cethegus*; and that they were both gone to the *Numidian* court, to implore the assistance of king *Hiempsal*. Being somewhat comforted with this news, he ventured to pass over to the continent of *Africa*, and landed at the old port of *Carthage*. He was scarce got ashore, when *Sextilius*, who then governed the *African* province in quality of proprætor, was informed of his arrival. As *Sextilius* was a politic man, and neither cared to disobey the orders of the senate, nor incur the hatred of the *Marian* faction, by putting this great man to death, he immediately sent one of his officers to him, advising him to seek a retreat elsewhere, and threatening to put the decree of the senate in execution, if he set foot in *Africa*. At this message the great *Marius* was ready to sink under the weight of his calamity. He continued some time silent, looking sternly upon the messenger; and at length, when the officer asked what answer he should return to the prætor, Go, tell your master, said he, that you have seen the exiled *Marius* sitting on the ruins of *Carthage*. By this noble answer he placed in a proper light the misfortunes of that once celebrated city and his own, as affecting instances of the vicissitude of human affairs. Whether the prætor was moved with this message, is uncertain; but *Marius* seems to have continued some time in that neighbourhood^m.

IN the mean time, young *Marius*, who, as we have related above, had set sail for *Africa*, landing on the coast of *Numidia*, was received in a very gracious manner by king *Hiempsal*, or, as others will have it, by his son *Mandrestal*, who had succeeded to the crown; but that prince, being irresolute and undetermined what part to act, whenever his noble guest talked of departing, found out some pretence or other to detain him. Hereupon *Marius* and *Cethegus*, who attended him in his misfortunes, began to suspect, that some treachery lay concealed under the extraordinary civilities shewn them by the *Numidian* king; and would have made their escape, had they not found themselves carefully watched, and, in short, kept in a kind of honourable captivity. However, they found means at last to elude the king's evil designs. Their safety was owing to a very seasonable adventure. As young *Marius* was very handsome and well-made, one of the king's concubines fell in love with him, and even discovered her passion to him. The young *Roman* declined at first entering into any correspondence with her, from an awful regard to the sacred laws of hospitality; but finding at last, that by her means alone he could avoid the snares that were laid for him, and that there appeared more generosity than wantonness, in the tenders she made him of her affection, he gratified the fair *Numidian*, who thereupon found means,

as

¹ PLUT. in Mario. VAL. MAX. l. viii. c. 2. VELJ. PATERCUL. l. ii. APPIAN. l. i. de bell. civil.

^m PLUT. in Mario.

as her love was not merely the effect of an irregular appetite, to convey him and his companions safe out of the king's dominions. The young *Roman*, being thus delivered, we may say, from his captivity, hastened to the *Roman* province, where he found his father just landed. After they had tenderly saluted and embraced each other, they began to consult together about the present situation of their affairs. As they were walking by the sea-side, the old hero observed two scorpions fighting with great fury; and as his head was always filled with signs and prognostics, he drew sinister interpretations from that combat. *Let us fly*, said he to his son, *Let us fly; some great danger threatens us here*. This said, he and his company went immediately into a fisher's boat, and made towards *Cercina*, an island not far from the continent. They had scarce put off from the shore, when they saw the coast covered with horsemen, whom the king had sent to bring back young *Marius*. In the island of *Cercina*, which lay near the *Little Syrtis*, and is now known by the name of *Cereara*, they found *Albinovanus*, who was likewise proscribed; and there they all spent the winter together^a.

DURING these occurrences, *Sylla* and his colleague *Q. Pompeius Rufus* acted in concert at *Rome*, and made it their whole business to quiet the minds of the people there. As no-body offered to oppose their measures, and a seeming calm reigned among all orders of men, the consul *Pompeius*, who had not yet appeared at the head of his legions, resolved to take the field, and march against those few allies, who still continued in arms. The *Roman* army was still in the hands of *Pompeius Strabo*, who, after his triumph, had returned to his old camp, with the title of proconsul. When he heard that the consul was coming to succeed him, and snatch out of his hands the glory of finishing a war, in which he had acquired so much honour, he artfully applied himself to his troops, and worked them up to a resolution of not parting with a general, under whose conduct they had gained so many victories. However, the consul was quietly received in the camp, and took possession of the army, the proconsul himself investing him in his office, and with the ornaments of his new dignity, without betraying the least reluctance; but the next day, when the legions were assembled again to assist, according to custom, at the sacrifice, which new generals used to offer, some legionaries all on a sudden fell upon the consul, and killed him at the foot of the altar. In this tumult *Pompeius Strabo* acted his part with great dexterity; he shed tears over the body of the dead consul, broke out into bitter invectives against the assassins, who had imbrued their hands in the blood of the supreme magistrate of the republic, and threatened to sacrifice to his manes all those who had any hand in so flagitious an attempt, of which there had been yet no instance in the republic; but, notwithstanding these declarations, he made no inquiry after the criminals, but, tho' continued in the command of the army, buried the whole in oblivion^b.

The consul Pompeius Rufus assassinated by his soldiers.

Sylla, who had but a few days to continue in his office, being alarmed at the assassination of his colleague, resolved to set out immediately for *Asia*. However, he was forced to continue some days at *Rome* after his consulship was expired, and had the mortification to see the first furious steps of *Cinna*, whom he believed intirely come off from his mad zeal for the popular faction; for he no sooner entered upon the consulship, than joining with *M. Virginus*, tribune of the people, he cited *Sylla*, to whom he had sworn an inviolable attachment, to appear on a charge of male-administration. Hereupon that general, not thinking himself any longer safe in *Italy*, embarked his troops, and set sail for the east, leaving *Rome* at the mercy of *Cinna* and his faction. Their first attempt was, to get a law passed in favour of the allies, whom *Cinna* was for incorporating into the thirty-five tribes, and putting upon a level with the ancient citizens. The consul *Octavius*, who was attached to the senate, foreseeing, that, by this important piece of service, *Cinna* would secure the votes of the new citizens, and carry all before him in the assemblies of the people, opposed the law with all his interest. *Cinna* therefore ordered the new citizens to come to the comitium with daggers under their robes, being resolved to get the law passed by force. *Octavius*, being informed of these unwarrantable proceedings, resolved to oppose force with force; and accordingly went to the forum, attended by a numerous body of old citizens, with arms concealed under their garments. He no sooner appeared in the forum, than the new citizens, at the instigation of *Cinna*, fell upon him with great fury. *Octavius* stood his ground; whereupon a battle ensued, in which, as the two parties were shut up in a narrow compass, much blood was shed. At length the new citizens

Sylla, cited to give an account of his conduct, sets sail for Asia.

Cinna raises new disturbances.

A battle in the forum.

^a PLUT. *ibid.* ^b APPIAN. *bell. civil.* l. i. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. VAL. MAX. l. ix.

a citizens were overpowered, and driven from street to street, till they abandoned the city, together with the consul *Cinna*, and six tribunes of his faction. We are told, that ten thousand of the new citizens were killed in this battle, *Cinna*, being thus driven from the capital, had recourse to the neighbouring cities. *Cinna solicits succours from the allies.* soliciting troops and money to maintain what he called the cause of the allies. As soon as he was gone, the senate deposed him, and chose *L. Cornelius Merula* consul in his room. This new insult quickened him in his application to the allies, who all concurred with uncommon cheerfulness to supply him with troops, or money to hire them. The great sums he received enabled him to corrupt a considerable body of *Roman* troops, that lay incamped in the neighbourhood of *Capua*. They all joined him to a man, and took the military oath, which he administered to them in his consular habit, as if he had not been deposed. When the allies heard, that he was at the head of a *Roman* army, they flocked to him from all parts of *Italy*, in such crowds, that in a short time he had no fewer than thirty legions under his banners; a prodigious army! able to make all *Italy* tremble. And now *Cinna* resolved to recall the proscribed; and accordingly dispatched an express to *Marius*, who was still in the little island of *Cercina*, acquainting him, that he might return to *Italy*, without fear of the senate and their decrees. *Marius recalled.* This step alarmed the conscript fathers, who immediately ordered the two consuls, *Octavius* and *Merula*, to fortify both the city and citadel, by placing all the *ballistæ* and *catapultæ* in the magazines on the walls. They were also commissioned to raise what forces they judged necessary, and to take into the service such of the confederates as had not declared for *Cinna*. At the same time, the fathers recalled *Pompeius Strabo*, who was yet making war with some small remains of the revolted *Italians* on the coasts of the *Adriatic* sea, and was at the head of a very numerous army, the command of which he had kept after the murder of the consul *Pompeius Rufus*; but that general, not being yet determined what party to take, affected delays, and carried himself so artfully, that no-body knew what side he favoured. Some writers are of opinion, that his true design was to let the two factions waste each other, and then raise himself upon the ruins of both. *Marius lands in Italy.* In the mean time, *Marius*, putting to sea with all expedition, landed at *Telamon*, a port in *Hetruiria*, with a body of *Maurusian* horse raised in *Africa*. Upon the news of his arrival, great numbers of shepherds, slaves, and men of desperate fortunes, flocked to him from all parts; so that he soon saw himself at the head of a considerable army. He then sent a messenger to *Cinna*, signifying to him, that he was ready to acknowledge him for consul, and assist him to the utmost of his power against their common enemies. *Cinna* immediately acquainted *Sertorius* with the arrival of *Marius*, and the tenders he made him of his service. *Sertorius*, having been disobliged by *Sylla*, who had employed all his interest against him when he stood for the tribuneship, had joined the contrary faction, and at this time, as he was a brave and experienced officer, shared the command of the army with *Cinna*. He was a man of great prudence and moderation; and therefore dreading the rough and revengeful temper of *Marius*, he advised *Cinna* not to admit him into his army, remonstrating, that *Cinna* was powerful enough, without the addition of *Marius's* undisciplined troops, to triumph over his enemies; that he could not make *Marius* his associate, without making him his master; that he was insatiably covetous of glory, and ever ready to envy it in his competitors; that he would assume to himself all the success of the war; and lastly, that he was a man in whom it was not always safe to confide. All this *Cinna* owned to be true; But how, said he, can I send back a man, who, upon my word, has left *Africa*, and whom I myself have invited to join his resentments with ours against our common enemies? Since you yourself had invited him to your assistance, replied *Sertorius*, there was no need of this consultation. The only thing we can do now is, to watch his conduct as narrowly as we do the designs of our most inveterate enemies. *Cinna gives Marius the title of proconsul.* After this secret conference, *Cinna* sent back the messenger to *Marius*, styling him proconsul in his letter, and empowering him to chuse lictors for his guard; but *Marius*, putting on the appearance of great humility on this occasion, refused the title, the lictors, and all other marks of the proconsular dignity, as not agreeing with his present circumstances. He affected on the contrary to wear nothing but an old gown; his hair and beard rough; he walked with a slow pace, like a man quite oppressed with his misfortunes: but, through the disguise of that mournful countenance, something so fierce appeared in his looks, that he rather created terror, than moved compassion.

AND

P OROS. l. v. c. 19.

Q PLUT. in Mario & Sertorio. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i.

Rome blocked
up by Cinna,
Marius and
Sertorius.

The first hosti-
lities.

Rome in the
utmost confu-
sion.

Marius takes
Ostia.

AND now *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Sertorius* took each their province in this new war. ^a In a council of war they resolved to march directly to the capital. *Cinna* was to block it up on the side of the *Tiber*; *Sertorius* to invest it on the opposite side; and *Marius* to scour the country, and prevent any provisions from being conveyed into the city either by land or water. *Pompeius Strabo* was incamped with his army before the gate *Collina*, to cover the city on that side. This politic general had offered *Cinna* his service and his army, thinking that his party was most likely to prevail; but *Cinna*, looking upon him as a time-server, in whom it was not safe to confide, had rejected his offer with scorn; which obliged him to take part with the consuls *Octavius* and *Merula*. As he was incamped near *Sertorius*, the first act of hostility began between these two generals; but it was rather a skirmish than a battle, there being killed only six hundred men on both sides. This rencounter, however, was remarkable for an accident, which ought to have given the *Romans* a distaste for civil wars: two brothers, who had chosen opposite parties, meeting in the heat of the action, the one gave the other a mortal wound without knowing him; but when he heard the voice of his dying brother, he ran to embrace him, and finding him at the last gasp, *Dear brother*, he cried out, *tho' different interests have divided us, one common pile shall unite us*. This said, he plunged into his own body the sword, which was yet stained with the blood of his brother, and died by his side. This moving accident made some impression on the soldiery; but passion and party-zeal, or rather fury, soon hardened all hearts; so that all regard to friends and relations was laid ^b aside by both parties.

As *Cinna's* forces increased daily, he formed a fourth army, which he put under the command of *Papirius Carbo*. This filled the city with dread and confusion. The two consuls who defended it, *Octavius* and *Merula*, were men of great probity, and much better qualified to maintain the laws and religion in their purity, than to sustain the attacks of an enemy. *Octavius* was so scrupulous an observer of the most venerable customs in *Rome*, that they in vain pressed him, even in this crisis, to arm the slaves in defence of the city. They could only get this answer, *That he would not make slaves free of that city, from which, in maintenance of the laws, he was driving away Marius*. He was indeed a man of good sense and understanding, and supported ^d the dignity of his office with a becoming majesty; but placed too great a confidence in auguries, and was more intent on consulting divines, than men skilled in military affairs. As for *Merula*, he placed more confidence in the protection of *Jupiter*, whose flamen he was, than in the valour of the many brave men he had under his command. The senate therefore had recourse to *Cæcilius Metellus*, the son of *Metellus Numidicus*, who was making war upon the revolted *Samnites* with a considerable body of *Roman* troops. The senate, well acquainted with the ability and courage of that general, sent him orders to put an end to that war upon as honourable conditions as he could, to march his army immediately to the relief of his country, and, if he could not conclude a peace, to leave his troops under the command of his lieutenants, and return himself to *Rome*. *Metellus*, pursuant to his orders, immediately entered into a ^e treaty with the *Samnite* generals; but, while the negotiation was carrying on, *Marius*, by offering the *Samnites* more advantageous terms than *Metellus* had done, gained them over to his party; so that *Metellus*, leaving his forces to his lieutenants, returned to the capital, where he no sooner appeared, than the soldiers, dissatisfied with the indolence of the consuls, loudly demanded him for their general, declaring, that, under the conduct of so brave a commander, they did not fear repulsing the enemy, and saving *Rome*; but *Metellus*, as modest as brave, rejected these seditious applauses with indignation, upbraided the soldiers with want of discipline, and openly declared, as he was too strictly observant of the old customs and laws, that he would ^f not assume an office, which properly belonged to the consuls. This made many of the citizens despair of being able to defend the city; and they deserted in companies to *Cinna*, whose generals were not so scrupulously virtuous. *Sertorius* was the only man among them who had any noble sentiments; the others had neither honour nor virtue. In the mean time, *Marius* made himself master of all the maritime places in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, took *Ostia* itself by treachery, pillaged it, put most of the inhabitants to the sword, and building a bridge over the *Tiber*, cut off all communication between the city and the sea. He then marched with his army towards the city, and posting himself on the *Janiculum*, blocked it up on that side.

THO'

^a OROS. l. v. c. 19. LIV. epit. ibid.

^c PLUT. APPIAN. LIV. ibid.

^a THO' the capital was greatly weakened by daily desertions, yet *Ostavius* found means to raise a considerable army in it, with which he incamped under the walls, as did likewise *Q. Metellus* and *Pompeius Strabo*, each of them commanding a separate body. *Cinna*, who scrupled no attempt, how villanous soever, which could serve his cause, undertook to get *Pompeius Strabo* assassinated in his tent; but his son saved his life; which was the first remarkable action of *Pompey the Great*. Young *Pompey*, ^{Pompey saves his father's life.} who was making his first campaign under the proconsul his father, had chosen for his companion one *Terentius*, a patrician of his own age. The treacherous *Cinna*, by many alluring promises, gained over *Terentius* to his interest, and prevailed upon him to undertake the assassinating of the general and his son, and at the same time the debauching of his army, and carrying the legions to *Sylla's* camp; but young *Pompey*, ^b receiving notice of this wicked design a few hours before it was to be put in execution, placed a faithful guard round the prætorium; so that none of the conspirators, who had designed to set fire to the general's tent, could come near it. He then watched all the motions of the camp, and endeavoured to appease the fury of the legionaries, who hated their general, by such acts of prudence as were worthy the oldest commanders. Some of the mutineers had forced open one of the gates of the camp, in order to desert to *Cinna*. Hereupon the general's son, laying himself flat on his back in their way, cried out, That they should not break their oath and desert their commander, without passing over his body. By this means he put a stop to their desertion, and afterwards wrought so effectually upon them by his affecting speeches and ^c engaging carriage, that he reconciled them to his father^t.

In the mean time, *Marius*, who was incamped on the *Janiculum*, used his utmost efforts to make himself master of the strong fort built on that hill, and was very near succeeding in his attempt by the treachery of one *Appius Claudius*, a military tribune in the place, who, having formerly received some favours of *Marius*, opened one of the gates to him; but the garison, tho' surpris'd, made a brave resistance, and in the mean time, *Ostavius* and *Pompeius Strabo* hastening to their relief, a sharp engagement ensued, which ended wholly to the advantage of the consular troops^u. ^{Marius makes a fruitless attempt on the Janiculum.}

^d NOTWITHSTANDING this advantage, the city was soon reduced to a most deplorable condition: a plague broke out among the troops of *Pompeius* with such violence, that in a few days it carried off eleven thousand men. Soon after the general himself was killed with lightning, which did a great deal of mischief in his army. As *Pompeius* was a very wicked man, capable of the greatest crimes, and had assassinated a consul before the altar, the people, looking upon his death as a punishment upon him from heaven, dragged his body with an iron hook through all the streets of the city, and then threw it into the *Tiber*^w. The command of his army was given to *L. Crassus* who, together with *Ostavius* and *Metellus*, went and incamped near the hill *Alba* along the *Appian* way, with a design to open a communication with the country on that side; but *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Sertorius*, and *Carbo*, joining their forces, posted themselves above the consular troops on the same *Appian* way; so that no provisions could ^e be conveyed from the country to the city. And now a famine beginning to be felt in the capital, the people complained loudly of the senate, as if they kept up a war for their own private interest, which exposed them, their wives, and children to the danger of being starved. To make the disorder in *Rome* still greater, *Cinna* treated under-hand with the citizens, and, by his emissaries, prevailed upon most of the slaves to shake off their masters yoke, and take refuge in his camp, where they were declared free. The example of the slaves was followed by citizens of all ranks, who, abandoning the defence of the city, deserted openly and in large companies. The same spirit of mutiny and desertion reigned in the consular army, which visibly decreased; infomuch, that *Metellus*, despairing of being able to save *Rome*, left the ^f camp, and retired into *Liguria*, whence he soon after passed over into *Africa*. The senate, seeing their party and authority daily declining, and fearing a general insurrection, thought it time to come to a treaty with *Cinna*; and accordingly sent deputies to his camp, with some overtures of peace. *Cinna*, before he would hear them, asked, whether they were come to treat with him as consul, or only as a private man? This question, which they did not expect, surpris'd them; and, as they had no instructions touching so nice a point, they desired leave to return to *Rome* to consult the senate. The conscript fathers were greatly perplexed, not knowing what answer to give, nor what

^t PLUT. in Pomp. c. 116.

^u PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid.

^w VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 21. JUL. OBSEQ.

Cinna acknowledged consul.

Cinna and Marius enter Rome.

Marius's cruelty.

what course to take. They thought it inconsistent both with honour and justice to depose *Merula*, a wise magistrate, whom they had in a manner compelled to quit the office of high-priest of *Jupiter*, and accept of the consulship. On the other hand, as the city was closely blocked up on all sides, and the famine increased daily, without any hopes of relief, it was to be feared, that the populace would rise, and let the enemy into the city. In this dilemma, *Merula* himself, preferring, like a good citizen, the welfare of his country to his own honour, freely abdicated, and by his abdication left the senate at liberty to acknowledge *Cinna* for lawful consul. Accordingly, the conscript fathers sent back their deputies to him, with instructions to treat with him as consul, and to invite him to *Rome*, to exercise there the functions of his dignity; however, they were ordered to require of him an oath, that he would spare the blood of the citizens, and put no *Roman* to death but by due form of law. *Cinna* refused to take that oath; but protested, that he would never give his consent to the death of any citizen. He even sent word to the consul *Octavius*, that he would not do amiss to retire from the city till the storm was blown over. During this conference, *Marius*, who stood by, said nothing; but the sourness of his countenance and the sternness of his looks threatened the city with blood and slaughter. As soon as the messengers were dismissed, *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Sertorius*, and *Carbo* began their march at the head of their troops, and advanced towards the city, the senate having ordered the gates to be opened to them. *Cinna* entered the city with a strong guard; but *Marius* halted at the gate, and when he was pressed to advance, he replied with a sarcastical tone, That he was a banished man, and consequently debarred by the laws from entering; that therefore, if they had any occasion for his service, they must get that law repealed, which drove him into exile. Hereupon *Cinna* marched directly to the forum; and having assembled the people, proposed to them the disannulling of the decree which proscribed *Marius* and his adherents; but *Marius*, impatient to shed the blood of his enemies, when only two or three tribes had voted, pulled off the mask, and, without waiting for a lawful repeal, entered the city, surrounded by his guards, chosen from among the slaves, who had flocked to him, and whom he called his *Bardiæans* (R). The first order he gave these cruel and inhuman assassins was, immediately to murder all those, who, coming to him and meeting him in the streets, saluted him, and were not answered with the like civility. This signal was a general dead warrant, and great numbers of the flatterers, who came to make their court to the new tyrant, were cruelly massacred before his eyes. *Q. Ancharius*, a senator of great distinction, who had been honoured with the prætorship, chose to pay his compliments to *Marius* when he was offering a sacrifice in the capitol; but the tyrant casting a fierce look upon him, he was instantly cut in pieces in the very temple of *Jupiter*. *Cinna*, for the present, exercised his cruelty only on his colleague *Octavius*, who still took upon him to perform the functions of his office, and was therefore, at the instigation of *Cinna*, slain in his curule chair by *Censorinus*. But *Marius's* *Bardiæans*, or *Bardiates*, set no bounds to their lust, cruelty, and avarice: they first murdered their former masters, abused their children, and insulted their wives in the grossest manner; then they extended their cruelty and licentiousness to all ranks of persons, not sparing the most venerable matrons in the republic; and carried their iniquities to such an excess, that *Cinna* and *Sertorius*, having consulted together how to rid *Rome* of this barbarous crew, resolved to put them all to death; and accordingly sent a detachment to surprise them, one night while they were asleep in the camp, and cut them all off to a man. *Marius* was much grieved at the loss of his favourite guard; and being afraid, as he breathed nothing but blood, that *Cinna* had already satisfied his revenge, he desired the heads of the faction to meet, in order to deliberate

(R) We are at a loss to know how *Marius* came to give his guards this name. *Thuanus*, as appears from a note in the margin of his *Plutarch*, thought there was a fault in the text, and that, instead of *Bardiæans*, we ought to read *Bardyetes* or *Bardyates*; for the *Bardyetes* were a most barbarous and savage nation in *Spain*, and this might very naturally induce *Marius* to call his guards by that name, on purpose to frighten the people, and make them tremble at the fierceness of their nature. There is a good deal of reason for this conjecture. However, *M. Dacier*, in her notes on *Plutarch*, offers another: *Plu-*

tarch tells us, says she, that the greatest grievance of the people was the abominable licentiousness and infamous debaucheries of those guards. It may therefore not absurdly be conceived, that *Marius* on that account, called them not his *Bardiæans*, but *Bardeans*, from the Greek word *Βαρδῆν*, which, in the *Ambracian* dialect, signifies to ravish women. But, after all, this may be refining too much on the matter, as the same writer observes. Perhaps *Plutarch* wrote not *Βαρδιαῖες*, but *Μαριαῖες*, that is, the *Marians*, or the life-guard of *Marius*.

- a deliberate what kind of government they should settle, since all the power was devolved upon *Cinna* after the death of his colleague. At his request, *Cinna*, *Carbo* and *Sertorius* came to confer with him; and in this conference *Marins* is said to have spoke like a madman. *Sertorius*, the only man among them who had any good principles or sense of morality, endeavoured to moderate his fury; but in vain: *Cinna* and *Carbo* concurred in his sentiments, and the resolution they took, was to murder, without mercy, all the senators who had opposed the popular faction. Pursuant to this resolution, *C. Attilius Serranus*, *P. Lentulus*, *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsar*, *C. Proscriptions, murders, &c.* *Numitorius*, and *M. Bæbius*, all senators of great note, were murdered in the streets. *P. Crassus*, a young senator, endeavoured to make his escape; but being closely pursued by *Caius Fulvius Fimbria*, one of the most furious zealots of *Marius's* party, his father meeting him, killed him, for fear he should fall into the hands of his enemies, and then presented himself before the bloody *Fimbria*, by whom he was inhumanly massacred. This slaughter lasted five days, during which time the best part of the senators were cut off, their heads were stuck upon poles over-against the rostra, and their mangled bodies dragged with hooks into the forum, where they were left to be devoured by the dogs. However, *Metella*, the wife of *Sylla* and daughter of *Metellus Numidicus*, and her children escaped this general slaughter. *Marius* indeed caused a strict search to be made after them; but they eluded the vigilance and fury of the tyrant, being privately conveyed out of town by some of *Sylla's* friends. *Marius*, highly exasperated at their escape, caused their house to be razed, their goods confiscated, and *Sylla* himself to be declared an enemy to his country. While *Marius* was thus venting his brutal rage on *Sylla's* friends in the city, his soldiers, the ministers of his cruelty, were, like so many blood-hounds, dispersed about the country, in search of those who had fled. The neighbouring towns, villages, and all the high-ways, swarmed with assassins. On this occasion *Plutarch* observes with great concern, that the most sacred ties of friendship and hospitality are not proof against treachery in the days of adversity; for there were but very few who did not discover their friends, who had fled to them for shelter. He therefore, with a great deal of reason, commends and admires the fidelity of the slaves of *Cornutus* in that general defection. *Cornutus* had retired to a house in the country; and his faithful slaves, observing a company of soldiers hovering about the neighbourhood, concealed their master in the most private part of the house; and then taking up the body of one, whom the tyrant's officers had just murdered, carried it to the house, hung it up by the neck, put a gold ring on the finger, and shewed it in that condition to the soldiers, pretending it was the body of their master. They then buried it with great pomp and solemnity; and by this innocent artifice, which was perceived by no-body, they saved *Cornutus*, and conveyed him into *Gaul*. *Marcus Antonius*, grandfather to the triumvir, and the greatest orator that had appeared in *Rome* till his time, was not so fortunate. He fled to the house of a faithful friend in the country, who endeavoured to save his life with great tenderness and affection. His friend was in low circumstances; but, being proud of having under his roof one of the greatest men in *Rome*, resolved to entertain him in the best manner he could. Accordingly he sent his servant to a tavern in the neighbourhood for some of the best wine he could get. The vintner perceiving the servant nicer than usual, tasting of several sorts, and not satisfied but with the very best, asked him, What made him so hard to please? The servant told him in confidence, as his trusty friend and acquaintance, That the wine was for the illustrious *Marcus Antonius*, who made so great a figure in the senate. My master, said he, keeps that great man concealed in his house, and is resolved on this occasion to stretch his purse, and make as much of him as he can. The servant was no sooner gone, than the villain of a vintner went to *Marius*, who was then at supper, and told him, he could deliver *Antonius* into his hands. At this news *Marius* gave a great shout, clapped his hands for joy, and was for rising from table and going to the place himself; but, being prevented by his friends, he sent *Anius*, one of his wicked agents, attended by a body of soldiers, commanding him to bring *Antonius's* head with all speed. *Anius* himself waited at the door, and sent in his soldiers to dispatch the orator and bring him his head; but the assassins, notwithstanding their natural barbarity, were so struck at the sight of this great man, and moved with the graces and charms of his eloquence, when he began to speak and plead for his life, that tears dropped from their eyes, and none of them would touch him. *Anius*, impatient at their delays, went into the room, and seeing his soldiers all weeping, and quite softened

The fidelity of
Cornutus's
slaves.

Marcus Anto-
nius betrayed
and murdered.

softened by the eloquence of that great orator, checked them severely, and with his own hand cut off his head, and carried it to *Marius*, who, after he had made it matter of sport to his guests, ordered it to be stuck up on a pole with the rest before the rostra. Such was the end of the greatest orator *Rome* had ever bred. *Cicero*, who had often heard him, being at this time about twenty years old, calls him the wonder of his age, and adds, that to him it was owing, that *Italy* equalled *Greece* itself in the art of speaking^w.

Catulus and
Merula kill
themselves.

AND now the rage of the other tyrants, after so many murders, began to abate. But *Marius* still thirsted after more *Roman* blood. He wanted to destroy two men, who had been both honoured with the fasces. These were *Lutatius Catulus*, who had been his colleague in the consulate, and partner in the triumph over the *Cimbri*; and the virtuous *Cornelius Merula*, who had generously resigned the consular dignity to make room for *Cinna*. Great interest was made for *Catulus*; but to all those, who interceded for him, *Marius* returned this cold answer, *He must die*. Hereupon *Catulus*, shutting himself up in a room, smothered or poisoned himself. *Merula* likewise robbed his enemy of the cruel pleasure of putting him to death. As he was high-priest of *Jupiter*, he went to the temple of that god, laid down his mitre, in which it was not lawful to die, and, then seating himself in his pontifical chair, ordered his veins to be opened. After he had bled some time, he advanced to the altar, sprinkled it with blood, and uttering many imprecations against the tyrants, devoted them to *Pluto* and the infernal gods.

Cinna names
himself and
Marius con-
suls.

THE consulate of *Cinna* being near expiring, the citizens, who had seen the streets for some time flowing with blood, and covered with heaps of dead bodies, hoped for some respite. But *Cinna*, unwilling to trust them with chusing him a successor, of his own authority nominated himself and *Marius* consuls for the next year. Accordingly, on the calends of *January*, they took possession, one of his second, the other of his seventh consulship. *Marius* was now seventy years of age; but neither his ambition nor his cruelty were yet satiated. As he was coming out of his house to be invested, according to custom, in his office, *Sextus Licinius* unhappily fell in his way, and was by his orders immediately thrown down from the *Tarpeian* rock. The same day he proscribed two prætors; and his son, no less cruel than himself, killed the same day a tribune of the people with his own hand^x.

Sylla writes
to the senate.

IN the mean time, news came from all parts, that *Sylla*, having put an end to the war with *Mithridates*, was returning into *Italy* at the head of a great army. Soon after the senate received a long letter from the victorious general, wherein, with a lively style, he gave them an account of his victories, and complained of the injuries done him. After enumerating the many services he had done the republic in her wars with the king of *Numidia*, with the *Cimbri*, the allies, and lastly with *Mithridates*, the most powerful king in the east, he concluded thus: For these important services you have rewarded me, by setting a price upon my head; my friends are murdered without mercy; my wife and children are forced to abandon their native country; my house is razed; my goods confiscated; and all the laws made in my consulship absolutely disannulled. You may expect, conscript fathers, to see me in a little time at the gates of *Rome* with a victorious army. And then I shall find means to revenge the personal injuries I have received; and to inflict signal punishments both on the tyrants themselves, and the ministers of their tyranny. This letter gave the two consuls a great deal of uneasiness. *Marius*, now worn out with hardships and years, could no longer bear up his spirits flagging at the apprehension of a new war, which his own experience represented to him as very dangerous. He considered, that he had not now to do with an *Octavius* or *Merula*, at the head of an undisciplined rabble, but

Marius dreads
the arrival of
Sylla.

with *Sylla*, who was approaching with a victorious army, and who had once before driven him out of *Rome*. At the same time he called to mind all his past misfortunes, his flight, his banishment, the many dangers he had undergone, his tedious wanderings, &c. and, dreading to be exposed anew to the same hazards in so advanced an age, he fell into great troubles, nocturnal frights, and broken slumbers, fancying every moment that he heard a voice, telling him, that *the den, even of an absent lion, ought to be dreaded*. To divert these tormenting thoughts, he had recourse to a remedy scarce known in those days, but too common in ours. He gave himself up to excessive drinking, chusing rather to lose his reason, than to be continually haunted with melancholy

He gives him-
self up to ex-
cessive drink-
ing.

^w PLUT. in Mario. APPIAN. bell civil. l. i, CIC. in Bruto & alibi passim. ^x PLUT. APPIAN ibid.

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a melancholy thoughts. This new way of living soon bred a distemper which led him to his grave. *Posidonius* the philosopher, as quoted by *Plutarch*, tells us, that, having over-heated his blood by too much drinking, he fell into a pleurisy. The same philosopher adds, that he went to his house, when he was confined to his bed, and discoursed with him about some affairs relating to his embassy at *Rome*. But *Caius Piso* seems to insinuate, that he himself hastened his end, though he does not tell us in what manner. He only relates, that *Marius*, walking one night after supper with some of his friends, entertained them with a recital of all his adventures, which he concluded with saying, that it did not become a man of his years to trust any longer so unconstant a goddess as fortune. Having ended his discourse, he embraced all about him with a tenderness very uncommon to him, went home, and took to his bed.

b He was seized with a delirium, during which, fancying himself general in the war against *Mithridates*, he used such motions and gestures as if he had been engaged in battle at the head of an army. At length after seven days illness he died, some say *His death* on the seventeenth, others on the thirteenth, day, of his seventh consulship.

AND now the distressed city fondly imagined, that the intestine calamities, which had reduced her to the last extremity, were buried with *Marius*. But she soon perceived, that she had only changed her tyrant. *Cinna*, the surviving consul, associated with himself in the government, though not in the office of consul, young *Marius*, who, as he had inherited the cruelty of his father, put all the senators he could find in *Rome* or its neighbourhood to the sword. As all the power was lodged

c in the hands of *Cinna* and young *Marius*, they got *Valerius Flaccus*, a creature of old *Marius*, named to succeed him in the consular dignity. He no sooner entered upon his office, than he passed a most unjust law in favour of the people, declaring all debtors free from their debts, upon paying to their creditors one-fourth of what they owed. Having by this law gained the affections of the indigent multitude, the new consul consulted with *Cinna* and *Marius*, how they should prevent the return of *Sylla*, who had under his command a victorious and well-disciplined army. The expedient they agreed on to put it out of the power of that general to give them any uneasiness, or to obstruct their wicked measures, was, to nominate a person to succeed him in the

d command of the army in the east, under pretence, that his authority was illegal, since he had been proscribed by a decree of the senate. Pursuant to this scheme, the new consul *Valerius Flaccus* was appointed to command the Roman forces in the *Levant*, and make war with *Mithridates*. But, as *Valerius* was no soldier, *Cinna* and *Marius* gave him for his counsellor and lieutenant *C. Fulvius Fimbria*, a senator, greatly esteemed by the troops for his valour. *Fimbria*, though intirely addicted to the

e *Marian* faction, both despised and hated *Valerius*. However, he prepared to attend him, in compliance with the orders of *Cinna* and *Marius*, who were absolute masters in *Rome*. A squadron of ships was sent with a considerable number of troops on board, with orders to land in one of the ports of *Thessaly*, and there wait for *Valerius*, who was to follow with the rest of the army. *Sylla* was at that time busy in resettling

f *Greece*, after having defeated *Archelaus* and *Taxiles*, two of *Mithridates*'s generals. The troops therefore that were to serve under *Valerius*, hearing of *Sylla*'s victories, instead of waiting for their unexperienced commander, deserted all to a man, and joined the victorious proconsul, under whose conduct they promised themselves great booty and glory. When news of this desertion was brought to *Rome*, it was resolved there, that *Valerius* should imbarque with two legions, and sail directly for *Asia* to carry on the war there with *Mithridates*. However, he did not leave *Rome* before *December*, towards the end of his consulship, which was no sooner expired, than *Cinna*, without so much as assembling the comitia, declared himself consul the third time, and chose for his colleague *Papirius Carbo*, one of the most furious zealots in *Rome* for the *Marian* faction. The other chief dignities in the republic were all filled with men wholly devoted to the interest of the reigning tyrant. In short, the face of the republic was intirely changed, and the ancient laws and institutions quite abolished. All the friends of *Sylla*, whom the tyrants could get into their power, were inhumanly murdered, and their estates confiscated. Men of any honour or probity were ashamed to live in a city, which was now become a nest of robbers and assassins. They therefore fled in crouds, and retired to *Sylla* in *Greece*, imploring his protection against their domestic tyrants. Upon their arrival *Sylla* hastened to put an end to the war with *Mithridates*, which we have described at length in our history of *Pontus*. But, before the articles of peace were agreed on, *Valerius Flaccus* arrived with his two legions at *Byzantium*, being

Young Marius succeeds his father.

The consul Valerius Flaccus appointed to command the forces of the republic, in the room of Sylla.

Cinna declares himself consul the third time with Papirius Carbo.

Valerius Flaccus arrives at Byzantium.

sent by *Cinna* to take upon him the command of the *Roman* forces in the *Levant*, and to pursue the war with *Mithridates*. He was scarce landed, when great differences arose between him and his lieutenant *Fimbria* about their quarters. The lieutenant, sensible of the want of abilities in his general, despised him, and stirred up the soldiery to mutiny. Hereupon *Valerius* deposed him, and appointed one *Thermus* in his room. *Fimbria*, provoked at this affront, kept no bounds with his general, who, as he was hated by the soldiery for his harsh temper, thought it adviseable to retire for some time from the army; and accordingly crossed the *Bosphorus*, and took up his quarters in *Chalcedon*. The audacious *Fimbria* followed him thither with the greatest part of the army; which *Valerius* no sooner heard, than, suspecting his design, he fled to *Nicomedia*, shut the gates, and put himself in a condition to sustain a siege against his subaltern. *Fimbria* pursued him, made himself master of *Nicomedia*, and finding him concealed in a well, dragged him out, and killed him with his own hand. *Cinna* and his senate, instead of punishing, rewarded, the villainy, by declaring the base assassin general of all the *Roman* troops in the *Levant* ^v.

*Is murdered
by his lieutenant
Fimbria.*

AND now *Fimbria*, seeing himself at the head of a consular army, without any regard to the treaty, which was near concluded between the king of *Pontus* and *Sylla*, renewed the war with great vigor. He defeated young *Mithridates* in a pitched battle, and obliged the king himself to take shelter behind the walls of *Pitane*, a strong city on the confines of *Æolis* and *Troas*. Thither *Fimbria* pursued him, and, having invested the place by land, sent messengers to *Lucullus*, *Sylla's* quæstor and faithful friend, intreating him to prevent with the fleet, which he commanded, the king's retreat by sea. Had *Lucullus* complied with his request and shut up the mouth of the harbour, the proud *Mithridates* must have fallen into the hands of the *Romans*. But *Lucullus*, detesting the very name of *Fimbria*, failed away, and left an open retreat to the king, when he might have easily taken him, and by that means prevented the bloody war, which that prince carried on for the space of forty years with the republic. However, *Fimbria* took *Pitane* and several other places, treating the inhabitants with unparalleled insolence and cruelty, as we have related at length in our history of *Pontus*. In the mean time, *Sylla*, having put the last hand to the peace in a conference with the king at *Dardanus*, marched against *Fimbria*, whom he found incamped under the walls of *Thyatira* in *Lydia*. And now two *Roman* armies seemed ready to entertain the *Asiatics* with a battle among themselves in the heart of *Asia*. *Sylla*, advancing within two furlongs of *Fimbria's* camp, sent him a summons, *to surrender up his troops to him, divest himself of the command, and return to Italy*. *Fimbria* proudly answered, *that he despised the orders of a proscribed man, who was declared by the senate an enemy to his country*. Hereupon the two generals began to prepare for a battle; but *Fimbria's* men declaring, that they would not take arms against their countrymen and friends, and great numbers of them deserting to *Sylla*, the treacherous *Fimbria* resolved to have his adversary assassinated. But the slave he employed for that base purpose betrayed himself by the terror that appeared in his looks, and then discovered the treachery of his master. This barbarous attempt exasperated *Sylla* to such a degree, that he immediately led his legions to attack the traitor in his trenches. *Fimbria*, finding his soldiers ready to abandon him, desired a conference with *Sylla*. But he, not caring to come near a traitor, who was capable of any desperate attempt, only sent *Rutilius*, one of his officers, to treat with him, and acquaint him, that if he would leave *Asia* and deliver up his troops, he would not only save his life, but furnish him with all necessaries for returning to *Italy*. *Return to Italy!* replied *Fimbria*; *no; I know a more expeditious way*. Having uttered these words, he retired to his tent, and soon after privately withdrew to *Pergamus*, where he stabbed himself with his own sword in the temple of *Æsculapius*. But, the wound not proving mortal, a faithful slave, who attended him, dispatched him, and then plunged the sword into his own breast ^z.

*Fimbria
makes war
upon Mithri-
dates with
success.*

*Fimbria's
men desert to
Sylla.
Fimbria's
treachery.*

*He kills him-
self.*

AND now *Sylla*, having no more enemies to contend with in *Asia*, resolved to return to *Italy*, where *Cinna* and *Papirius Carbo* had appointed themselves consuls for the next year. The former, to establish himself more firmly in his usurped authority, married his daughter *Cornelia* to a young patrician, whose extraordinary talents were already admired in *Rome*. This was the famous *Julius Cæsar*, who afterwards followed the steps of his father-in-law; and, being no less wicked, and more successful, turned at last the republic into a monarchy. *Sylla*, before he left *Asia*, wrote a letter to

^v APPIAN. *bell. civil.* & in *Mithridatic*. LIV. *epit.* l. lxxxii. c. 64. PLUT. in *Sylla* & *Lucullo*.
^z PLUT. in *Sylla*. APPIAN. in *Mithridat*. LIV. *epit.* l. lxxxiii. c. 32.

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- a to the senate of great temper and moderation ; but when their deputies came to meet him at *Dyrrachium*, and intreat him not to carry his resentments so far as to produce a civil war, he spoke a very different language, telling them, that he was coming to *Rome* full of rage and revenge ; and that all his enemies, if the *Roman* people consented to it, should perish either by the sword, or the axes of the common executioners. Hereupon the two consuls ordered *Marius*, and the other heads of the party, to raise forces and recruit the legions. Several armies were raised with incredible expedition, the new citizens and allies readily concurring to support the cause of the consuls, which they looked upon as their own. A fleet was likewise brought from *Sicily* to guard the coasts of *Italy*. In a council of war, at which all the leading men of the party assisted, it was resolved, that one of the consuls should go and meet *Sylla* before he entered *Italy*, and carry the seat of the war into *Dalmatia*. This *Cinna* took upon himself, and accordingly caused some of his forces to be immediately transported thither. But the rest of his soldiers refused to go on board, and began to mutiny. *Cinna* assembled his troops in order to appease them, when one of the lictors, who surrounded the consul as usual, struck a soldier who drew too near to the general. The soldier returned blow for blow, and called his comrades to his assistance. Upon this the stones flew about, and the legionaries, who were next to the consul, fell upon him sword in hand. *Cinna* fled, but a centurion overtaking him, buried his sword in his body ^a (S).
- c UPON the death of *Cinna*, *Carbo* continued sole master of the administration, till the end of the year. His first care was to bring back the troops which his colleague had sent into *Dalmatia*. He then ordered new levies to be made in all the cities of the allies and in the *Roman* colonies, to keep *Sylla* out of *Italy* by force of arms. We are told, that the troops raised for this purpose amounted to two hundred thousand men. They were divided into several bodies commanded by different generals ; viz. *Several armies raised against Sylla.* *L. Cornelius Scipio* and *C. Junius Norbanus*, whom *Carbo* had got chosen consuls, *Ap- pius Claudius*, *Sertorius*, young *Marius*, *Flavius Fimbria*, the brother of that *Fimbria* who had killed himself in *Asia*, *M. Marius*, *Albinovanus*, and *Lucius Brutus Damasippus*. In the mean time, *Sylla* was preparing to imbarque at *Dyrrachium*, now *Durazzo*, where he had ordered his fleet, consisting of a hundred and twenty sail, to wait for him. When every thing was ready, he assembled his troops, and in the harangue he made to them, gave them by several hints to understand, that he was under some apprehension, lest they should disperse, and retire to their respective homes, as soon as they found themselves on their native shore. Hereupon the whole army of their own accord took a new oath, promising to stand by him to the last, and to commit no devastations in *Italy*, which might raise the country against him. They even offered him all the gold and silver they had got in the war with *Mitbridates*. But *Sylla*, thanking them for their generosity, declined their offer, and being now well assured of their fidelity and affection, he imbarqued, and put to sea, as he himself tells us, against fifteen generals and four hundred and fifty cohorts. He had a prosperous passage, and landed his troops to the number of forty thousand men at *Brun-* *Sylla lands in*
dusium and *Tarentum*, without meeting with any opposition. There the army rested Italy.
a few days, to refresh themselves after the fatigues of the sea, and then began their march cross *Calabria* and *Apulia* in search of the enemy. On his march he was joined by *Metellus Pius*, who, during the tyranny of old *Marius*, had fled into *Liguria*. *Sylla*, who had no other title but that of proconsul, received him as his colleague, and both advanced at the head of the army into *Campania*, keeping their troops under the most exact discipline. The consul *Norbanus* was incamped between *Capua* and *Castilinum*, in order to stop *Sylla's* march ; which the proconsul no sooner understood, than he dispatched two of his officers to him with offers of a pacification. Whether he was really inclined to concord, or artfully dissembled the rage he concealed in his heart,

^a LIV. APPIAN. *ibid.* Auth. de vir. illustr.

(S) *Plutarch* relates this matter very differently. He says, that *Pompey* came to *Cinna's* camp, and that the cold reception he met with there giving him reason to believe that his life was not safe, he privately withdrew. His absence raised great murmurs in the army, the soldiers imagining, that *Cinna* had

sacrificed him to his jealousy. This report being spread among the troops, they first demanded young *Pompey* with loud clamours, and then fell with great fury on the general, whom they charged with his death, and cut him in pieces (11).

(11) *Plut. in Pomp.*

heart, is uncertain. However that be, his offers were rejected, and his deputies grossly insulted, which so incensed *Sylla's* troops, that they ran to arms without orders from their general, drew up in battalia, and went out to insult *Norbanus* in his camp. Hereupon an action ensued, in which the consul was defeated, and six thousand of his men killed on the spot. The fame of this action drew many of the contrary faction to *Sylla's* camp, and amongst the others *Cethegus*, *Verres*, and *Piso*, all three men of great distinction, and hitherto most furious zealots of the *Marian* faction. *Verres*, who was quæstor of the proconsul *Carbo's* army, brought with him his military chest, a present very acceptable to *Sylla*. But, in the mean time, the consul *Scipio* drawing near, the proconsul's army was in a manner surrounded by the innumerable forces of the enemy. In this distress *Sylla* had recourse to his old artifice of pretending to treat of peace; and accordingly sent deputies to the consul's camp to propose an accommodation, pretending, that he was much grieved at the calamities to which the republic must be exposed by a civil war. *Scipio*, who was sincerely disposed to peace, hearkened to the overtures that were made him, and by way of preliminary agreed to a truce, during which, there being a free intercourse between the two camps, *Sylla's* men found means to debauch the whole consular army; insomuch, that when *Sylla* detached twenty cohorts, as it were, to force the consul's trenches, the consular troops, all to a man, came out to meet them, and joining them marched back with them to *Sylla's* camp. The consul and his son, being deserted by their whole army, which consisted of forty cohorts, were seized by *Sylla's* soldiers, who delivered them up to their general. But he, being under no apprehensions from commanders, who could be so easily over-reached, set them both at liberty, and gave them a guard to conduct them safe to the nearest quarters of their friends. When news of this general desertion was brought to *Carbo*, who was then incamped in *Cisalpine Gaul*, he cried out in great surprise, *We have both a fox and a lion to deal with; but the fox is more formidable than the lion*^b.

Pompey
makes his first
appearance.

THE news of the great advantages *Sylla* was daily gaining, over the generals of the adverse party, prompted young *Pompey* to declare for him. He assembled troops in *Picenum*, where his family had a great many friends and clients, and taking upon him, of his own authority, the title of general, though he was then but twenty-three years of age, obliged most of the towns of *Picenum* to declare for *Sylla*. The small army he commanded increased so fast, that in a short time he had men enough to form three legions; and at the head of these, after he had appointed them their tribunes and centurions, he advanced towards *Campania* to join *Sylla*. The march of the brave youth, which was signalized by the reduction of many cities, drew upon him three generals, who commanded armies in that neighbourhood under the consuls. *Carinas*, *Cælius*, and *Brutus* agreed to obstruct his march by attacking him in different places. *Brutus* opposed him the first with a considerable army, consisting chiefly of *Gaulish* horse. But *Pompey* at the head of his own cavalry defeated that of the *Gauls*, after having killed with his own hand the *Gaul* who commanded them. He then fell sword in hand on *Brutus's* infantry, cut most of them in pieces, and forced the rest to save themselves by a disorderly flight. This success, which was chiefly owing to the young general's personal bravery, so damped the courage of the two other generals, that they resolved to quit the field, and leave the country open to the conqueror. However, he had not advanced far before he was met by the consul *Scipio*, who, since the desertion of his troops, had raised a new army. But the infantry on both sides were no sooner in fight, than the consul's troops went all over to the young hero; so that *Scipio*, deserted a second time by his army, was forced to retire with shame. *Pompey's* name being now become formidable to the adverse party, *Papirius Carbo*, quitting *Gaul*, hastened after him, in order to prevent his joining *Sylla*. His cavalry came up with him at the river *Æsis*, which divides *Picenum* and *Umbria*; but the young general having repulsed them with great vigor, pursued his march, and at last reached *Sylla's* camp, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of esteem and sincere friendship. *Sylla*, charmed with the account he gave him of his exploits, honoured him, though he had not yet a seat in the senate, with the title of *Imperator*, which the legionaries gave but rarely to their bravest generals. *Rome* being greatly alarmed at the increase of *Sylla's* army, the two consuls as well as *Carbo* drew near it, in order to keep up their party there, and defend the city in case of an attack. The consul *Norbanus* incamped without

^b PLUT. APPIAN. *ibid.*

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a without the walls on the road to *Campania*; and *Carbo*, entering *Rome* at the head of his army, forced the senate to declare *Metellus*, *Pompey*, and all the patricians who had joined *Sylla*, enemies to their country. The rest of the campaign was employed on both sides in private negotiations, each party endeavouring to debauch the allies of the other. *Sylla*, a great master in that art, sent considerable sums into *Cisalpine Gaul*, and by that means gained over several *Gaulish* nations to his interest. On the other hand, the opposite faction sent *Sertorius* into *Spain*, to keep those vast provinces in awe, and prevent them from declaring for *Sylla*. At the same time, young *Marius* prevailed on the *Samnites* to join him with an army of forty thousand men, under the command of *Pontius Telesinus*, an able commander, who had gained great reputation in the war of the confederates^c.

b AND now, the consular year being near expired, *Carbo*, who tyrannized at *Rome* ^{Papirius} without controul, forced the tribes to chuse himself and young *Marius* consuls for the next year. As the winter, which was very severe, suspended hostilities on both sides for some months, the consuls made it their whole business to raise money for ^{Carbo and young Marius} the support of the troops, which they had levied in most of the provinces of *Italy*. But, the public treasury being quite exhausted, they extorted a decree from the senate, empowering them to strip the temples of their ornaments, and turn all the gold and silver they found in them into money. The consuls having now wherewithal to pay their troops, and the rigor of the season being abated, their armies took the field, and went in quest of the enemy. The first battle was fought on the banks of the *Æsis*, between *Carinas*, one of the consul's generals, and *Metellus Pius*, who was immovably attached to *Sylla*. The action proved very bloody, and lasted from morning to night. But *Metellus* at length obliged *Carinas* to retire, and soon after made himself master of his camp. The news of this defeat exasperated young *Marius* to such a degree against *Sylla* and his adherents, that he sent orders to *Junius Brutus*, then prætor in *Rome*, to put all *Sylla*'s friends in the city to death. This order was executed with the utmost cruelty; not one of those, whom the inhuman prætor could get into his power, was spared. Among the slain were *Papirius Carbo*, the consul's brother, *P. Antistius*, father-in-law to *Pompey*, *L. Domitius*, and the great *Mucius Scævola*, pontifex maximus. The latter took refuge in the temple of *Vesta*; but the prætor's agents followed him thither, and murdered him at the foot of the altar. The account *Sylla* received of these cruelties made him resolve to quit *Campania*, and draw near to *Rome*. Accordingly, he advanced to *Setia* on the banks of the *Liris*, where he was met by young *Marius* at the head of eighty-five cohorts. *Sylla* resolved, contrary to the advice of all his officers, to venture an engagement, being encouraged by a dream, in which the night before he imagined to see old *Marius* advising his son to beware of the following day, which might be of fatal consequence to him. Both armies engaged with great intrepidity, and fought with unparalleled bravery. The success was long doubtful; but at length *Marius*'s right wing gave way, and the dispute was ended by the desertion of seven of his cohorts, who all in a body went over to *Sylla*. Their example drew many others, which struck the consular army with such terror, that they all betook themselves to flight, and dispersed about the fields. The conqueror pursued them, and made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives. The vanquished, seeing themselves closely pursued, fled to *Præneste* in such numbers, that the inhabitants were forced to shut the gates before the consul arrived; so that he was drawn up with a cord, and by that means escaped for the present the fury of his pursuers. All the rest, who were left without the walls, perished by the swords of the enemy. *Sylla*, as quoted by *Plutarch*, tells us in his memoirs, that on this occasion twenty thousand of the enemy were killed upon the spot, and eight thousand taken prisoners; whereas he lost in all but three and twenty men^d.

f *Sylla*, flattering himself that he should put an end to the war by taking *Marius*, *Præneste* instantly invested *Præneste*: but, as the place was too strong to be taken by assault, he resolved to reduce it by famine; and with this view he surrounded it with a broad and deep ditch, placing guards at proper distances to prevent the conveying in of any provisions. He committed the care of the blockade to one *Lucretius Ofella*, a soldier of fortune, whom he had lately gained over from *Marius*'s party. As for himself, he marched with a strong detachment towards *Rome*, which, he was informed, the friends of *Marius* had abandoned upon the news of his defeat. The citizens, oppressed with famine,

^c APPIAN, LIV. PLUT. *ibid*.

^d PLUT. in *Sylla*.

Sylla enters
Rome.

Great advan-
tages gained
by Sylla and
his generals.

The treachery
of Albinova-
nus.

Norbanus
flies to
Rhodes,
where he kills
himself.

Carbo retires
to Africa.

Telesinus the
Samnite joins
the generals of
the Marian
faction.

famine and all the calamities that attend a civil war, opened the gates to him; so that he entered the city without opposition, and incamped in the *Campus Martius*. And now, seeing himself master of the capital, he assembled the people, complained to them of the injustice done him by his enemies, confiscated the estates of all those who adhered to *Marius*, promoted his friends to the offices he found vacant by the flight of those who had opposed him; and then, without staining his first coming to the capital with any acts of cruelty, returned to his camp before *Præneste*. In the mean time, *Carbo*, having raised a numerous army in *Cisalpine Gaul* and *Hetruria*, drew near to *Præneste*, with a design to throw succours into the place. But *Sylla* meeting him, a bloody action ensued, which lasted from sun-rising to sun-set, without any advantage on either side. During the engagement, *Marcus Censorinus*, one of *Carbo*'s generals, at the head of eight legions, attempted to force the enemy's trenches in another quarter; but he was repulsed by *Pompey* and *Crassus*. A few days after, these two generals were attended with equal success against *C. Albinus Carinas*, whom they defeated, after having killed five thousand of his men. *Sylla*'s other generals gained still greater advantages in several parts of *Italy*. The two *Servilii* beat the consular troops near *Clusium*; *Marcus Lucullus* defeated another army near *Fidentia*; and *Metellus* gained a signal victory over the united forces of *Carbo* and *Norbanus* in the neighbourhood of *Faventia*. Ten thousand of them were cut in pieces, and six thousand went over to *Metellus*. Upon the news of this defeat, a legion, which lay at some distance from *Metellus*'s camp under the command of *Albinovanus*, immediately forsook him, and joined *Metellus*. Hereupon *Albinovanus*, thinking himself no longer safe in the party he had embraced, abandoned it in so criminal a manner as has made his name infamous. He invited *Norbanus*, his general, *C. Apustius*, *Flavius Fimbria*, and most of the chief officers of his party, to an entertainment. *Norbanus* was prevented, by an unforeseen accident, from complying with the invitation; and this saved him; for the rest, when they were in the height of their jollity and mirth, were barbarously massacred by a band of assassins, whom the traitor had hired for that purpose. Such are the effects of party-zeal and domestic dissensions. *Albinovanus*, thinking himself sufficiently recommended to *Sylla* by this black piece of treachery, withdrew to his camp with all the accomplices of his crime. *Norbanus*, not knowing any longer whom to trust, went on board a vessel, which he found ready to set sail for *Rhodes*, and arrived safe in that island. *Sylla* sent immediately to demand him of the *Rhodians*; but, while they were deliberating how to behave in so nice an affair, *Norbanus* prevented their coming to a determination by stabbing himself in the middle of the market-place.

In the mean time, *Carbo*, after having attempted several times in vain to relieve his colleague *Marius* closely besieged in *Præneste*, retired into *Hetruria* to reinforce his army there with new levies. But while he was incamped near *Clusium*, news was brought him, that *M. Lucullus* had, with sixteen cohorts, defeated fifty cohorts of his best troops, under the command of *Quinctius*, in the neighbourhood of *Placentia*, killed eighteen thousand of them, and taken their camp. This misfortune struck *Carbo* with such terror, that, despairing of success in *Italy*, he withdrew privately from his army, though thirty thousand strong, and with a few friends imbarqued for *Africa*, to carry on the war there. Upon the news of his flight, *Pompey* and the *Servilii* hastened to attack the army he had left in the neighbourhood of *Clusium*, which, as it was destitute of a general, made but a faint resistance; twenty thousand men were killed upon the spot, and the rest either taken or dispersed. And now one of the three chief supporters of the *Marian* faction being dead, another fled, and the third ready to perish with want in an invested town without any hopes of escaping, *Sylla* began to think the war at an end. But a new enemy, more brave and resolute than any *Sylla* had yet encountered, entering the lists against the conqueror, had like to have humbled him, and turned the scales in favour of the opposite party. This was *Pontius Telesinus*, a *Samnite* of noble extraction and great experience in war; who having raised an army of forty thousand men, partly *Lucanians* and partly *Samnites*, joined them to those of *Carinas*, *Brutus*, and *Censorinus*; and with these three chiefs advanced boldly to make a last effort, and either relieve *Marius* in *Præneste*, or perish in the attempt. *Sylla*, being informed of their motions, advanced to meet them at the head of his victorious army, and at the same time sent orders to *Pompey*, who commanded another

^a PLUT. in Sylla. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii.

Chap. 9.

a another body, to follow *Telefinus*, and fall on his rear, while he attacked him in front. The *Samnite*, finding himself in a manner surrounded by two armies, so that he could neither advance nor retire, without being attacked by both at the same time, decamped silently in the night, and over reaching the two generals, instead of pursuing his march to *Præneste*, took the rout to *Rome*, which he knew was not in a condition to sustain a siege. His march was so expeditious, that before break of day he came within ten furlongs of the *Collatine* gate. His approach threw the city into the utmost confusion. The gates were immediately shut; the men ran to arms and appeared on the walls; the women all in tears crowded to the temples to implore the assistance of the gods. *Telefinus* was a second *Hannibal* at the gates of *Rome*, and already thought himself master of it. He then pulled off the mask, and shewing himself as much an enemy to *Marius* as to *Sylla*, declared to his troops, who were mostly *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, that his design was not to assist one *Roman* against another, but to extirpate, if possible, the whole nation, utterly destroy the proud city, and bury its inhabitants under the ruins. He walked through all the lines and ranks of his army, encouraging his men to lay hold of the opportunity which offered of humbling the proud republic, and putting her out of a condition of pretending to lord it over the rest of *Italy*. Let fire and sword, said he, destroy all; let no quarter be given; mankind can never be free so long as one *Roman* is left alive. His troops, fired by such a speech, advanced with great fury. The *Roman* youth marched out to oppose them under the conduct of *Appius Claudius*, a young patrician of noble extraction and great hopes. But he was killed, and the rest forced back into the city with great slaughter. In the mean time, *Sylla*, receiving intelligence of the enemy's march, detached seven hundred horse under the command of *Balbus*, with orders to ride full gallop to *Rome*, and throw themselves into the city, while he advanced with the utmost expedition at the head of all the infantry of his army. The arrival of *Balbus* raised the drooping spirits of the citizens, who had given themselves up for lost. But the sudden appearance of *Sylla* at the head of his army occasioned such joy among all ranks of men as can hardly be expressed. He arrived about noon, and incamped near the temple of *Venus*. After he had allowed his men a few minutes to refresh themselves, he called them again to arms, and drew them up in order of battle. *Dolabella* and *Torquatus*, two of his lieutenants, endeavoured to dissuade him from exposing his troops, harassed and spent as they were, to a desperate push, when all lay at stake. They remonstrated to him, that he had not a *Marius* or a *Carbo* to deal with, but an experienced general at the head of the *Lucanians* and *Samnites*, two of the most warlike nations in *Italy*, and the most inveterate enemies of the *Roman* name. But *Sylla*, without hearkening to their remonstrances, ordered the trumpets to sound the charge, and began the attack. The fight was the sharpest and most bloody that had happened during the whole course of the war. The *Samnites*, animated by the example of the brave *Telefinus*, behaved with their usual valour, and put the left wing of the *Romans*, where *Sylla* himself commanded, into great confusion. Several cohorts fled, and retired legions, not able to keep their ground against the *Samnites*, who pushed them with incredible vigor, began to retire. *Sylla* did all that lay in his power to rally them, and bring them back to the charge. He even presented himself sword in hand before the runaways to stop their flight. But all in vain; the legionaries, who had behaved so gallantly in *Asia*, without any regard to the command or danger of their general, thought only of saving themselves by a shameful flight, some of them hastening back to their camp, and others striving to get into the city. The *Samnites* made a dreadful havoc of the fugitives, and *Sylla* himself narrowly escaped death. As he was flying from line to line mounted on a white courser, two *Samnites*, knowing him by his equipage, levelled their javelins at him, which one of his attendants perceiving, gave his horse a lash, which made him bounce forwards so seasonably, that the javelins just grazed upon his tail, and fell deep into the ground at some distance from him. In this imminent danger *Sylla* took out of his bosom a little golden image of *Apollo*, which he brought from *Delphos*, and constantly carried about him in all engagements; and as danger and fear usually awaken religious sentiments, he addressed himself to it in the following words; Great *Apollo*, the *Pythian*, thou who hast granted *Cornelius Sylla* victory in so many engagements, and raised him to the highest pitch of glory, hast thou at last brought him to the very gates of his native city to fall there ignominiously with his fellow-citizens? He then endeavoured anew to rally the fugitives. Some of them he threatened, others he conjured only to face about, and look on

Over-reaches
Sylla and
Pompey, and
marches to
Rome.

He repulses the
Romans.

Sylla hastens
to the relief of
the city.

Engages *Tele-*
finus.

Sylla's left
wing defeated.

Sylla in
great danger.

the enemy. But when he found all was to no purpose, and that the left wing was intirely broken and put to flight, he had no resource but in a retreat; and accordingly endeavoured with the rest to gain the camp, after having lost a great number of his friends, and some of the most considerable officers of the army. A great many of the citizens likewise, whose curiosity had led them out to be spectators of the engagement, were trod under foot by the enemy's horse; others were shut out and left at the mercy of the victorious *Samnites*, and some, among whom were several senators, stifled in the croud. A great many of the fugitives retired to the camp before *Præneste*, which they filled with terror, reporting, that *Sylla* was certainly killed, his army cut in pieces, and *Rome* in the hands of the *Samnites* ^a.

The Samnite army defeated by Crassus. IN the mean time, *M. Crassus*, who commanded the right wing of the *Roman* ^b army, having put to flight *Carinas*, who commanded the enemy's left, fell unexpectedly upon the victorious *Samnites*, charged them with unparalleled bravery, overpowered them, and at length by putting them to flight, saved, we may say, *Rome* from undergoing the fate of *Carthage* and *Corinth*. *Sylla* was defeated; *Rome* was not in a condition to stand a siege; and the brave *Samnite*, not knowing the fate of his left wing, was advancing to the gates of the defenceless city, crying out to his soldiers, as they marched along, *Courage, my brave Samnites, courage! we shall be soon masters of Rome. There is no safety for us, till we have destroyed that den of wolves, which watch all opportunities to devour us.* And indeed, had it not been for *Crassus*, this great metropolis had been buried in its ruins, and liberty restored to the ^c rest of the world. The *Samnites*, now no more conquerors, but conquered, fled to *Antemnae*, whither *Crassus* pursued them, and from thence sent an express to acquaint

Telefinus is killed. *Sylla* with his victory. In this engagement *Telefinus* was killed at the head of his troops, after having given such proofs of valour, as intitle him to a place among the greatest heroes of antiquity. *Carinas*, *Brutus*, and *Censorinus*, were all taken prisoners, and soon after beheaded by *Sylla's* orders. That general, upon notice given him by *Crassus* of the defeat and flight of the enemy's army, hastened to *Antemnae*, and there, as he had now no enemy to fear, he gave the first instances of his cruel and barbarous temper. For as he approached the place, three thousand of those unhappy wretches, who had taken shelter there, having sent deputies to him, in- ^d

Sylla's cruelty. treating him to spare their lives, and promising him an inviolable fidelity, the cruel general answered, that he would spare their lives, provided they put such of their comrades to death as refused to join them. Upon this they fell upon their fellow-soldiers sword in hand, killed a great number of them, and then presented themselves before *Sylla* without arms, and in the posture of suppliants. He pretended to pardon them, and carried both those who had surrendered, and the rest, to the number of six, or, as *Appian* will have it, eight thousand men, to *Rome*, which he entered amidst the acclamations of the people. Upon his arrival he caused those unfortunate wretches to be shut up in the circus, and then summoned the senate to meet in the temple of *Bellona*, which stood near the circus. When the fathers were met, he ^e began to harangue them; but while they were hearkening with great attention to his speech, his troops, pursuant to their orders, entered the circus, and fell sword in hand on the unfortunate prisoners confined there. The cries and groans of so many men butchered in so narrow a place alarmed the senators, who were not acquainted with his orders, and filled them with terror. But *Sylla*, with great unconcern and composure in his countenance, addressing himself to the conscript fathers, *Attend*, said he, *to what I am saying, and don't trouble your heads about what is doing without doors: the noise you hear is occasioned by some offenders, whom I have ordered to be chastised.* He then continued his discourse with great calmness, telling the fathers, that he designed to settle the republic upon the same foot on which it stood in the best of ^f times. But when the senators were informed of the massacre in the circus, they plainly saw, that they were still under tyranny, and had only changed their tyrant, which was to them matter of no less surprise than grief and terror. For in *Sylla* the nobility had hoped to find a friend, and the people a protector. He had been from his youth inclined to mirth, and was not only of a jovial, but of so compassionate, a temper, that he had been often seen to weep upon very slight occasions. But the change of fortune introduced, in a manner, a change of nature, and begot pride, arrogance, inhumanity, and all those vices, which, generally speaking, attend an uncontrouled power and authority.

THE

- ^a THE inhabitants and garison of *Præneſte* no ſooner heard of the defeat of *Teleſinus*, *Præneſte ſur-*
 than they delivered up the city to *Ofella*. *Marius* endeavoured to make his eſcape *renders.*
 through ſome ſubterraneous paſſages ; but finding them all guarded, where they
 opened into the country, by *Sylla*'s ſoldiers, he laid violent hands on himſelf, as ſome
 writers tell us, to avoid falling into the power of his enemies. Others ſay, that *Pon-*
tius Teleſinus, brother to him who commanded the *Samnite* army, and the young con-
 ſul engaged in a ſingle combat with a deſign to kill each other, and that *Pontius*
 falling firſt, *Marius* ordered a ſlave to kill him. His head was brought to *Sylla*,
 who looking upon it with an air of arrogance and contempt, *What did this raſh boy* *Marius killed.*
mean, ſaid he, *in pretending to govern the rudder, before he had learned to handle the oar ?*
^b His head was afterwards by *Sylla*'s orders expoſed in the forum to inſpire terror. All
 the *Samnites* and *Præneſtines* able to bear arms were put to the ſword, and the city was
 given up to be plundered ; ſo that from being one of the moſt populous and rich
 cities of *Italy*, it became at once the moſt poor and deſolate. *Plutarch* tells us, that
Sylla upon the news of the ſurrender of *Præneſte* haſtened thither, in order to bring the
 inhabitants and *Samnite* priſoners to a formal trial, that he might put them to death
 with ſome ſhew of juſtice. Accordingly, he began with citing each particular perſon
 before his tribunal, and, after hearing their defence, pronounced ſentence like an im- *Sylla's cruelty*
 partial judge. But finding this a work of too much time, he ordered them all, to *towards the*
 the number of twelve thouſand men, to be cooped up cloſe in one place, and gave *Præneſtines.*
^c a general order for their execution. They were all inhumanly maſſacred in the pre-
 ſence of the tyrant, who beheld that cruel butchery, and heard the cries and groans of
 thoſe unfortunate men, with as much calmneſs and unconcern, as if he had been af-
 ſiſting at a public ſhow. He was pleaſed to except one out of the number of the vic-
 tims, and offer him his life, becauſe he had formerly entertained him in his houſe.
 But the generous *Præneſtine* rejected the offer with the utmoſt indignation ; *I ſcorn,*
 ſaid he, *to owe my life to the butcher of my country.* This ſaid, he mixed with his fel-
 low-citizens, and perished in the general ſlaughter. About the ſame time *Norba*, a *Norba taken.*
 city of *Campania*, being after a long ſiege reduced to the laſt extremity by *Æmilius*
Lepidus, one of *Sylla*'s generals, the inhabitants, dreading the fate of the *Præneſtines*,
^d ſet fire to their houſes, and perished with all their effects in the flames ^f.
 THE taking of *Præneſte* and *Norba* put an end to the civil war in *Italy*. *Sylla* there-
 fore, having placed in all the *Italian* provinces ſuch governors, as were intirely at his
 devotion, and pitched ſeveral little camps in different diſtricts to keep the country in
 awe, returned to *Rome*, which he entered at the head of his troops. The ſame day
 he aſſembled the people in the comitium, and told them with a haughty air, that he *His ſpeech to*
 had conquered ; but that thoſe, who had made him take arms againſt his country, *the people in*
 ſhould expiate the blood they had made him ſhed, with their own. *I will not ſpare one* *Comitium.*
 ſaid he, *who has borne arms againſt me. They ſhall all periſh to a man.* Theſe words
 from a man, who was abſolute maſter of their lives and fortunes, made the moſt in-
^e trepid tremble. They filled the whole city with dread and horror ; and the conſterna-
 tion was doubled the next day, when they ſaw fixed up in all public places a liſt of pro-
 ſcribed perſons, containing the names of forty ſenators and ſixteen hundred knights. If *His proſcrip-*
 any man gave ſhelter to a perſon proſcribed, though his ſon, his brother, or his father, *tions.*
 death was the certain reward of his humanity ; whereas the aſſaſſin was recompenſed
 with two talents, though a ſlave had murdered his maſter, or a ſon his father. The chil-
 dren and grand-children of thoſe he proſcribed were by an edict declared infamous, and
 their eſtates conſiſcated. The tyrant choſe ſuch agents to execute his decrees, as had
 even leſs pity than himſelf. The chief of theſe was the infamous *Catiline*, whoſe ſedi- *Catiline the*
 tious enterpriſes we ſhall relate hereafter. That profligate wretch, though yet very *miniſter of his*
^f young, had ſome time before killed his brother ; and now, to juſtify his crime, he pre- *cruelties.*
 vailed upon *Sylla* to inſert his brother's name among the proſcribed. This favour ſo
 attached him to the tyrant, that he became the chief inſtrument of all his cruelties.
 At the head of a band of aſſaſſins, he ſcoured the ſtreets, and killed many knights
 and ſenators before they knew they were proſcribed. The perſons named in the liſt
 were ſought for in their own houſes, in the porticos, and even in the temples, whence
 they were dragged to *Sylla*, and cruelly butchered in his preſence. Nor was the maſ-
 ſacre confined to thoſe named in the liſt. *Sylla* extended his revenge to all who had
 borne arms againſt him, of what rank ſoever or condition. Nay, his cruel agents took
 this

^f PLUT. APPIAN. ibid. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. VELL. PATERCUL. l. i.

Rome turned this opportunity to gratify their private revenge and avarice, confounding the most a
 into a shambling innocent and peaceable with the most guilty, out of some private grudge, or purely
 for the sake of their wealth and rich furniture. In short the slaughter was so dreadful,
 that *Sylla* was reproached with it even by his best friends. Among others a young
 senator, named *Caius Metellus*, ventured one day to ask him in full senate, when he
 designed to put a stop to the calamities of his fellow-citizens? *We do not*, said he, *inter-*
cede for such as you have resolved to destroy; but only desire you to free those from their un-
easiness whom you have determined to save. *Sylla*, without seeming to take this bold
 speech amiss, answered coolly, that he knew not yet whom he should save. *Name to*
us then, replied *Metellus*, *those you have determined to destroy. That I will do*, an-
 swered *Sylla* very smartly, and immediately caused a new list to be fixed up of eighty b
 citizens whom he proscribed, most of them senators and persons of great distinction.
 The next day he proscribed two hundred and twenty more, and an equal number the
 third. Among these were *Carbo*, *Scipio*, *Sertorius*, and *Marcus Marius*; the three
 former were out of the tyrant's reach; but the latter, who was nearly related to the
 great *Marius*, and highly favoured by the people, was seized by *Cataline* and put
 to death, after having suffered the most exquisite torments tyranny could invent.
 He was whipped through all the streets of *Rome*, and after this ignominious punish-
 ment carried beyond the *Tiber*, where by *Sylla's* barbarous agents his eyes were put out,
 his hands and ears cut off, his tongue tore out, all his joints dislocated, and his bones
 broken. *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that one *Marcus Plætorius*, being moved at such c
 an affecting sight, could not help pitying the unfortunate young man; which so
 offended *Sylla*, that he ordered him to be killed upon the spot. Even that natural
 compassion for the unhappy, which no man of any humanity can prevent, was judged
 criminal and worthy of death (T). And now, after nine thousand senators, knights,
 and citizens had been inhumanly murdered by *Sylla's* agents, he assembled the people,
 and told them, that he had proscribed as many as he could think of at present; and
 as for those he had forgot, they should be proscribed too, as soon as he could call
 them to his memory^s.

Metellus's
courage.

M. Marius
put to a cruel
death.

The noble spi-
rit of young
Cato.

FROM *Rome*, *Sylla* extended his cruelties to the neighbouring cities that had de-
 clared against him, and used them without mercy. Some were dismantled, others op- d
 pressed with heavy taxes, and immense sums raised upon the inhabitants. All the
 effects of the inhabitants of *Florentia*, *Spoletum*, *Interamna*, and *Sulmona*, were confis-
 cated and sold to the best bidder. Some cities were intirely demolished, and the citizens
 all to a man proscribed. The allies as well as the *Romans* submitted, without resist-
 ance, to the tyrannical yoke. *Cato* alone, known afterwards by the name of *Cato*
Uticensis, or *Cato of Utica*, though at this time but fourteen years of age, discovered
 some remains of the old *Roman* spirit. As *Sylla* shewed a great regard for him on account
 of his ancient friendship with his father, his governor *Sarpedo* brought him frequently
 to the tyrant's house, which looked like a prison, great numbers of citizens being
 confined there, and many daily executed. One day the young *Roman* seeing a great e
 many heads presented to the tyrant, which were said to be of great men, he asked
 his governor how it was possible that the author of so many murders could escape
 being murdered himself? *Because he is more feared*, replied *Sarpedo*, *by the disheartened*
citizens, than hated. *Give me a sword then*, answered the intrepid youth, *and I will*
with one blow deliver my country from the tyrannical yoke. *Sarpedo* was surpris'd at the
 courage

^s PLUT. APPIAN. *ibid.* FLOR. I. iii. c. 21. SENECA de ira. PLIN. I. xxxiv. OROS. I. viii.

(T) *Marius* was scarce expired in his torments, when *Cataline* cut off his head, and carrying it as a trophy into the forum, presented it to *Sylla*, while he was haranguing the people. The tyrant received the shocking present, and beheld it without shewing the least concern. As for *Cataline*, his hands being daubed with the blood he had shed, he went and washed them in the *holy* or *lustral* water, placed at the gate of *Apollo's* temple (12). For the heathens had vessels placed at the gates of their temples filled with water, which they called *lustral* or *holy*. In this water such as intended to go into the temple

washed their hands by way of purification. They likewise sprinkled it on the assembly to cleanse them from their impurities. An exclusion from the use and benefit of this lustral water was looked upon by the *Greeks* as a kind of excommunication. For this reason *OEdipus*, in the first scene of the second act in *Sophocles*, forbids those who had been guilty of the death of *Laius* the use of the lustral water. But here the profligate *Cataline*, after the murder he had committed, washes his hands in that water, intending by such an impious action to affront and defy religion.

(12) *Plut. in Sylla.*

a courage of his pupil, but ever after kept a watchful eye over him, lest he should by some rash attempt expose himself and his family to utter destruction ^b.

WHILE *Italy* was thus groaning under the oppression of the tyrant, *Pompey* was employed against his enemies in *Sicily*, which was governed by *Perperna*, *Carbo*'s friend, a man greatly attached to the *Marian* faction. But, upon *Pompey*'s landing, he abandoned the island and retired to *Carbo* then in *Africa*. The *Sicilians* no sooner heard of his flight, than they came in crouds from all parts of the island to make their submissions to *Pompey*. *Catanea* was the only city that seemed determined not to submit. But *Pompey* having begged of the inhabitants as a favour to admit into their city his sick men, and they complying with his request, he sent the flower of his troops, and by that means made himself master of the place. In the mean time, *Carbo*, not thinking himself safe in *Africa*, retired to the island of *Cossura* between *Sicily* and *Africa*, with a design to pass from thence into *Egypt*. But *Pompey*, being acquainted with his design, sent a squadron of galleys to invest the island, ordering his officers to seize *Carbo* and all the outlaws who attended him, and bring them to *Sicily*. *Carbo*, finding he could not escape, came and surrendered himself to the commander of the squadron. He had formerly saved *Pompey*'s estate, which the tribunes were for confiscating, on his father's being convicted of having embezzled the public money. He could not therefore believe, that party-zeal had effaced all sense of gratitude in the heart of a friend. But he found, to his great surprise, a man, whom he had highly obliged and saved from beggary, become, through his attachment to *Sylla*, his implacable enemy. The young general ordered the old magistrate, who had been dignified with three consulates, to be brought before him loaded with chains; suffered him to fall prostrate at his feet, and received his submissions with such an air of pride as was shocking even to his friends. After he had reproached him with his cruelties, and the disturbances he had raised in the republic, he pronounced sentence of death against him, which was immediately put in execution. However, he suffered most of those *Romans*, who were taken with *Carbo*, to make their escape; which, with his prudent and mild conduct towards the *Sicilians*, gained him the affections of the people. Upon his threatening to punish the inhabitants of *Himera* with great severity, for having been more sanguine than the rest of the *Sicilians* in the cause of *Marius* and *Carbo*, *Sthenis*, their chief magistrate, told him, that he was the man who had stirred up his fellow-citizens against *Sylla*, and that therefore he alone ought to be punished. *Pompey* was so taken with this generous freedom, that he not only pardoned him, and for his sake the city, but received him into his friendship. As his soldiers, accustomed to slaughter, put many of the *Sicilians* to death without his orders, he caused their swords to be sealed up in their scabbards, and severely punished those whose seals were found broken. By these acts of clemency towards the *Sicilians*, he wiped off the reproach of inhumanity and ingratitude, which he had brought on himself by the death of *Carbo*. Nay, it was generally thought, that his behaviour towards the chief supporter of the *Marian* faction was much against his inclination and the bent of his good-nature. At least it is certain, that he made no inquiries after his friends in *Sicily*, and that he not only connived at the escape of many who were seized, but conveyed them away privately himself ⁱ.

Sicily submits to Pompey.

Carbo taken and put to death by Pompey.

Pompey by his clemency gains the hearts of the Sicilians.

AND now *Sylla*, being absolute master of *Rome* and all the countries subject to the republic, except *Spain*, resolved to leave the senate and people a shadow at least of their former liberty. To this end he retired into the country for some days, desiring the conscript fathers to chuse one of their own body in his absence to govern the commonwealth, which, since the death of the consuls, had no legal magistrate. The fathers, out of complaisance to *Sylla*, created *L. Valerius Flaccus* inter-rex: he was president of the senate, and wholly devoted to *Sylla*'s interest; and this gave him an opportunity of bringing the senate to execute the scheme he had formed. He wrote to *Valerius*, desiring him to declare to the senate and people, that, since affairs were yet unsettled, he was of opinion, that a dictator should be created, not for any limited time, but till all evils and grievances were redressed. In his letter he intimated, that at the request of the conscript fathers he would accept of the employment. This proposal, which tended to the establishing of regal authority in *Rome*, surprised the senators. But the remembrance of so much bloodshed, of so many proscriptions and assassinations, chilled every heart; and, the law passing without opposition, *Sylla* was declared dictator

^b PLUT. in Cat.

ⁱ PLUT. in Pomp. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 3. LIV. epit.

Sylla perpetual dictator.
Year after the flood 2922.
Before Christ 77.
Of Rome 671.

tator without any limitation in point of time. Thus the *Romans*, after many ages, fell again under the absolute power of one man; which proved a fatal blow to the republican government, and paved the way to absolute monarchy. As flattery is the usual consequence of slavery, the people, formerly so jealous of their liberty, worshipped the idol they had set up, erecting to their tyrant an equestrian statue of brass in that very comitium, where they had seen the heads of so many illustrious citizens exposed to public view.

C H A P. X.

The history of Rome, from the perpetual dictatorship of Sylla to the triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.

The dictator orders Ofella to be put to death.

SYLLA, now perpetual dictator, or, to speak more properly, king and absolute sovereign of *Rome*, undertook the reformation of the government, being seconded therein by *L. Valerius Flaccus*, whom he appointed his general of the horse. The first law he enacted related to the election of the chief magistrates, and imported, that no man should stand for the prætorship till he had been quæstor, nor be elected consul till he had been prætor, which was only the revival of an ancient custom. Notwithstanding this law, *Lucretius Ofella*, who had carried on the siege of *Præneste*, presuming on that merit, appeared among the candidates for the consulate, though he had not yet bore any office in the republic. Sylla put him in mind of the law he had just enacted; but the bold candidate, presuming too much on his passed services and the favour of the people, continued to solicit their suffrages; which so provoked the dictator, who saw him from his tribunal, that he dispatched a centurion with orders to cut off his head. This execution raised the indignation of the assembly; but Sylla made them thoroughly sensible, that they were no longer a free people, by a low, but expressive, fable; *A ploughman*, said he, *being tormented with vermin, pulled off his cloaths, and cleaned them. While he was busy at his work, they began to molest him anew, and the ploughman killed a far greater number of those troublesome insects the second time than he had done the first. They returned to disturb him a third time; and then the poor labourer, out of all patience, threw his cloaths into the fire; and got rid of them all at once. This fable you may apply to yourselves. Your seditions have hitherto cost you but little blood. Take care that the case of the vermin be not one day your own*^k. This fable, coming from a man invested with an absolute power, made the whole assembly tremble; the tumult was immediately appeased, and the election of the consuls made agreeable to the dictator's will. The persons chosen were *M. Tullius Decula* and *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, two of the chief officers of Sylla's army. They both set out for the provinces allotted them, the former for *Gaul*, and the latter for *Macedon*, leaving Sylla to reign alone in the capital, where he made several laws, which were all, except that relating to proscriptions, allowed to be equitable and judicious. That law ordained, that those, who escaped death after their proscription, should be killed where-ever they were found; that those, who concealed them, should be liable to the same punishment; that their effects should be sold to the best bidder; and that their children should be incapable of holding any of the great employments of the republic. By another law he greatly weakened the authority of the tribunes of the people; for it enacted, that for the future no tribune should be allowed to speak in the assembly of the people for

Sylla makes several good laws.

^k APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i.

a or against any law in agitation ; that only senators should be chosen tribunes ; and that those who had bore this office should be for ever excluded from the superior offices. This made the ambitious disdain seats in a college, beyond which they could not rise. But the tribunes soon recovered their old power, and held it till the time of the emperors, who left them only the name and shadow of magistrates. The pontifices, augurs, and decemvirs appointed to keep and explain the *Sibylline* books, were by another law reinstated in their former honours, and empowered to fill up the vacancies in their respective bodies ; a prerogative as old as their institution, but which had been transferred from them to the people, in the times that the plebeian faction prevailed. To each of these colleges he added five new members, so that they were no longer called decemvirs, but quindecimvirs, their number being increased from ten to fifteen.

b The temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* having been burnt two years before, and the *Sibylline* books, which were lodged there, destroyed in the flames, *Sylla* charged the quindecimvirs to repair that loss, by searching for copies, or at least fragments of them, in the cities of *Erythræa*, *Samos*, *Ilium*, &c. Out of this collection they formed a new book, which was indeed larger, but not so authentic, as the originals that had been kept at *Rome*, ever since the time of *Tarquin the Proud* (U)¹. *Sylla* had the mortification to see some of his laws abrogated before he died ; but the greatest part of them continued in force, and are parts of the *Roman* law to this day.

c AND now *Sylla*, ruling in *Rome* without controul, under pretence of supplying the places of the many *Roman* citizens, who had perished in the civil wars, gave liberty and

¹ APPIAN. *ibid.* POMPONIUS de orig. jurif. TACIT. *annal.* l. xi. CIC. de legib. l. iii. ULPIAN. digest.

(U) There is a great disagreement among the ancients as to the number of the *Sibyls*. *Suidas* says there were fourteen ; *Ælian* reckons but four ; *Solinus* only three ; and *Martianus Capella* reduces them to two. But most authors follow *Varro*, who tells us in express terms that they were ten. Some modern writers indeed, without any regard to the authority of *Varro*, or the other ancients, are for uniting all the *Sibyls* in one. So that, according to them, different names were given to one and the same *Sibyl*, from the different places where she uttered her oracles. She had, say they, no fixed abode, but being led by the spirit, that inspired her, she first published her predictions in the city of *Erythræa*, the place of her nativity, then rambled about the world, and at length ended her rambles and her life at *Cumæ* in *Italy*. But be that as it will, it is certain, that the *Sibyls* were held in great veneration at *Rome* and among the eastern nations. A collection was made of the oracles they uttered, and copies of them multiplied in most cities of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Asia*. The pagans looked on these prophetic rhapsodies as a mysterious book containing the decrees of fate. They were the usual resource of people in times of calamity, and in important affairs, whereof the success was doubtful. *St. Jerom* was of opinion, that God gave them this wonderful gift as a reward for their chastity ; others pretend, that the devil discovered future things to them ; and some ascribe the enthusiasm, with which they were seized, to a melancholy disposition. They were in all likelihood fanatical women, who gave themselves the air of prophetesses, in order to impose on the credulity of the simple. The pagan authors themselves own the terms, in which their prophecies were couched, to have been very obscure and ambiguous ; so that they were capable of the different interpretations which each person thought fit to give them. *Cicero* does not dissemble, that the different rhapsodies of the *Sibylline* books were wrote and disposed in such a manner, as to be easily accommodated to all sorts of events. *Callide enim, qui illa composuit*, says that writer (13), *perfecit, ut, quodcunque accidisset, prædictum videretur*. The same judgment ought to be made of the collection, which, by *Sylla's* orders,

was substituted in the room of the old books after the burning of the capitol. The different fragments, out of which the quindecimvirs composed this volume, contained the dregs of superstition, and were, we may say, a jumble of all the dreams of paganism. Afterwards, some men, who pretended to inspiration, enlarged this volume as they thought fit, which obliged the emperor *Tiberius* to put a stop to this enormous abuse by a very severe decree. As to the eight books, which now bear the name of the *Sibyls*, critics agree that they are the work, at least in part, of some christian of the second century. Some of the fathers, not aware of the imposition, often quoted the books of the *Sibyls* in favour of the christian religion ; and hence *Celsus* stiles the christians *Sibyllists*. But *Origen* and *St. Austin* did not suffer themselves to be imposed on, and therefore speak of those books with contempt. In the reign of the emperor *Honorius*, the famous *Stilico*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel of this history, caused those fragments of the *Sibylline* books, which had been collected by *Sylla's* orders, to be all burnt, the greatest part of the *Roman* senate having then embraced the christian religion. However, *Stilico* was on this account severely censured by the noble poet *Rutilius* in his itinerary (14). Dr. *Hyde*, shocked at the contradictions and fabulous adventures with which the pagans filled the history of the *Sibyls*, found out a new way of accounting for them. He observes in the constellation called the virgin a bright star, which the *Persians* called *Sambula* ; and remarks, that the *Persians*, who were fond of judiciary astrology, looked on the sign of the *Virgin*, as having a greater power, than all the other celestial bodies, to discover future things. The *Greeks*, having learnt the sciences of the eastern nations, soon adopted these trifling opinions, and, agreeable to their genius, embellished them with their fictions. Their poets soon invented a *Sibyl virgin* in allusion to the term *Sambula* ; carried her into several countries ; and made her act the part of a prophetess (15). So that, according to this eminent writer, whatever has been said both by the ancients and moderns of the *Sibyls*, and their prophecies, is entirely fabulous.

(13) *Cic. de divinât.* l. ii.

(14) *Vide Dempster. ad Rosin.* l. iii. c. 24. & *Polyb. histor.* c. 3.

(15) *Vide Hyde de relig. persarum.*

Sylla's tri-
umph.

and the right of *Roman* citizenship to ten thousand slaves, whom from his own name ^a he called *Cornelians*. These were bound in gratitude to fight and vote for him on all occasions. In the next place he rewarded his old legionaries, who had served under him in the *Levant* and in *Italy*, bestowing upon them the lands of the municipia and colonies, which had declared against him. Thus, surrounded by a guard of freedmen in *Rome*, and supported by his old legionaries in the country, he had nothing to fear, either from revolts in the city, or insurrections among the allies. As all was quiet in the capital, *Sylla* thought this a proper time to decree himself a triumph for his conquests in *Asia*, *Greece*, and *Pontus*. *Rome* had not for a long time seen one so magnificent. It lasted two days, on the first of which were carried before the triumphant victor fifteen thousand pounds weight of gold and a hundred and fifteen ^b thousand pounds weight of silver, which he had brought from *Greece* and *Asia*; and on the second thirteen thousand pounds weight of gold and seven thousand pounds weight of silver, which young *Marius* had saved out of the fire of the capitol, and *Sylla* had recovered at *Prænestæ* after his death. As soon as the procession was over, the conqueror, mounting the rostra, according to custom, gave the people a pompous detail of his exploits. As he ascribed all his successes to fortune, he ordered, that no other title should be given him than that of the *fortunate*, a title in which he gloried, as much as other heroes had done in appellations taken from the countries which they had subdued ^m (W). His triumph was succeeded by the most pompous games that had ever been seen in *Rome*. We are told, that in the *Olympic* ^c games, which were celebrated this year, only the races could be performed, the most skilful actors of *Greece* having left their own country, to display their art in the capital of the world ⁿ.

Pompey's
successful ex-
pedition in
Africa.

In the mean time, the *Marian* faction began to revive in *Africa*. *Cneius Domitius Abenobarbus*, nephew to the great *Marius*, had raised there twenty thousand men, and prevailed on *Hiarbas*, one of the kings of *Numidia*, to join him. Hereupon *Sylla* ordered *Pompey* to leave *Sicily*, which he had settled in tranquillity, and pass over with all possible expedition into *Africa*. *Pompey*, pursuant to his orders, immediately imbarqued five legions, and, landing in the *African* province, marched without loss of time against the enemy. When the two armies were in sight of each other and drawn up in battalia, a dreadful storm arose; upon which *Domitius*, believing that *Pompey* would not attack him that day, sounded a retreat. But, while his troops were retiring in some disorder to their camp, the young general, laying hold of that opportunity, fell upon them, and after an obstinate dispute, which lasted the greater part of the day, gained a complete victory. Of twenty thousand men *Domitius* left seventeen dead upon the spot, and not without much difficulty regained his camp with the poor remains of his shattered army. Thither *Pompey* pursued him, forced his camp, killed *Domitius*, and took *Hiarbas* prisoner. In consequence of this success, he recovered all the cities of *Africa*, which had been drawn off from *Sylla's* party, entered *Numidia*, and having reduced that part of it, which belonged to *Hiarbas* his ^d prisoner, gave it to *Hiempsal*, who had always opposed the *Marian* faction. As this glorious expedition was completed in forty days, so rapid a progress by a general of twenty-four years of age alarmed the dictator himself, who ordered the young hero to disband his troops and return to *Rome*. Both *Pompey* and his troops were sensibly affected with this order, which would have produced another civil war, had not *Pompey* conducted himself with great temper. For when his legionaries began to mutiny, he resolutely protested, that he would rather die by his own hand, than involve *Rome* in new troubles. Having thus appeased his troops and disbanded three of his legions, he returned to *Rome*, where he was received with uncommon marks of friendship by the dictator, who went out to meet him, embraced him with great tenderness, and honoured him with the surname of *The Great*, ordering all, who were present, to give ^e him that glorious title ^f.

Sylla jealous
of Pompey.

^m APPIAN. *ibid.*

ⁿ PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.*

^o PLUT. in *Pomp.*

WHEN

(W) *Plutarch* tells us, that his wife having brought him twins, he named the male *Fauslus*, and the female *Fausla*, which words signify *fortunate* or *lucky*. However, in his letters to the *Greeks*, he styled him-

self *Epaphroditus*, that is, *The Beloved of Venus*; and his trophies, which were still extant in *Plutarch's* time, bore this inscription, *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus* (16).

(16) *Plut. in Sylla.*

- ^a WHEN the time came for electing new consuls, *Sylla*, though dictator, stood for that office, and accordingly was elected with *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, surnamed *Pius*, who had joined him upon his first landing in *Italy*. Never was any consular year more peaceable. All men trembled at the very name of *Sylla*, and the *Romans*, once so fond of liberty, were at length brought to submit tamely to the yoke of an imperious master. However, the dictator, to gain the affections of the multitude, gave them such entertainments as now seem to surpass all credit. He consecrated the tenths of his whole substance to *Hercules*, and on that occasion made a general feast for all the people of *Rome*; wherein there was such an abundance, or rather profusion, of all the delicacies the sea, rivers, forests, or fields could afford, that immense quantities of provisions were every day (for the feast lasted several days) thrown into the *Tiber*. *Plutarch* tells us, that the wine, with which he regaled the people, was forty years old and upwards. But the joy of this magnificent entertainment was somewhat abated by the death of his wife *Metella*, whom he had always respected, notwithstanding her irregularities. However, the dictator's grief did not last long. A few months after, he entertained the people with a show of gladiators; and, as in those days men and women sat promiscuously together, a young lady, of extraordinary beauty and of the first quality, placed herself near *Sylla*. She was the daughter of *Messala*, and sister to the famous orator *Hortensius*; her name was *Valeria*, and she had been a few days before divorced from her husband. As she was gay and lively, though virtuous and of an unblemished reputation, she came behind *Sylla*, and resting her hand gently upon his shoulder, took a little of the nap from off his robe, and then returned to her seat. The dictator turned suddenly about, and seemed to be much surprised with the familiarity, when *Valeria* addressed him thus: *It is not out of any want of respect that I have done this; but because I was desirous to partake of your good fortune* (X). *Sylla*, greatly pleased with this answer and taken with the charms of *Valeria*, sent privately to enquire who she was, and to learn her name, family, circumstances, and character. From that time they did nothing but ogle each other in all public places, receive and return amorous glances and wanton smiles. In short, the old warrior, captivated with a few affected glances and coquetish airs, like an amorous youth, without experience or discretion, was continually dangling after the beautiful *Valeria*, till at length he gave way to his passion, and married her ^P.
- ^b IN the mean time, *Pompey* was soliciting the senate and people for a triumph, which his late victories seemed indeed well to deserve, and the senate was willing to grant. But *Sylla*, probably jealous of the glory of the young hero, opposed his pretensions, alledging a law, which enacted that none but prætors and consuls should triumph, and that for battles gained under their own auspices; whereas *Pompey* was but a private *Roman* knight, and had gained his victories under the auspices of the dictator. But this did not discourage the young conqueror, who continued to make interest with the senate and people for the gaining of his point. *Sylla* told him plainly, that he would employ all his credit with the people against him; not doubting, but that declaration, as he was master of the suffrages of the people, would make him despair of obtaining the honour he so ardently desired. But *Pompey*, not in the least discouraged, answered the dictator frankly, that his opposition mattered not, since more people adored the rising than the setting sun. These words the dictator did not well understand; but observing no small surprize in the countenances of those who stood by, he asked what the young man had said. When it was told him, he wondered at his boldness, and then cried out twice, *Let him then triumph in the name of the gods*. *Pompey*, taking advantage of this answer, immediately ordered every thing to be got ready for his triumph; and to give more uneasiness to those who envied him, he ordered his triumphal chariot to be drawn by four elephants; for he had taken several of those warlike animals from the princes he had subdued in *Africa*. But the gate of the city being too narrow for four elephants to pass abreast under it, he was forced to be satisfied with horses as usual. Thus a *Roman* knight was distinguished with the highest military honours, before he had attained to the age requisite for having a seat in the senate. But the evil fate of *Rome* was raising up against him a formidable rival in the person of *Julius*

Feasts the whole Roman people.

Falls in love with Valeria.

And marries her.

Pompey's bold answer to Sylla.

Pompey triumphs.

^P PLUT. *ibid.*

(X) This passage is very remarkable; for it shews us, that the superstition is of a very ancient date, by which men were persuaded, that commerce with, or touch of, a lucky person, was a means of making them partakers of his good fortune.

Julius Cæsar, who in this very year made his first campaign in the east. He had married, as we have observed above, the daughter of *Cornelius Cinna*, and obtained at the age of seventeen, if we may believe *Suetonius*^a, the office of high-priest of *Jupiter*, being supported by the *Marian* faction, which then prevailed. *Plutarch* indeed contradicts *Suetonius*, and tells us, that when *Sylla* gave law in *Rome*, *Cæsar* stood for the priesthood of *Jupiter*, but was excluded from that dignity by the dictator. Not long after *Sylla* endeavoured to prevail upon him to divorce his wife *Cornelia*, who had already brought him his first daughter *Julia*. But the bold youth had courage enough to resist this formidable master of *Rome* to his face, though he had just before forced *Piso* to put away his wife *Annia*, whom he tenderly loved, and obliged *Pompey* to part with his wife *Antistia*, and marry *Æmilia*, daughter-in-law to *Sylla* by his wife *Metella*, who had been married to *Æmilius Scaurus*. The dictator, highly provoked against *Cæsar* for daring to contradict his sovereign will, resolved to proscribe him; and it was not without infinite difficulties that the friends of the *Julian* family got the decree of proscription suspended. When they intreated him to excuse the follies of a warm and presumptuous youth, from whom he could have nothing to fear, *Sylla* answered, that he discovered in him, young as he was, several *Mariuses*. When *Cæsar* heard this, he stole out of *Rome*, and wandered some time in the country of the *Sabines*, where he had the misfortune to be one day surprized by a party of *Sylla's* soldiers. But *Cornelius*, who commanded them, consented to let him escape upon his paying two talents. And now, thinking himself no longer safe in *Italy*, he withdrew to the court of *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, where his residence is said to have proved fatal to his modesty, the private hours he spent with that prince raising suspicions no-ways to his honour^r. In this account we have followed *Plutarch*; for *Suetonius* says nothing of *Cæsar's* flight; but on the contrary affirms, that *Sylla* granted him his pardon at the request of the vestals, of *M. Æmilius*, and *Aurelius Cotta*^s. After he had resided some time at the court of the *Bithynian* king, he went to serve under *Marcus Minucius Thermus*, at that time prætor of *Asia*. *Suetonius* says, that this general sent him into *Bithynia*, and gave him the command of the fleet, which *Nicomedes* fitted out to assist at the siege of *Mitylene*, the only city in *Asia*, which refused to submit to the *Romans*, after the treaty of peace concluded between *Mithridates* and *Sylla*. *Cæsar* distinguished himself at the taking of this city, and merited several civic crowns, which were given to those who had saved the life of a *Roman* citizen^t.

BUT to return to *Sylla*; he reduced this year *Nola* in *Campania* and *Volaterræ* in *Ætruria*, the only two cities that held out against him. And now all *Italy* being in perfect tranquillity, he declined the consulate for the next year, and recommended to the tribes *P. Servilius Vatia*, a man of merit and his old friend, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, who were accordingly chosen in the field of *Mars*. This year *Cicero* first pleaded in public in favour of *Roscius*, whose father had been proscribed and killed by *Sylla's* orders. As he was not very cautious in his reflections on a government which made *Rome* tremble, he thought it adviseable to leave his country, after he had given a public proof of his great genius. He retired to *Athens*, where he perfected his talents for oratory, and improved his taste for philosophy.

AND now *Sylla*, after having destroyed above a hundred thousand *Roman* citizens, taken away the lives of ninety senators, proscribed or caused to be murdered near two thousand six hundred knights, and buried numberless multitudes of the allies in the ruins of their cities, resolved to lay down the power he had usurped, and put himself upon a level with the rest of the people. Had he consulted ambition or policy, he would never have taken such a resolution. The *Roman* people had set no limits to his power in point of time. There were no domestic troubles to create him any uneasiness, *Rome* being now accustomed to bear the yoke. His friends, who were as much interested as himself in his preservation, were a sufficient security to him against the attempts of his enemies. On the other hand, so many dangers surrounded him in a private life, that he could not reasonably expect to be safe. But none of these considerations had weight with him; he resolved to lay down his power, and restore the republic to her ancient liberty, which must have proceeded from a greatness of mind, to which none of the antient historians have done justice. When he had taken this final resolution, he assembled the people, mounted the rostra, and surprized *Rome* with so unexpected a determination. He represented in a short speech the miserable condition

^a Suet. in Julio.^r Plut. in Cæsar.^s Suet. ibid.^t Suet. in Julio.

- a tion in which he had found the city at his return from *Asia*; and added, that, the republic Sylla *abdi-*
being in great danger, he had been forced to use violent remedies; that the loss of a little *cates the dic-*
blood only would have increased the distemper instead of curing it; that he had there- *tatorship.*
fore thought it necessary to take a great deal of blood from a body so robust and dis-
eased, in order to restore it to perfect health, &c. He concluded his speech with these
words, which filled the heart of every true *Roman* with joy: And now, *Romans*, I
leave you to yourselves, I resign my office, divest myself of the unlimited power you
have conferred upon me, and am ready to give an account of my whole admini-
stration, and answer, in a private capacity, all the accusations that shall be brought
against me. This said, he dismissed his lictors, came down from the rostra, and
b walked a great while in the forum, discoursing familiarly with some of his friends
before the multitude, who, struck with admiration, looked on so unexpected a
change as a prodigy. Though the city was then full of the children and friends of
proscribed persons, yet none offered to insult him; except one young man, who fol-
lowed him to his house, abusing him in a most scurrilous manner. *Sylla* did not daign
to give him any answer; but turning to the few friends he had about him, *This usage,*
said he, *will for the future deter any man from laying down the sovereign power, as I have*
done, if he once gets it into his hands. A few days after he retired to his fine country
house near *Cumæ*, spent there some days in more tranquillity than he could have done
at *Rome*, and then returned to the city, lest his enemies should think that fear had
c confined him to the country. In *Rome* he maintained the rank of a man of the first
distinction, but intermeddled no farther in public affairs, than became a private person,
whose great employments and powerful friends gave him more weight than a com-
mon citizen. At the very first election after his resignation, he had the mortification
to see *Pompey*, his pupil, or rather his creature, assume an ascendant over him in the
assembly of the people. *Pompey* used all his interest to get his friend *M. Æmilius*
Lepidus first nominated consul; *Sylla* on the other hand solicited for *Q. Lutatius Catulus*.
The former was a man of a violent temper, and a declared enemy to *Sylla*; whereas
the latter was his intimate friend, and generally looked upon as a person of great
probity, wisdom, and experience. The emulation was greater between the chiefs of *Pompey resist*
d the two parties, than between the candidates themselves: but *Pompey*, who was *Sylla at the*
extremely favoured by the people, prevailed. His friend *Lepidus* was first nomi- *election of con-*
nated consul, not by any merit or interest of his own, but by the power and solici- *suls.*
tation of *Pompey* (Y). When *Pompey* was coming out of the assembly, overjoyed with
his success, *Sylla* took him aside, and told him, that he had got the worst of men
named consul before the most virtuous man in *Rome*; but that he had no reason to
triumph in his victory, because he would find, when it was too late, that he had been
nourishing a snake in his bosom. What *Sylla* foretold proved too true, as we shall
see in a more proper place. In the mean time, the two consuls entered upon their office,
and the misunderstanding, which arose between them, threatening the city with a
new storm, *Sylla* withdrew again to his country-house, and there gave himself up to
e the most infamous debaucheries, though full sixty years of age. The charms of his *Sylla's de-*
wife *Valeria* could not keep him from a scandalous commerce with actors and actresses. *baunched life in*
His chief favourites were *Roscus* the comedian, *Sorex* the chief mimic, and *Metro-* *the country.*
bios, who acted womens parts on the stage. With these he spent whole days and
nights in drinking and revelling, which brought a distemper upon him, that soon
put an end to his life. His blood was corrupted, and bred an imposthume in his
bowels. This he was not aware of till the corruption infected his flesh, and his whole
body swarmed with vermin. Many slaves were employed night and day in destroy-
ing them; but they multiplied so fast, that his cloaths, baths, rooms, and his very
f food, was covered with them. He went often every day into the waters to cleanse his
body; but being at last sensible, that his distemper was past curing, he applied himself
to the finishing of his memoirs; in the twenty-second book of which he declared, that
the *Chaldeans* had foretold him, that, after he had acquired great power and glory, he
should conclude the last act of his life in full prosperity. Ten days before his death he
interposed

(Y) There was no primacy or distinction be-
tween the two consuls. They were both equal in
dignity and authority. But it was an honour to be
named first; for the people gave stronger evidences
of their zeal and affection for him, than they did
for the other, who was named in the second place.

The advantage of the consul first named was so in-
considerable, that he could not so much as assume
the fasces first, unless he was elder than his colleague,
or had a greater number of children, or was enter-
ing upon his second consulate.

interposed in some disputes, which the inhabitants of *Puteoli* had among themselves, a reconciled the contending parties, and prescribed them a form of government, which they adopted. The day before he died he was informed, that *Granius*, the chief magistrate of *Puteoli*, delayed paying the immense sums due from him to the public, in hopes of being freed from that obligation by *Sylla's* death. Hereupon *Sylla* sent for him into his bed-chamber, and there ordered his slaves to strangle him in his presence ; but straining his voice in the heat of his passion, he broke the imposthume, and voided a great deal of blood. This discharge weakened him to such a degree, that he passed the night in great agony, and died the day following, leaving behind him two children very young by his wife *Metella*. *Valeria* was afterwards delivered of a daughter named *Posthuma*, for so the *Romans* called those who were born after the death of their fathers^a. He was, without all doubt, one of the greatest commanders Rome ever bred, and as able a statesman. But most of the antients seem to have drawn a veil over all his good qualities, and to have displayed only his cruelties and proscriptions, which, we own, betrayed a most cruel and inhuman temper. But after all, we ought not to forget that greatness of mind truly heroic, which appeared in his unexpected and surprising abdication. What could a man of the most refined virtue have done more, than restore his country to its antient liberty, reform the republic with excellent laws, revive and enforce the old institutions, and lay down his power as soon as it was no longer necessary for the public good ? Could the warmest patriot have shewn a more generous regard for his country ? His funeral occasioned a misunderstanding between the consuls. *Lepidus* was for having him carried to the burial-place of his ancestors, without any mark of distinction. But *Catulus* made use of all the authority his office gave him, and *Pompey* of his interest with the people, to have the funeral honours paid to the deceased, which were due to his merit. And indeed never was a more magnificent funeral seen in *Rome*. His corpse, being placed on a rich bier, was carried on the shoulders of four senators, and attended by the pontifices, the vestals, the senate in a body, all the curule magistrates, the whole body of *Roman* knights, and a numerous train of officers, who had served under him in *Africa*, *Greece*, *Asia*, and *Italy*. The vestals and pontifices sung hymns in praise of the deceased, which were repeated by the senate, the knights, and the whole multitude. The body was burnt with great solemnity in the field of *Mars*, where no funeral pile had been raised ever since the time of the first kings. Many statues were erected to his memory, and a most magnificent monument in the field of *Mars*, with an epitaph of his own composing, the substance of which was, that no friend had ever done him so much good, nor enemy so much hurt, but he had returned both with usury^c. Of all his friends, who were almost numberless, *Pompey* alone, whose ingratitude gave him no small offence, was left out of his will.

Sylla was no sooner dead, than new disturbances sprung up in the republic. *M. Æmilius Lepidus* the consul did all that lay in his power to revive the old quarrels between the nobility and the people, hoping by that means to make himself as absolute master of the government as *Sylla* had been. He began with attempting to annul *Sylla's* acts, which would have deprived the republic of the many wise laws the dictator had made. But he was therein resolutely opposed by his colleague *Catulus* ; and the misunderstanding between the two chief magistrates was carried so far, that the senate, dreading the consequences of their quarrel, forced them to swear, that they would not take up arms against each other. Care was also taken to separate the two rivals, and to make the turbulent *Lepidus* set out without delay for *Transalpine Gaul*, which had fallen to him by lot. The incendiary indeed left *Rome*, at the head of a consular army ; but, instead of passing the *Alps*, continued in *Hetruria*, till his consulate was near expiring. He then drew near *Rome* with his army, which he had taken care to strengthen with new levies in *Hetruria*, and openly declared, that his design was to procure himself a second consulate by force, if he could not obtain it otherwise. He expected to have entered *Rome* without opposition ; but to his great surprise he found both his colleague and *Pompey* under arms, the one posted at the entrance of the bridge *Milvius*, the other at the foot of the *Janiculus*. As he was too far advanced to go back, he attempted to force his way into the city ; but was repulsed by *Catulus* and *Pompey*, and obliged to save himself by a shameful flight into *Hetruria*. The capital being delivered from all danger by the defeat of the seditious consul, *Pompey* was ordered to

^a PLUT. in *Sylla*. LIV. epit. l. clx. c. 4. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i.^c PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid.

a to march against *M. Junius Brutus*, the father of the famous *Brutus*, who had declared for *Lepidus*, and commanded a great detachment in *Cisalpine Gaul*. *Brutus*, at the approach of *Pompey*, shut himself up in *Mutina*, where he was closely besieged, and at length forced to surrender up himself and his whole army at discretion. *Pompey* treated his troops with great humanity, but ordered *Brutus* himself to be beheaded, without regarding the hatred which so odious an execution might bring upon him.

b In the mean time, *Lepidus*, having assembled his dispersed forces, and made new levies in *Hetruria* and in the countries of the allies, appeared once more before *Rome*. But, finding *Catulus* ready to receive him, and being at the same time informed of the defeat of *Brutus* and reduction of *Mutina*, he retired a second time into *Hetruria*. Upon his retreat, the great elections were made with the usual tranquillity, when *D. Junius Brutus*, surnamed *Lepidus*, and *Mamercus Æmilius Livianus* were chosen consuls. And now *Lepidus*, having lost all hopes of obtaining the consulate, left *Italy* and went over to *Sardinia*, where he raised a new army with a design to carry the war into *Sicily*. But he was prevented by death from pursuing the wicked measures he had taken. He is said to have died of grief upon the receipt of a letter, assuring him, that his wife, in his absence, had proved unfaithful to him. His party fell with him; and *Catulus* and *Pompey* shared between them the glory of having saved *Rome* from the new misfortunes that threatened her.^w Lepidus dies in Sardinia.

c DURING these transactions at home, *Muræna*, whom *Sylla* had left in *Asia*, unjustly attacked the king of *Pontus*, and forced him into the second *Mithridatic* war, of which we have given a very particular account in our history of *Pontus*.

d *Italy* now enjoyed a profound tranquillity; but the party of *Marius* and *Cinna* was still kept up in *Spain* by the brave *Sertorius*, whose noble exploits, since his proscription and flight, we have, to avoid confusion, reserved for this place. Upon the first advantages gained by *Sylla* in *Italy*, *Sertorius*, who had been appointed by the *Marian* faction prætor of *Spain*, retired thither, to secure that country, which would be a refuge to his friends, and a support to his declining party. Notwithstanding the opposition he met with from the *Barbarians*, through whose countries he passed, he got safe to his government; and there, by his affable and obliging behaviour, so gained the affections both of the nobility and people, that all *Spain* declared for the new prætor. Thus that flourishing country was unfortunately brought to take part in the divisions of the republic, and by that means became the seat of the civil war, which ambition had begun at *Rome*. *Sylla* no sooner heard of the arrival of *Sertorius* in *Spain*, than he sent *Caius Annius* at the head of a powerful army to drive him from thence. *Sertorius*, having timely notice of the dictator's design, immediately detached *Julius Salinator* with a body of six thousand men to guard the narrow passes of the *Pyrenees*; which he did so effectually, that *Annius*, upon his arrival finding it impossible to open himself a way into *Spain*, incamped at the foot of the mountains, in great perplexity, not knowing what course to take. But, in the mean time, one *Calpurnius Lanarius*, being gained over by *Annius*, treacherously murdered *Julius Salinator*, which so terrified the troops under his command, that they abandoned the passes, and gave *Annius* an opportunity of penetrating into the heart of *Spain*. *Sertorius* not being strong enough to keep the field, retired with three thousand men to *New Carthage*, and there imbarquing on board a fleet, hastily got together, passed over into *Africa*, and landed on the coast of *Mauritania*. His men went ashore to supply themselves with fresh water; but, while they were straggling about with too much security, the *Barbarians* fell upon them, and put many of them to the sword. This new misfortune forced *Sertorius* to sail back to *Spain*; but finding the whole coast lined with *Annius's* men, he put out to sea again, not knowing what course to steer. At some distance from the coast he fell in with a small fleet of *Cilician* pirates, who were cruising between *Africa* and *Spain*, and having prevailed on them to join him in hopes of booty, he sailed for the island of *Pityusa*, now *Ivica*, on the coast of *Africa*, where he made a descent, overpowered the garison placed there by *Annius*, and got a considerable booty. This slight advantage brought *Annius* in person upon him with a great fleet, having five thousand soldiers on board. Though *Sertorius's* fleet consisted of vessels not built for strength, but for lightness, he made ready to engage the enemy. But a violent storm arising, most of his ships were driven against the rocky shore, and dashed to pieces. *Sertorius* himself, with the small remains of his shattered fleet, being prevented

^w PLUT. in Pomp. Appian. bell. civil. ibid.

^w PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid.

Passes over into Africa.

Defeats Pacianus, and takes the city of Tingis.

Is made general of the Lusitanians.

prevented by the fury of the weather from putting out to sea, and by the enemy from landing, was tossed about for ten days together, being all that time, as the sea ran very high, in great danger of perishing with all his men. As soon as the storm was over, he passed the streights of *Gades*, and landed near the mouth of the *Bætis*. There he met with some sea-men newly arrived from the *Atlantic* or *Fortunate* islands (Z), and was so taken with the account they gave him of those happy regions, that, being quite tired out with so many fatigues and dangers both by sea and land, he resolved to retire thither, and spend his life in peace and quietness, far from the noise of wars, and free from the troubles of government. He no sooner communicated his design to the *Cilician* pirates, than they abandoned him; and, chusing rather to rove about the seas in quest of spoils and riches, than to live in peace and quiet, set sail for *Africa*, to assist *Ascalis* king of *Mauritania* against his rebellious subjects. *Sertorius*, who only entertained a faint desire of a quiet and retired life, no sooner heard of this new war in *Africa*, than he likewise resolved to sail thither and join the enemies of *Ascalis*. He lost no time, but immediately put to sea, and landing on the coast of *Mauritania*, marched directly against *Ascalis*, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to take refuge in the city of *Tingis*, now *Tangier*, which he closely besieged. In the mean time, *Pacianus*, whom *Sylla* had sent to assist the king, advanced against *Sertorius* at the head of a considerable army. Hereupon the brave general, leaving part of his forces before the place, marched with the rest to meet *Pacianus*, whose forces, though far superior to his own in number, he entirely defeated, slew the general himself, and took the whole army prisoners. After this victory he not only reduced the city of *Tingis*, but made himself absolute master of the whole country. Having thus delivered the oppressed *Mauritanians* from the tyrannical yoke of *Ascalis*, he restored to them their estates, their cities, their laws, and their privileges, accepting only of such acknowledgements as the people freely offered him*.

HOWEVER, his reputation flew cross the sea. The *Lusitanians*, being threatened with a new war from *Annius*, sent an embassy to him, inviting him to come and take upon him the command of their armies. This was raising him to the height of his desires; he therefore immediately imbarqued with two thousand five hundred *Romans*, who had followed him in his flight, and seven hundred *Africans*, who were willing to share his fortune with him; and putting to sea steered his course towards *Lusitania*. In his passage he happened to fall in with the *Roman* fleet, commanded by *Cotta*; but having forced his way through it, he arrived safe on the *Lusitanian* coast, landed his men, and marched strait to mount *Ballera*, the place of the general rendezvous. There he put himself at the head of that warlike nation, and became, in a manner, king of *Lusitania*, the natives, who were well acquainted with his virtues, experience in war, and great abilities, investing him with an absolute and uncontrouled authority, and committing to his care themselves and their fortunes. And indeed no man was more worthy to govern a state, or command an army. He was, according to *Plutarch*,

* PLUT. in Sertor.

(Z) These islands, according to *Plutarch*, were only two in number, divided from each other by a narrow channel, and distant about ten thousand furlongs from the coast of *Africa*. The description he gives us of them agrees exactly with that which we read in the fourth book of the *Odyssey*. But after all, we are still at a loss to know what country the ancients meant by the *Atlantic* or *Fortunate* islands. *Plato* describes them in a very pompous manner in his *Timæus* and *Critias*; and the great extent he allows them, has inclined some, namely *Ortelius* and *Sanfon*, to believe, that he meant *America*. But no one, before Mr. *Rusbeck*, ever dreamt, that *Plato* in describing his *Atlantis* had *Scandinavia* in view, which comprehends the kingdoms of *Norway* and *Sweden*. That learned writer, in love with the colds and frosts of his native country, finds all the charms of this renowned island in those northern and frozen countries. To convince others of this, he urges no fewer than a hundred and two arguments in his work intitled *Atlantica*, and finds in certain ruins not far from *Upsal* the same situation and dimensions which *Plato* gives to the capital of *Atlantis*. *Norway* and *Sweden* are, we allow, most pleasant and

delightful countries; but we can hardly persuade ourselves, that *Homer* had either of them in view, when he described the *Elysian fields*, which he places in the island of *Atlantis*. His description of that happy region is as follows:

Elysium shall be thine; the blissful plains
Of utmost earth, where *Rhadamanthus* reigns.
Joys ever young, unmix'd with pain or fear,
Fill the wide circle of th' eternal year.
Stern winter smiles on that auspicious clime,
The fields are florid with unfading prime.
From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,
Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy snow;
But from the breezy deep the blest inhale
The flagrant murmurs of the western gale.

We can hardly believe, that *stern winter smiles* either upon *Norway* or *Sweden*, that the fields there are *florid with unfading prime*, that *no inclement winds blow from the bleak pole*, &c. and therefore are inclined to think, that father *Kircher* guessed better than Mr. *Rusbeck*, when he took the *Canaries* and *Afores* for the *Fortunate* or *Atlantic* islands.

- ^a *tarch*, free from all vices, and an enemy to all sorts of pleasures; in adversity and dangers undaunted, and no ways puffed up with prosperity, but of an even mind, ever courteous and ever obliging. He was sparing and backward in punishing, but in rewarding liberal and magnificent, even to prodigality. As to war, none of the most famous and renowned generals of antiquity understood that art better than *Sertorius*. He did not confine himself to one uniform method in ranging his cohorts and disposing his squadrons, but varied it according to the character of his enemy. Though he approved of the order of battle established among the *Romans*, yet he would not servilely adhere to it on all occasions, but changed it when he thought proper, and by that means often broke the measures of the generals who opposed him. His masterpiece was the art of harassing the enemy, laying ambuscades, surprising them in narrow passes, tiring them with long marches, and avoiding a general engagement unless he was sure of victory. With these qualifications, *Sertorius*, at the head of eight thousand men, made war with four *Roman* generals, who had under their command a hundred and twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, and two thousand archers and slingers. *Titus Didius*, governor of *Bætica*, was the first champion who entered the lists with him, and gave him battle among the mountains. But that weak general was defeated with the loss of two thousand men, and driven out of the field. ^{His character:} *Defeats T. Didius.*
- ^b Hereupon *Sylla* dispatched *Metellus*, one of the best generals then in *Rome*, to stop the progress of this new enemy. But the reputation of that great commander suffered much by this expedition. For he did not know which way to turn himself, having to do with a man of undaunted boldness and uncommon sagacity, who was continually molesting him, and yet could not be brought to a pitched battle; but, by the swiftness and dexterity of his *Spanish* soldiery, was continually changing his station, casting his army into all forms, and every day contriving new stratagems. *Metellus* on his first arrival sent for *L. Domitius*, then prætor of *Hispania* to his assistance. But *Sertorius*, informed of the march of *Domitius*, detached *Hirtuleius* or *Herculeius*, his quæstor, against him, who gave the *Roman* prætor a total overthrow. Hereupon *Metellus* ordered *Lucius Lollius*, prætor of *Narbonne Gaul*, to leave his province and join him. But *Hirtuleius*, meeting him in the neighbourhood of *Ilerda*, now *Lerida*, gained a complete victory over him, dispersed his troops, and killed his lieutenant-general. ^{Gains great advantages over the Romans.}
- ^c Upon the fame of these victories, all those, who were dissatisfied with the government of *Sylla*, especially such of the proscribed persons as could escape his fury, flocked to *Sertorius* from all parts. Insomuch, that he soon saw in his camp such a number of illustrious *Roman* citizens, that he formed a senate of them, whose authority he set up in competition with that of the senate of *Rome*. Out of them he likewise chose his quæstors, his military tribunes, and other officers of his army. Thus he erected *Lusitania* into a new republic, which, as it consisted chiefly of *Romans*, rivalled that of *Rome*. *Sylla*, highly provoked to see a proscribed person thus reigning in *Spain*, and the republic robbed of one of the finest parts of her dominions, was continually sending fresh supplies to *Metellus*; but *Sertorius*, at the head of a handful of men, who were accustomed to range about the mountains, to endure hunger and thirst, and to live exposed to the wind and weather without fire or covering, so harassed the *Roman* army, that *Metellus* himself began to be quite disheartened. If he sent out his men in parties to forage, *Sertorius*, who was well acquainted with the country, scarce ever failed of cutting off their retreat; if the whole army marched in a body, he was continually harassing and alarming them, falling on their rear, blocking up the narrow passes, intercepting their convoys, cutting off their stragglers, &c. if they laid siege to any town, he presently appeared, besieged them, and reduced them to great straits for want of provisions. By this means *Metellus* suffered the same inconveniencies as if he had been conquered, while *Sertorius* reaped all the advantages of a conqueror. ^{Harasses Metellus's troops.}
- ^d The latter being informed, that his rival had spoke of him with contempt, as if he declined fighting out of cowardice, immediately sent him a challenge, inviting him to put an end to the war by a single combat. But *Metellus*, who was advanced in years, wisely refused to enter the lists with a strong active man, then in the flower of his age, thinking that it became a general, as *Theophrastus* observes, to die like a general, and not like a gladiator. However, his declining the challenge brought him into discredit with the undiscerning multitude; and he, to recover his reputation by some signal action, turned his arms against *Lacobriga* (A), a considerable

(A) The ancient *Lacobriga* is thought to have stood where *Lagos*, a little city of *Spain* near the bay of *Cádiz*, now stands.

Defeats Aquinus, and obliges Metellus to raise the siege of Lacobriga.

Gains the affections of the Lusitanians.

able city of the *Turduli*, which he hoped to take in two days time, there being but one well within the city. But *Sertorius* found means to convey into the city, before *Metellus* invested it, six thousand skins full of water, and to remove all those who could be of no service during the siege; so that *Metellus* continued a long time before the place, without gaining the least advantage over the enemy. When he had spent most part of his provisions, he sent out *Aquinus*, at the head of six thousand men, to bring in fresh supplies from the neighbouring country. But the brave *Sertorius* falling unexpectedly on *Aquinus*, cut in pieces part of his detachment, and took the rest prisoners, the commander himself being the only man, who had the good luck to make his escape. And now *Metellus*, being reduced to great straits for want of provisions, shamefully raised the siege, and withdrew from before the place amidst the hisses of the *Spaniards*, who insulted him from their ramparts.

Sertorius having gained the esteem, love, and admiration of the *Lusitanians* by these repeated advantages, and much more by his obliging and insinuating behaviour, changed their savage and furious manner of fighting, brought them to make use of the *Roman* arms, taught them to keep their ranks and follow their ensigns, and, in short, out of a confused multitude of thieves and robbers, formed a regular well-disciplined army. He likewise bestowed liberally upon them gold and silver to adorn their arms, caused their shields to be wrought and ingraven with various figures, and, by conversing familiarly with them, prevailed upon them to lay aside their own dress, and assume the *Roman toga* or gown. But what delighted them most was, the care he took of their children. For he sent for all the children of the noblemen in those parts, placed them in the great city of *Osca* (B), and there appointed masters to instruct them in the *Greek* and *Roman* learning, that they might in due time, as he gave out, be capable of sharing with him the government of the republic. Under this pretence he really made them hostages for the fidelity of their parents (C), who nevertheless were wonderfully pleased to see their children going daily to school in good order, and handsomely dressed in fine long garments edged with purple. *Sertorius* paid large salaries for their learning, often inquired what progress they had made, examined them himself, and rewarded the most deserving with those *Bullæ Aureæ*, which were at *Rome* the chief distinction of children of high birth. At this time a custom prevailed among the *Spaniards* and *Lusitanians*, that when a great commander was slain in battle, all those who attended him died with him, either by the enemy's swords, or their own. This the inhabitants called an offering, or devoting of themselves (D). Of these *Sertorius* had many thousands, all resolved to sacrifice their lives for his safety, and stand by him to the last. *Plutarch* tells us, that his army being once defeated near a city in *Spain*, and the enemy pressing hard upon his broken troops, they, forgetful of their own danger, and concerned only for their general, took him upon their shoulders, and passing him from one to another, conveyed him into the city, and then shifted, in the best manner they could, for themselves. Nay, his soldiers not only revered him as an invincible general, but as a man inspired and a favourite of heaven. This opinion he gained among the superstitious *Lusitanians* by several artifices, and deluding impostures, among which that of the hind was none of the

y PLUT. *ibid.*

(B) The city of *Osca*, now *Huesca*, stood in the country of the *Hergetes*, a people of *Tarraconian Spain*. It now belongs to the kingdom of *Arragon*.

(C) This was a true fetch in politics. *Sertorius* knew how to ingratiate himself with the people by the same means that assured him of their fidelity. *Alexander the Great* had done the same thing before him.

(D) The same custom obtained in *Gaul*, where a number of resolute men, called *Soldurii*, devoted themselves to a prince, or some great commander, to share with him both his good and bad fortune, and either to fall with him in battle, or kill themselves in case he was defeated. This was a point of honour, wherein none of them were ever known to fail (17). *Dion* tells us, that one *Sextus Pacuvius* or *Apudius* devoted himself in full senate to *Augustus*,

after the manner of the *Spaniards*, and would have forced all the rest to follow his example. But this was the action of a vile mercenary flatterer, who meant nothing of what he said, and did it only to ingratiate himself with his prince; wherein indeed he succeeded, for in courts hypocrisy often prevails over truth. This custom did not only prevail in *Gaul* and *Spain*, but in many other parts of the world, and in our days in the island of *Ceylan* and in the kingdom of *Tunquin*. Those who thus devote themselves are in some places called *The king's vassals in this world and in the next*. We wish *Plutarch* had told us by what name those heroic persons were distinguished in *Spain*, as *Cæsar* has acquainted us what those of the same order were called in *Gaul*.

a the least. A *Lusitanian*, by name *Spanus*, meeting one day a doe, which in flying from the hunters had just dropped a hind-calf, took up the fawn, and brought it to *Sertorius*, who used to reward very liberally those who presented him with fruit, fowls, or venison. As the young hind was milk-white, the general was wonderfully taken with it, reared it up with great care, and made it so tame, that it followed him where-
 ever he went, without being in the least frightened at the noise and hurry of the camp. As he was well acquainted with the superstition and credulity of the *Lusitanians*, he gave out by degrees, that the hind was inspired, that it was given him by *Diana*, and that it discovered hidden mysteries. When he received any private intelligence of the enemy's designs or motions, he pretended, that the hind had informed him of
 b them in his sleep, and charged him to keep his forces in readiness. Upon the first notice of any advantage gained by the officers, who commanded under him, he used to bring forth the hind crowned with flowers, and encourage his soldiers to return thanks to the gods for the account they should soon receive of some prosperous success (E). By these and such-like devices he brought the *Lusitanians* to look upon him as a man sent them from heaven, or rather as a god under the appearance of a man. Hence *Metellus*, though an old and experienced general, could not, during *Sylla's* life-time, gain the least advantage over him, or prevail upon one city to declare against him. When *Sylla* was dead, the republic, alarmed at the extraordinary progress *Sertorius*
 c made in *Lusitania*, resolved to send another general against him with such a force as might crush him at once. All the officers of any note in *Rome* earnestly solicited so honourable a commission, and among the rest *Pompey*, who had just suppressed the troubles raised by *Lepidus*. We are told, that though all was quiet in *Rome*, *Pompey* still kept his army on foot in the neighbourhood of the city, and under various pretences refused to disband it, till the senate at last thought fit to decree him the government of *Lusitania*. *L. Philippus* was the first who made this motion in the senate, which was opposed by several senators, who were against bestowing so honourable an employment on a young man, before he had passed through the inferior offices. One of them, surprised at the motion, asked *Philippus*, whether his meaning was, that *Pompey* should be sent into *Spain proconsul*, that is, *instead of a consul*. No, replied *Philippus*, but
 d *pro consulis*, that is, *instead of both consuls*, intimating thereby, that the consuls for the year were men of no merit, and incapable of managing the war in that province. After a long and warm debate a decree passed, appointing *Pompey* commander in chief of the army, that was to march into *Lusitania* to the assistance of *Metellus*. It was no sooner passed, than *Pompey* set out from *Rome*, at the head of the troops he had kept together after the defeat of *Lepidus* 2.

He makes use of a hind to impose upon the superstitious *Lusitanians*.

Pompey appointed to command against Sertorius.

In the meantime, the republic chose for her new consuls *Cn. Octavius Nepos* and *Caius Curio*, who made it their whole business to support the regulations *Sylla* had made against the attempts of the tribunes of the people. The dictator had reduced their power almost to nothing, but upon his death their ambition revived. At the head of the college was at this time one *Cneius Sicinius*, whose chief talent was buffoonry, the art of mimicking, and turning into ridicule the most proper gestures and most serious discourses of the greatest orators. Though he was a man of no principles or probity, yet he had found means to please the multitude; and, depending upon their favour, he had the confidence to summon the consuls to appear in the comitium, and there give an account why they deprived the tribunes of their ancient prerogatives. The consuls obeyed the summons, and on the day appointed appeared before the people, when *Curio* spoke with all the dignity of a consul and all the force of a great orator, shewing, that the late disturbances owed their rise to the abuse of the too great power which the tribunes had usurped. While he was speaking, *Sicinius* mimicked all his gestures and motions, making wry faces to divert the attention of the people. But all in vain; truth prevailed over the fondness of the populace for buffoonries; the tribunes continued in the same low condition, to which *Sylla* had reduced them, and the patricians triumphed. The whole glory of this victory was owing to *Curio*; for his colleague *Octavius*, who was troubled with the rheumatism, kept the whole time a
 f profound

The tribunes attempt the recovery of their former power.

2 PLUT. in Pomp. & Sertor.

(E) We meet in ancient history with many examples of such devices, made use of by the greatest generals, and wisest law-givers, the better to impose upon the superstition and credulity of the people. A few years before, *Marius*, as we have related above, imposed upon his soldiers by a *Syrian* woman, who passed for a great prophetess, and by tame vultures, which he had accustomed to follow him, and come to him, when called. These juggling tricks were not only practised in the times of ignorance and darkness, but are renewed in our days, in the days of the greatest light and knowledge.

profound silence, sitting on the rostra wrapped up in linen, and covered over with plaisters, which gave the facetious tribune an opportunity to rally him, as he came down from the rostra, and tell him with a sneer, That he was obliged to his colleague, who, by throwing himself about as usual, had saved him from being devoured by the flies. In short, *Sicinius* was so very witty, that he was assassinated before his office expired, and the republic delivered from a dangerous citizen ^a.

Julius Cæsar
begins to shine
at the bar.

THIS year *Julius Cæsar*; tho' but twenty-two years of age, began to shine at the bar. After he had signalized his valour at the siege of *Mitylene*, as we have related above, he applied himself to the study of eloquence, and this year accused *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, formerly prætor of *Macedon*, and honoured with the consulate and a triumph. He charged him with male-administration; but *Quintus Hortensius* and *Caius Aurelius Cotta*, the two greatest orators in *Rome*, pleaded with so much eloquence in favour of the accused, that he was acquitted. However, *Cæsar* gained the reputation of being one of the best orators of his age, and would have challenged the first place among men of that character, had he not proved, to the great misfortune of the republic, one of her greatest warriors (F). Not long after he had accused *Dolabella*, he imbarqued for *Rhodes*, with a design to improve himself in the art of oratory under *Apollonius*, one of the greatest rhetoricians of his time; but he was taken in his passage by some pirates, who, with a few large ships and a vast number of small vessels, infested those seas. When they demanded twenty talents for his ransom, he smiled at them, as not understanding the value of their prisoner, and voluntarily engaged to pay them fifty, that is nine thousand six hundred and eighty-seven pounds ten shillings. Accordingly he dispatched some of his domestics to raise the sum he had promised in the neighbouring cities, and in the mean time remained in the hands of those robbers, with only one friend and two attendants. During the thirty-eight days he spent among them, he applied himself to the study of eloquence and poetry, wrote verses, and composed speeches, which he repeated to them, reproaching those who did not admire them with barbarity and ignorance. He conversed familiarly with them; but always treated them with a high hand, and often in raillery threatened to have them crucified, if they disturbed him when he had a mind to sleep. The pirates, ascribing this free way of talking to simplicity and a juvenile vivacity, were mightily taken with it. When his ransom came, which the *Milesians* raised by a tax upon themselves, he immediately paid it; and being discharged, he went directly to *Miletus*, manned some ships there, and with them surprised the pirates, took most of them prisoners, and carried them to *Pergamus*. As it belonged to *Junius*, at that time prætor of *Asia*, to determine their punishment, *Cæsar* applied to him, while he was taking a progress through the *Asiatic* province. *Junius*, who was a very covetous man, and hoped to extort great sums from the pirates, answered, That he would think at his leisure what to do with the prisoners. Upon which *Cæsar*, taking his leave of him, returned to *Pergamus*, where he ordered the pirates to be brought forth and crucified; a punishment which he had often threatened them with while he was in their hands, and which they never dreamt he would be ever able to inflict upon them ^b (G). He then went to *Rhodes*, where he improved his talent for oratory, under the famous rhetorician *Apollonius Molon* (H), who at that time had *Cicero* for his auditor.

His behaviour
when taken
by pirates.

Causes the
pirates to be
crucified.

IN

^a Cic. in Bruto. QUINTIL. l. xi. & PLUT. in Crasso.

^b PLUT. in Cæsare.

(F) In his pleadings, says *Plutarch* (18), he appeared with all the graces of an excellent orator, and gained much upon the affections of the people by the easiness of his address and conversation, in which he was accomplished beyond what could be expected from his age. He was by nature excellently framed, says the same writer, for a perfect statesman and orator, and took great pains to improve his genius that way in his youth; but he never rose up to that pitch of eloquence, to which nature would have carried him, being diverted by those expeditions and designs, which at length gained him the empire: whence he himself, in his answer to *Cicero's* panegyric on *Cato*, desires his reader not to compare the plain discourse of a Soldier with the studied

harangues of an orator, who was not only endued with fine parts, but had employed his whole life in this one study (19).

(G) *Plutarch*, in this place, contradicts *Suetonius*, whom we have followed. The former writer tells us, that *Cæsar* was taken by the pirates near the island of *Pharmacusa*, on his return from *Bithynia*, where he had resided some time, at the court of king *Nicomedes*, as we have related above.

(H) *Plutarch* calls *Apollonius Molon's* son, and of one man makes two; for *Apollonius* himself, and not his father, was called *Molon*, as is evident from *Suetonius*, *Quintilian*, and *Cicero*, who often call him *Molon* simply, without the addition of the other appellation, which would have been very improper; if

a IN the mean time *Pompey*, having spent the winter in *Narbonne Gaul*, and in the beginning of the spring passed the *Pyrenees*, after having surmounted the obstacles which some *Gaulish* nations threw in his way, appeared on the frontiers of *Hither Spain*. There he was informed, that the *Roman* troops, under the command of *Perperna*, or *Perpenna*, had, in spite of their general, joined *Sertorius*, and taken the military oath to him. *Perperna*, after the death of *Lepidus*, whose lieutenant he was, had got together the remains of his army, amounting to fifty-three cohorts, that is, Perperna retires to Spain. about thirty-two thousand men; and had marched with them into *Spain*, intending to settle there, as *Sertorius* had done, and to make war with *Metellus* by himself, thinking it below a man of his birth and rank to act in subordination to one, who was **b** not even a *Roman*; but when his soldiers understood, that *Pompey* had passed the *Pyrenees* at the head of a mighty army, they took up their arms and ensigns, and threatened to abandon *Perperna*, if he did not instantly lead them to *Sertorius*, and resign the command to a general, who was able to defend himself and those who served under him. *Perperna* complied, tho' much against his will, with their desire, joined *Sertorius*, and served under him as a subaltern. *Sertorius*, now at the head His troops join Sertorius. of a very considerable army, took the field, in order to stop the progress of *Pompey*, whose high character, founded on many glorious exploits, was a strong prejudice in his favour. He was in the flower of his age, at most about thirty, had been honoured some years before with a triumph and the surname of *Great*, and was now empowered to act separately and independently of *Metellus*, with the title of proconsul. **c** Upon his arrival, several cities, which had hitherto continued faithful to *Sertorius*, began to waver, and seemed inclined to open their gates to a general, whose great fame had already reached the most remote corners of *Spain*. *Sertorius* therefore, to prevent their defection by some signal action, and to make them sensible that *Pompey's* protection could avail them little against his power and resentment, entered the province of *Hither Spain*, which was most devoted to the republic, and there, tho' *Pompey* was advancing full march against him, laid siege to *Lauron*, now *Liria*, a strong city on the banks of the *Turia*. *Pompey*, not doubting but he should be able Sertorius besieges Lauron. to raise the siege, marched quite up to the enemy's lines, and thinking he had inclosed **d** them between his own army and the city, found means to convey a messenger into the place, to acquaint the garison, that those who besieged them were themselves besieged, and would be soon obliged to retire with shame and disgrace. *Sertorius*, when informed of this message, smiled, and turning to the officers about him, *I will teach Sylla's disciple*, said he, *that it is the duty of a general to look as well behind him as before him*. Having thus spoke, he sent orders to a detachment of six thousand men, who lay concealed among the mountains, to draw near to *Pompey*, and fall upon his rear, if he should offer to force the lines. *Pompey*, surprized at their sudden appearance, durst not stir out of his camp; but was forced to sit still, and see his friends and

if he had been only the son of *Molon*. *Plutarch* falls into the same mistake in the life of *Cicero*, as the learned *Rualdus* observes. Thus far *M. Dacier*, in her notes upon *Plutarch*. But that learned critic is certainly mistaken, it being evident from *Strabo*, that *Molon* and *Apollonius* were two different men; for he tells us in express terms, that *Molon* and *Apollonius* were both natives of *Alabanda*, a city of *Caria*; that they were both scholars of *Meneclæ* the *Alabandian*; and that they both professed the same art at *Rhodes*, tho' *Molon* went thither later than *Apollonius*, who, on that account, applied to him that of *Homer* Ὀψὲ Μέλων; for he was likewise called by some *Molon*, by others *Μαλακὸς*, or the Soft (20). *Cicero* likewise distinguishes them, calling the one *Molon*, and the other *Apollonius* the *Alabandian*, especially in his first book *de oratore*, where he introduces *M. Antonius* speaking of him thus: *For this one thing I always liked Apollonius the Alabandian; tho' he taught for money, he did not suffer any, whom he thought incapable of becoming orators, to lose their time and labour with him; but sent them home, exhorting them to apply their minds to that art, for which they were, in his opinion, best qualified*. It

were much to be wished, that those who, in our days, set up for teachers and schoolmasters, were as honest and disinterested as *Apollonius*. Of this *Apollonius* *Plutarch* relates, that as he was not well versed in the *Latin* tongue, he desired *Cicero* to declaim in *Greek*. The *Roman* was mightily pleased with this motion, supposing, that *Apollonius* could better correct him, in case he should say any thing amiss; but while those who were present, amazed at his eloquence and the purity of his diction, strove to outdo one another in commending him, *Apollonius* neither expressed any satisfaction in his countenance while his disciple was speaking, nor applauded him after he had done; but, without uttering a word, continued in his place musing and pensive. When he observed *Cicero* to be uneasy at this behaviour, he addressed him thus: *Take courage, Cicero; I both praise and admire you; but I am sorry for poor Greece, when I see the two only ornaments that were left us, learning and eloquence, transferred by you from us to the Romans*. This *Apollonius* supplied *Apion* the grammarian, if *Josephus* is to be credited (21), with the many falsehoods he published against the *Jews* and their temple.

(20) *Strabo*, l. xiv. p. 655, 660, 661.(21) *Joseph. contra. Apion*. l. ii.

And takes it
before Pom-
pey's face.

and confederates ruined before its face: for the besieged, despairing of relief, delivered themselves up to *Sertorius*, who spared their lives and granted them their liberty; but burnt their city, not out of anger or cruelty, to which *Sertorius* was an utter stranger, but that it might be said, for the greater confusion of the admirers of *Pompey*, that tho' he was so near the fire, which burnt down a confederate city, as to be well warmed by it, yet it was not able to raise heat enough in him to make him attempt the relief of it^b. *Frontinus* tells us, that *Pompey*, without coming to a general action, lost, during the siege of *Lauro*, ten thousand men, cut off in small parties by *Sertorius's* horse, who were continually scouring the plains and intercepting all the enemy's convoys^c. However that be, it is certain, that *Pompey*, after the surrender of the place, retired with *Metellus* to the foot of the *Pyrenees*, and there, without putting their troops into winter-quarters as usual, suffered all the rigour of the season in tents, being afraid of a surprize from a general, whom they both dreaded and admired.

The tribunes
of the people
begin to reco-
ver their for-
mer power.

THE next year *L. Octavius* and *Aurelius Cotta* were chosen consuls, and upon a complaint made, that the famine occasioned in *Rome* by the *Cilician* pirates, who infested the seas, was owing to *Sylla's* having lessened the power of the tribunes of the people, *Cotta* was weak enough to give up one point in their favour, to the great prejudice of the republic. He consented, that, for the future, the tribunes might be promoted to superior offices, contrary to a law enacted by *Sylla*. Thus they began to recover by degrees their former power, which, in the end, proved the ruin of the republican government^d.

Hertuleius
intirely de-
feated by Me-
tellus.

BUT to return to *Spain*. As soon as the season was proper for action, *Metellus* took the field, and marched against *Hirtuleius*, one of *Sertorius's* lieutenants, engaged him, and, after a most obstinate dispute which lasted the whole day, put him to flight. *Hirtuleius* lost in the action twenty thousand men, was himself dangerously wounded, and very narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands^e. *Sertorius*, upon the news of this overthrow, advanced with all possible expedition to the banks of the *Sucro* in *Tarraconian Spain*, intending to attack *Pompey*, who was incamped there, before he could be joined by *Metellus*, and by that means repair the loss which his lieutenant had sustained. On the other hand, *Pompey*, fearing *Metellus* should share with him the glory of the victory, made what haste he could to engage *Sertorius* before his arrival. However, *Sertorius*, considering that the darkness of the night would be a great disadvantage to the enemy, whether they were conquerors or conquered, none of them being acquainted with the country, delayed engaging till the close of the day, and then advanced in order of battle against his rival, whose troops were drawn up in a large plain on the banks of the *Sucro*. *Pompey*, tho' well apprised of the enemy's design in putting off the engagement till the evening, would not decline it, for fear *Metellus* should in the mean time join him with his victorious troops, and rob him in great measure of the glory, which he promised himself from conquering a commander of so great reputation. The attack was begun with equal valour on both sides. *Pompey*, who commanded his own right wing, soon obliged *Perperna*, who commanded the enemy's left wing, to give way. Hereupon *Sertorius*, committing the care of his right wing to his lieutenants, flew to the assistance of the left; and having, what by promises what by menaces, brought his flying troops back to the charge, fell upon *Pompey* with such fury, that, in spite of his utmost efforts, he was forced to give way, and betake himself to flight. As he was flying, an *African* of a gigantic size, who pursued him close, had already lifted up his arm to discharge a blow at him with his broad sword; but *Pompey*, more active and nimble than the unwieldy *African*, prevented him by cutting off his hand at the first blow. He then continued his flight; but being wounded and thrown from his horse, he would have been made prisoner, had not the *Africans*, who pursued him, quarrelled about his horse's golden trappings and rich caparison. While they were dividing the spoil, *Pompey* made his escape, and, with much-ado, being wounded in the thigh with an arrow, reached his camp. On the other hand, *Afranius*, who commanded the left wing of the *Roman* army, had all the advantage over the wing *Sertorius* had left; he put them into disorder, forced them to retire in confusion, and pursued them so close, that he entered the enemy's camp with the fugitives; but while his troops were busy in rifling the tents, *Sertorius* came upon them unexpectedly, made

A battle be-
tween Pom-
pey and Ser-
torius.

Pompey de-
feated.

^b PLUT. in Pomp. & Sertor. in fragment. ^c FRONT. strat. l. i. c. 5. ^d APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i. ^e SALLUST. FRONT. ibid.

a made a dreadful slaughter of them at the head of his victorious forces, and retook his camp. Early next morning, *Sertorius* drew up his army in the same plain, being resolved to venture a second engagement, which he had taken proper measures to make decisive; but in the mean time *Metellus* coming up, he drew off, and returned to his camp, saying, *Had it not been for the old woman*, meaning *Metellus*, *I would have whipt the boy soundly, and sent him back to Rome*^f.

b At this time *Sertorius* was greatly concerned for the loss of his hind, which had gone astray, being frightened with the noise and hurry of the late battle. He was thereby destitute of an admirable contrivance to encourage the superstitious people, and inspire them with an awful respect for his person; but, by good fortune, some of his men, who were wandering about in the night, meeting her and knowing her by her colour, retook her. The general was overjoyed with the news, and promised an ample reward to those who had found her, provided they kept it secret and locked her up carefully. A few days after he appeared in public with a cheerful countenance, and declared to the chief nobility, that the gods had foretold him in a dream, that some extraordinary good fortune would soon attend him. He then ascended his tribunal, and while he was there administering justice and giving audience to his officers and soldiers, the favourite hind being let loose, pursuant to his directions, no sooner discovered her master, than she ran bounding to him with great joy, leaped on the tribunal, laid her head in his lap, and licked his hand. *Sertorius* in return stroked c and caressed her with all the tokens of a real tenderness and affection, inasmuch, that tears ran down his cheeks. All those who were present, filled with wonder and astonishment, proclaimed him above the rank of common men, looked upon him as a person highly favoured by the gods, and with respectful congratulations and loud shouts of joy, attended him to his tent, protesting, that they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in his defence^g.

Sertorius, not thinking it adviseable to engage *Pompey* and *Metellus* at the same time, retired in the night from his camp; and, upon his retreat, *Pompey* went out to receive and welcome *Metellus*. As he drew near, *Pompey*, out of respect to him as his superior officer, ordered his lictors to lower their fasces; but *Metellus* would d not assume any distinction, except that of giving the watch-word to the whole army while they incamped together. As a perfect harmony reigned both between the generals and the two armies, they agreed to march after *Sertorius*, and attack him in his new post. They found his army divided into two bodies, one commanded by *Perperna*, the other by himself. After they had continued some days in sight of each other, *Metellus* fell upon *Perperna*, and *Pompey* led his forces against *Sertorius*, in hopes of recovering the reputation he had lost in the late battle. The engagement was so furious and obstinate, that it lasted the whole day; but in the end *Pompey* was defeated *Pompey de-* anew and put to flight, after having lost six thousand men, among whom was *feated anew.* *Memmius*, his lieutenant, and one of the greatest officers of his time. On the other hand, e *Metellus* put *Perperna* to flight, and killed five thousand of his men; but *Sertorius*, having rallied the fugitives and renewed the fight, repulsed *Metellus* in his turn, and, cutting his way through the battalions that surrounded him, wounded him with his lance, and would have soon dispatched him, had not his troops, ashamed to leave their general in distress, returned to the charge. After they had rescued *Metellus* they fell upon the *Lusitanians*, who attended *Sertorius*, with such fury, that they obliged them to retire in great confusion. The brave general, having attempted several times in vain to rally his troops and lead them back to the charge, was forced at length to quit the field. He withdrew to a city among the mountains, not that he designed to stand a siege there, but only to deceive *Pompey* and *Metellus*. f Accordingly the two generals, giving over the pursuit of the *Lusitanians*, hastened to lay siege to the place whither *Sertorius* had retreated; but while they were forming their camp, he made a sally, and escaped with his troops cross the mountains into *Lusitania*, where he raised a sufficient number of forces to enable him to keep the field. All the cities in his interest sent him supplies of men, money, and provisions, with such expedition, that in a very short time he appeared again at the head of a formidable army, and offered the two generals battle, which they wisely declined; but they could not avoid the continual attacks of *Sertorius*, who fell upon them from all quarters, drove them from post to post, and, by intercepting all their convoys, *Sertorius ob-* *liged by Me-* *tellus to quit* *the field.*

^f PLUT. in Pomp. & Sertor.

^g Idem ibid.

Pompey and Metellus reduced them to such straits, that they were obliged to separate and retire, *Metellus* into *Gaul*, and *Pompey* into the country of the *Vaccæi*, whom *Isidorus* places at the foot of the *Pyrenees*. From thence he wrote a doleful letter to the senate, demanding a speedy supply of men and money, acquainting them with the wretched condition his troops were in, and adding, that if they delayed sending him powerful reinforcements, he should be forced to return into *Italy* with his army. To such extremities *Sertorius* brought the two greatest commanders and most experienced warriors of his age ^a.

Sertorius offers to lay down his arms.

HE was now in the height of his prosperity ; but nevertheless, as he was a sincere lover of his country and had a great desire to return home, he sent word to *Metellus* and *Pompey*, that he was ready to lay down his arms and lead a private life, provided the decree of his proscription were repealed. This great desire of seeing again his native country, was chiefly owing, as *Plutarch* informs us, to the tender affection and extraordinary respect he always had for his mother, under whom he had been brought up with great care, having lost his father when he was very young. When he afterwards received the melancholy news of her death, he was so much affected with it, that he had almost died himself of grief; he wept bitterly, and lay seven days together on the ground, without giving the word or being seen by his most intimate friends. The chief commanders of the army and persons of the greatest distinction, crowding round his tent, with much-ado prevailed upon him to appear again in public, and take upon him the management of affairs, which were then in a very prosperous condition. All this plainly shews, that he was of a mild and compassionate temper, naturally inclined to lead a quiet life, and that he was driven by his enemies to have recourse to arms, contrary to his own inclination. What answer *Pompey* and *Metellus* returned him, historians have not told us. All we know is, that the decree of his proscription was never repealed, nor he suffered to return to his native country. ^b

Mithridates sends ambassadors to Sertorius.

IN the mean time the fame of his noble exploits, and of the great advantages he gained every day over the two most renowned generals of the republic, flew as far as *Asia*. *Mithridates the Great* had been obliged by *Sylla*, as we have related in our history of *Pontus*, to submit to such conditions of peace, as that general had been pleased to impose upon him ; but, after the decease of *Sylla*, he raised a powerful army, with a design to renew the war, and improve the disturbances of the republic to his advantage. As his court was at that time filled with proscribed persons, who had fled from *Rome*, these, especially *L. Magius* and *L. Fannius*, advised him to enter into an alliance with *Sertorius*; and the king, pursuant to their advice, sent ambassadors into *Spain*, offering the *Lusitanian* general three thousand talents and forty gallies completely fitted out, on condition that he would suffer him to re-conquer those provinces of *Asia*, which he had been forced to give in virtue of his treaty with *Sylla*. Upon the arrival of the ambassadors, *Sertorius* called a council, when all to a man approved of the king's proposals, and were very pressing with *Sertorius* to comply with his request, since he demanded nothing but an empty consent to an undertaking, which they could no-ways prevent. And here we cannot sufficiently admire the constancy and magnanimity of that brave commander, who, we may say, appeared greater in this glorious negotiation, than at the head of his army. Tho' it would have cost him nothing to have granted *Mithridates* whatever he desired, and such a grant would have procured him great sums and a considerable armament; yet he would not by any means hearken to the proposal, saying, That it was his duty to enlarge the *Roman* dominions by his victories, and not to increase his own power by the diminution of the *Roman* territories. Having therefore sent for the ambassadors, he declared to them, that he was willing their master should re-conquer *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, kingdoms to which the *Romans* had no right; but that he would not consent he should set foot in the province of *Asia*, that is, the kingdom of *Pergamus*, which undoubtedly belonged to the common-wealth, and which he had given up by a solemn treaty. With this answer he dismissed the ambassadors; and when the king heard it, he could not help admiring the magnanimity of *Sertorius*. *What would not this Roman prescribe to us*, said he, *if he were at Rome, since from the shores of the Atlantic ocean, he takes upon him to set bounds to our kingdom, and threatens us with war, in case we should make any attempts upon Asia?* However, the king of *Pontus*, ^c ^d ^e ^f

a knowing how advantageous it would prove to his designs to foment the civil war, con-cluded the treaty upon *Sertorius's* own terms. The king supplied him with three thousand talents and a fleet of forty galleys; and *Sertorius* sent to the king a body of troops, under the command of *Marcus Marius*, or, as others call him, *Marcus Varius*, one of the senators, who had been proscribed by *Sylla*^c.

Sertorius enters into an alliance with Mithridates.

b WHILE *Mithridates* was making prodigious preparations for war in *Asia*, and *Sertorius* in *Spain*, *P. Servilius*, with the title of proconsul, cleared the coasts and seas of the pirates who infested them, took *Isaure* their capital (I), and was honoured with the surname of *Isauricus*, and with a triumph for his success. The next year *Licinius Lucullus* and *Aurelius Cotta* were chosen consuls. The former, by paying his court to a mistress of *Cetbegus*, one of the tribunes of the people, got the command of the troops that were to be sent into *Cilicia*. His colleague was appointed to command the fleet that was to guard *Bitthynia* against the invasion threatened by *Mithridates*; but, before he set sail, he procured an unlimited commission for *M. Antonius*, the father of the triumvir, which was that of guarding all the sea-coasts subject to the republic. He set out with great confidence in quest of the pirates, and engaged them off the island of *Crete*; but he had the mortification to see most of his ships taken, and his men hanged to the masts, with the chains which he had prepared for the enemy. This sight so grieved him, that he died a few days after^c. In the mean

M. Antonius defeated by the pirates.

c time *Cotta* arriving in *Bitthynia*, found *Mithridates* in motion at the head of a mighty army. All the cities of *Paphlagonia* opened their gates to him, imagining, that, in submitting to him, they submitted to the authority of *Rome*, because *Marius*, whom *Sertorius* had sent into *Asia* in quality of proconsul, always marched before the king's troops, attended by his lictors with their fasces. The *Bitthynians* likewise would readily have revolted, had not *Julius Cæsar*, who had retired to *Rhodes*, as we have related above, upon the news of their motions, crossed over to the continent, raised troops without any commission, and, driving the king's emissaries out of the country, kept the cities, which were ready to revolt, steady to their duty. This was, as it were, the first essay of this young commander, who, tho' only twenty-four years of age, already equalled the oldest generals in prudence and bravery^d. On the other

d hand, the consul *Cotta*, being defeated in a sea engagement by the fleet of *Mithridates*, was forced to take refuge in *Chalcedon*, where he was closely besieged; but his colleague *Lucullus*, marching to his relief, obliged *Mithridates* to retire. The king went from thence to besiege *Cyzicus*; but was obliged by *Lucullus* to drop that enterprize, after having lost the greatest part of his army, which, when he sat down before the place, was thirty thousand strong. The *Roman*, encouraged with this success, took several places from the enemy, and put an end to the campaign by a complete victory over the king's fleet, as we have related in our history of *Pontus*, to which we refer our readers for a full account of what we have only hinted at in this place.

The success of Lucullus against Mithridates.

e THE republic was no less successful in *Spain* than in *Asia*. The senators and other patricians who served under *Sertorius*, thinking they could now make head against the enemy without him, began to be jealous of his glory. They were headed by *Perperna*, who was continually inveighing, both in private and in public, against *Sertorius* and his senate. That ambitious patrician could not brook the authority which he had assumed over his army, and flattering himself that he should succeed him in the command of all the troops in *Lusitania*, he plotted his ruin, and drew into the conspiracy several officers, pretending, that *Sertorius* slighted the *Romans*, and confided only in the *Lusitanians*. The conspirators, not daring at first to make any attempt upon his life, by reason of the great affection the *Lusitanians* bore him, did all

A conspiracy against Sertorius.

^c PLUT. in Sert. CIC. pro lege Manilia, & pro Murena. LIV. l. xciii. APPIAN. in Mithridatic. OROS. lvi. c. 2. ^d CIC. act. 2. in Verr. FLOR. l. iii. c. 7. LIV. l. xciv. ^e SUE. in Julio, c. 4. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 42.

(I) *Isaure*, called afterwards *Isauropolis*, and now *Saura*, was the capital of *Isauria*, a country of *Asia Minor*, comprehending part of mount *Taurus* and the mountains between *Cilicia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Pamphylia*. This city, in *Pliny's* time, had lost much of its ancient splendor. *Servilius*, besides *Isaure*, reduced several other cities, viz. *Phaselis*, *Olympus*, and *Coricus*, which were retreats for pirates. The first stood on the confines of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*. Its inhabitants, who were for the most part pirates, made

use of a sort of brigantine, which from them was called *phaselus*. They were so poor, according to the ancients, that they sacrificed nothing but salt-fish to their gods; and hence the proverb, *sacrificium Phaselitarum*, to signify a mean present or offering. The city of *Olympus* stood on the sea-coast of *Cilicia*; and that of *Coricus* was a famous port in the same country, and is now known by the name of *Carco*.

*His severity to
the Spanish
hostages.*

all that lay in their power to alienate their minds from him, and secretly destroy his interest among them. With this view the governors of the cities abused the inhabitants, punished them with the utmost severity, and loaded them with taxes, giving out, that all this was done by the *express order* of *Sertorius*. Hereupon several cities revolted, and great disturbances were raised all over *Lusitania*. *Sertorius* sent persons, in whom he thought he could confide, to appease the mutineers; but those, in whom he reposed most confidence, being gained over by his enemies, proved traitors to him, and instead of mitigating the people by gentle methods, exasperated them with an unseasonable severity, and left them at their departure more obstinate and more inclined to revolt, than they had found them. This incensed *Sertorius* to such a degree, that he caused some of the children of the *Lusitanians*, who were educated at *Osca*, to be put to death, and sold others for slaves. This is the only piece of cruelty and injustice, which the author of *Sertorius's* life can lay to his charge (K); on all other occasions he shewed a mildness of temper hardly to be matched ^w.

IN the mean time the base *Perperna* increased the number of the conspirators, and, amongst others, drew in *Manlius*, one of the chief officers of the army. This *Manlius*, having conceived a shameful passion for a young *Roman*, disclosed to him the whole conspiracy, telling him, that he should soon see him at the head of the army. The youth discovered to one *Aufidus* what he had learnt of *Manlius*; but as *Aufidus* himself was one of the conspirators, and knew not that *Manlius* was any-ways engaged in the plot, he made slight of what the youth said; but when the young *Roman* named *Perperna*, *Gracinus*, *Q. Fabius*, *Tarquinius*, *Sertorius's* two secretaries, and several others, who, *Aufidus* well knew, were all in the plot, he went immediately to *Perperna*, gave him notice of the danger they were in, and solicited him immediately to put their design in execution. Accordingly *Perperna*, with the consent of the other conspirators, pitched on that very day; and they all agreed to assassinate him at an entertainment, to which no-body but he and the conspirators should be invited. As it was no easy matter to engage him in a party of pleasure, they had recourse to artifice, and provided a messenger, who brought to him feigned letters, giving him notice of a signal victory obtained by one of his lieutenants over *Pompey* and *Metellus*. He was so well pleased with this news, that he readily came into the proposal of the perfidious *Perperna*, and promised to pass the evening with him and his friends in mirth and jollity. Accordingly, after he had returned solemn thanks to the gods for the pretended success, he went to *Perperna's* quarters, to rejoice with him upon the new victory. At all entertainments, where *Sertorius* was present, great order and decency was observed; for they all knew, that he could not bear any loose and indecent discourses: but in the midst of this entertainment, the conspirators, pretending to be warmed with wine, began to talk very loosely, on purpose to provoke their general and pick a quarrel with him. *Sertorius*, offended at their indecent and disrespectful behaviour, changed his posture, and leaning backward, pretended not to hear nor regard them. Then *Perperna*, taking a cup full of wine, let it fall, as he was drinking, out of his hand, which was the signal agreed on. Upon this *Antonius*, who was next to *Sertorius*, drew his poniard and wounded him. The brave general strove to raise himself; but *Antonius*, throwing himself upon his breast, held both his hands, so that, without being in the least able to defend himself, he lay exposed to the fury of the rest of the conspirators, who fell upon him and dispatched him. *Sertorius* was, without contradiction, one of the greatest soldiers the republick had ever bred.

Sertorius assassinated.

^w PLUT. *ibid.*

(K) However, he endeavours to excuse it, and reasons thus: "The cruelty which *Sertorius* practised upon the *Spanish* hostages seems to argue, that his clemency was not natural, but only acted as his affairs required. As to my own opinion, I am persuaded that true virtue, established by reason and mature judgment, can never be totally perverted and extirpated by any misfortune whatever; not that I think it impossible, but that great indignities offered without cause, and frequent abuses put upon those of the best nature and most virtuous inclinations, may make some impression and alteration in their temper; and

" thus, I suppose, it happened to *Sertorius*, who, being exasperated by repeated injuries of ungrateful persons, was at last severe to those who had wrongfully injured him." Thus far *Plutarch* (22). What that writer did not think impossible, is not only possible, but very common; for nothing can be truer, than what *Electra* says in *Sophocles*; *It is very difficult, my friends, for any one in my condition to keep within due bounds, and not repine at providence. Such woful calamities change our very nature, and force us, in spite of ourselves, to become wicked.* This is the only reason that can be offered as an excuse for *Sertorius*.

(22) *Plut. in Sert.*

- a bred. *Rome* was so fully convinced of it, that she sent against him two of the greatest generals she had, *Metellus* and *Pompey*; but the glory, which these two renowned warriors had acquired elsewhere, was eclipsed in *Spain*: they could never gain any considerable advantage over the *Lusitanian* general, and were at last by him driven quite out of the field, and forced to shelter themselves either in *Gaul*, or among the most inaccessible mountains. *Pompey*, who had been honoured in his youth with a triumph and the surname of *Great*, and had filled all *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa* with the fame of his exploits, gained nothing in *Spain*, so long as *Sertorius* lived, but shame and disgrace. Upon his death, the treacherous *Perperna* took upon him the command of the army; but soon made it appear, that he understood no more how to command, than how to obey; for *Pompey*, who had continued for some time inactive in a corner of *Hither Spain*, no sooner heard of *Sertorius*'s death, than he left the place of his retreat, marched against *Perperna*, gained an easy and complete victory over him, and took the traitor himself prisoner. As *Perperna* had, on *Sertorius*'s death, seized on all his papers, he offered to shew *Pompey* letters from the greatest men in *Rome*, inviting him into *Italy*; but *Pompey*, not vouchsafing to see the perfidious wretch, ordered him to send to him all *Sertorius*'s papers and writings sealed up. He no sooner received them, than he caused them to be burnt unopened, in the presence of all the officers of his army; and immediately after ordered *Perperna* to be put to death, lest he should name any of *Sertorius*'s correspondents, and by that means give occasion to new disturbances. As to the rest of the conspirators, some of them were taken and put to death by *Pompey*'s order; others fled into *Africa*, where they were murdered by the *Mauritanians*. In a short time not one of them was left alive, except *Ausidus*, who, not being much inquired after, died many years after in an obscure village of *Spain*, in extreme poverty and abhorred by all *. The death of *Perperna* put an end to the war, which had employed the greatest generals and the best forces of the republic almost ten years. *Pompey*, tho' he gained little reputation by this expedition, yet he had the glory of ending it successfully. He continued some time in *Spain*, to reduce the rebellious cities, and then returned with his army into *Italy*.
- d SCARCE was the rebellion in *Spain* at an end, when a new storm arose in the heart of *Italy*. In the next consulate of *Terentius Varro* and *Cassius Varus*, some slaves of *Capua*, having broke their chains, took up arms, and, under the conduct of *Spartacus*, a *Thracian* gladiator of uncommon abilities, first defeated the *Capuan* militia, and afterwards *Claudius Pulcher*, a *Roman* prætor at the head of three thousand men. These successful beginnings so raised the reputation of *Spartacus*, that he soon saw himself at the head of ten thousand men whom he led against the prætor *Vatinius*, and gave him a total overthrow. He then marched into *Cisalpine Gaul*, with a design to give his troops, who were mostly *Gauls*, an opportunity of returning into their own country; for he found them ungovernable, and therefore incapable of carrying on a war. But the next year, when *Gellius Poplicola* and *Cornelius Lentulus* were consuls, *Cnixus*, one of the chiefs of the *Gaulish* slaves, separated from him, and marched back into *Apulia*, where he was attacked and cut in pieces with his whole army, by the consul *Gellius* and the proconsul *Anius*. Upon the news of this defeat, *Spartacus*, who was in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and had nothing else in view but to pass the *Alps* and take shelter among the *Transalpine Gauls*, turned back, and falling upon the consul *Lentulus*, who pursued him, gave him a total overthrow. Then, without delay, he marched in quest of the consul *Gellius*, defeated his victorious army, and obliged both him and his troops to shelter themselves behind the walls of their cities. Never was the proud republic more humbled. Her two consuls and her invincible legions were forced to fly, in a shameful manner, before a *Thracian*, a gladiator, and a slave. *Spartacus* would not give quarter to any of the *Roman* prisoners, but in honour of *Cnixus* sacrificed them all round his funeral pile. As his army now consisted of a hundred and twenty thousand men, all fugitive slaves, he ravaged most of the provinces of *Italy*, without the least opposition, and then returned into *Lucania*, posted himself on the mountains near *Thurii*, and erected magazines in that city for the support of his numerous army.

THE next year, when *Ausidius Orestes* and *Lentulus Sura* were consuls, the senate gave the conduct of the war against the rebellious gladiators to *Licinius Crassus*, one of

Perperna defeated and taken.

Perperna put to death.

The war in Spain ended. Year of the consul 2930. Before Christ 69.

Of Rome 679.

The war of the slaves under Spartacus.

Cnixus defeated.

Spartacus defeats both the consuls.

* PLUT. in Sert. & Pomp.

Cuts off ten
thousand of
the rebels.

Bravery of
the slaves.

Spartacus de-
fied and
slain

Pompey and
Crassus con-
suls.

of the chief commanders of *Sylla's* party, and who had a great share in most of his victories. *Crassus*, having raised in a few days six legions, detached *Mummius*, one of his lieutenants, with two of them, to watch the enemy's motions, while he came up with the rest of the army. The rash lieutenant no sooner discovered the enemy, than he drew up his troops in battalia, and challenged *Spartacus*, contrary to the express orders of his general. The *Thracian* accepted the challenge, and put the *Romans* to flight at the first onset. *Crassus* soon after arrived, and having reprimanded *Mummius* in the severest terms, he caused five hundred legionaries, who had retired at the approach of the enemy, to be decimated; which seasonable piece of severity made him as much respected by his troops, as he had been formerly beloved. He soon after marched in quest of the enemy, and falling in with a body of ten thousand rebels, who were laying waste the country, he fell upon them, and, cutting off their retreat, put them all to the sword. Hereupon *Spartacus*, after a fruitless attempt to get over to *Sicily*, posted himself in a peninsula near *Rhegium*. There *Crassus* shut him in with a ditch from one sea to the other, three hundred furlongs long, fifteen foot broad, and as much in depth. But the brave *Spartacus*, taking the opportunity of a snowy stormy night, filled up part of the ditch, forced his way through the enemy's army, and incamped again in the open country. *Crassus* was afraid lest he should march directly to *Rome*. But he was freed from this apprehension, when he saw a great body of the rebellious slaves upon some discontent revolt from *Spartacus*, and incamp by themselves. These *Crassus* attacked without loss of time, and defeated them after a long and obstinate dispute. Twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy were killed upon the spot, of which number only two were found wounded in the back, all the rest died fighting in their ranks with incredible bravery. After this defeat, *Spartacus* retired towards the mountains of *Petilia*. But his men, encouraged by a slight advantage gained over two of *Crassus's* officers, obliged him to march them back, and lead them against the *Romans*. This was what *Crassus* impatiently desired, being informed by his friends at *Rome*, that the people designed to recal him, and give the command of the army to their favourite idol *Pompey*. He therefore incamped near the enemy and offered them battle. As *Spartacus* could not retreat, being invested in his camp by *Crassus*, he drew up his army with all the skill of a great commander. When his horse was brought him before the onset, he drew his sword and killed him, saying, *If I gain the victory, I shall have a great many better horses; if I lose it, I shall have no need of this.* He then began the attack at the head of his infantry. His men, animated by his example, fought with unparalleled bravery. Victory was long doubtful, but at length declared for the *Romans*. *Spartacus*, after all his men were fled, stood his ground alone for a great while with invincible courage. Being wounded in the leg with a javelin, he fought on his knees, holding his buckler in one hand and his sword in the other. At last, being pierced with many wounds, he fell upon a heap of *Romans*, whom he had sacrificed to his fury. In this battle forty thousand of the rebels were killed upon the spot, whereas the *Romans* lost but a thousand men. However, the fugitives rallied again to the number of five thousand, and retired under the conduct of one *Publipot* into *Lucania*. Against these *Pompey* marched, and having defeated them without difficulty, wrote a bragging letter to the senate, wherein he vainly assumed to himself the glory of having finished the war. *Crassus*, said he, *has overcome the gladiators in a pitched battle; but I have plucked up the war by the roots.* This is the true spirit of ambition, which wrests every thing, even the actions of others, to its own advantage. *Crassus* was highly provoked at *Pompey's* vanity, which robbed him of the glory he deserved; but nevertheless, as he aspired at the consulship, and was well apprised that it was in *Pompey's* power to get him excluded, he dissembled his resentment, and even begged his rival's interest. *Pompey*, who stood himself for the same dignity, and had long desired to lay some obligation upon *Crassus*, readily embraced this opportunity, declaring in open assembly, that he should be as much obliged to his friends for the advancement of *Crassus* as for his own. Upon this declaration the tribes unanimously concurred in raising *Pompey* to the consulate, and giving him *Crassus* for his colleague. But this good understanding between the two rivals did not continue long. *Pompey* refused to disband the troops he had brought from *Spain*, till a triumph was decreed him. On the other hand *Crassus*, would not part with the command of the army he had led against *Spartacus*, so long as *Pompey* continued in arms. The latter gave out, that *Pompey* aspired at an absolute power, and intended

a intended to follow the example of *Sylla* (L), and to govern by a standing army. These discourses greatly exasperated *Pompey*; and the breach between the two col- *They fall out.*
 legues growing daily wider, the senate and people, to prevent the evil effects of their mutual jealousies, earnestly intreated them to disband their armies, and sacrifice their private resentments to the public peace. But they both continued obstinate; *Crassus* pretending, that *Pompey* ought first to disband his army, since he had first finished the *Spanish* war; and *Pompey* protesting, that he would not dismiss his troops, till the arrival of *Metellus*, who was to triumph with him. The people, dreading to see *Rome* involved again in a civil war: even went so far as to beg of them on their knees in the comitium to be reconciled. But neither of them hearkening to the intreaties of the
 b people, a *Roman* knight, by name *Ovatus Aurelius*, who had spent some years of his life in the country, and was then accidentally in *Rome*, mounting the rostra, gave them an account of a vision he pretended to have seen in his sleep. *Jupiter*, said he, *appeared to me last night, and admonishes you, O Romans, by my mouth, not to suffer the misunderstanding between the two consuls to continue any longer.* When *Ovatus* had done speaking, the people renewed their intreaties, and then *Crassus*, moved with sentiments of piety, made the first advances, drew near to *Pompey*, and offered him his *Are in appearance reconciled.*
 hand. *Pompey* returned the civility; they embraced each other; and soon after they disbanded their troops by consent ^y.

HOWEVER, as their reconciliation was not sincere, each of them strove, by different
 c methods, to gain the favour of the people and strengthen his party. *Pompey* basely made his court to the multitude by reinstating the tribunes in their antient power, which greatly contributed to the destruction of the commonwealth. He likewise engaged *M. Aurelius Cotta* the prætor, to move, that some *Roman* knights might be appointed *Pompey and Crassus affect popularity.*
 to be his assessors, and to judge with him in civil causes. Thus the right of judging private causes, which had been taken from the knights by *Sylla*, was by means of *Pompey* restored to them; which engaged that powerful order to support him in all his pretensions with their whole interest. On the other hand, *Crassus*, to get the better of his rival in the esteem of the people, entertained them, though naturally covetous, with surprizing profusion and magnificence at ten thousand tables, and at the same time
 d distributed corn enough to all the populace to maintain their families three whole months. Such prodigious largesses will seem less surprizing, if we consider that *Crassus* was the richest man in *Rome*, and that his estate amounted to seven thousand talents and upwards, that is, to 1356250 *l.* sterling. But notwithstanding this mighty bounty, *Pompey* still maintained the first place in the affections and esteem of the multitude ^z. This year the censorship, which had been suppressed during the civil wars, was revived, *L. Gellius Poplicola* and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* being promoted to that dignity. These appointed *Q. Catulus* prince of the senate, struck the names of sixty-four antient senators out of the list, and made a census, in which they found, that the number of *Roman* citizens fit to bear arms amounted to four hundred and
 e fifty thousand.

AND now the consulate of *Pompey* and *Crassus* being expired, the republic raised to the fasces the famous orator *Q. Hortensius* and *Q. Metellus*, the son of *Metellus Dalmaticus*. As all was calm at *Rome* during their administration, *Pompey* no longer intermeddled in public affairs, neither frequenting the bar, as he had done formerly, nor the assemblies of the people. He seldom appeared in public; and when he did, he was always attended by a great number of clients, designing thereby to keep up the respect due to him, as a man of superior rank and uncommon merit. He even thought it beneath him to converse with the generality of the nobility, and therefore kept company only with a few select friends ^a. The following year the tribes raised

^y PLUT. in *Crass.* & *Pomp.* CIC. pro lege *Manilia*. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i. ^z PLUT. in *Crasso*. CIC. de legib. l. iii. SALLUST. in bell. *Catilin.* ^a PLUT. ibid.

(L) No-body doubted but this was his design; whence *Cicero* wrote to *Atticus* in the following words; *Mirandum in modum Cneius noster Syllani regni similitudinem concupivit*; εἰδώς σοι λέγω, *nikil ille unquam minus obscure tulit*; that is, Our friend *Pompey* is wonderfully desirous of obtaining a power like that of *Sylla*: I tell you no more than what I know for certain; for he makes no secret of it (23). And elsewhere; *Hoc turpe Cneius noster biennio ante cogitavit; ita Syllaturit animus ejus & proscripserit*, that is. *Pompey* has been forming this shameful design for these two years last past; so strongly is his mind bent upon imitating *Sylla*, and proscribing like him (24).

(23) Cic. ad *Attic.* l. vii. epist. 9. (24) Idem ibid. epist. 10.

raised *L. Cæcilius Metellus* and *Q. Marcius*, surnamed *Rex*, to the consulate. The former ^a died before he entered upon his office, and another, whose name has not been transmitted to us, was chosen in his room. But he also dying soon after his election, the people superstitiously took it for granted, that it was the pleasure of the gods that the republic should be governed one whole year by *Marcius* alone. During his administration, the senate, pretending that the *Cretans* had sided with *Mithridates* and given a retreat to the pirates, sent *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* with a fleet to reduce that island. But ^b of this expedition we have given a distinct account in our history of *Crete*.

The island of Crete reduced.

IN the following consulate of *C. Calpurnius Piso* and *M. Acilius Glabrio*, *Gabinus*, tribune of the people, at the instigation of *Pompey*, who began to be weary of a retired life, proposed a law for clearing the seas of the pirates, whose numbers and power ^b daily increased. These robbers fitted out at first but a small number of light vessels; but upon their being protected by *Mithridates*, who, during his war with *Rome*, took them into his service, they equipped a thousand galleys, and exercised a kind of sovereignty over all the coasts of the *Mediterranean*. They spared not one temple that was famous for its riches on the coasts of *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Asia*. All the country-seats ^c on the sea-shore were a prey to them. They took slaves without number; blocked up all the ports of the republic; pillaged the city of *Caieta*; sunk part of a consular fleet at *Ostia*, and having made a descent near *Misene*, carried away the daughter of the old consul *Antonius* with several other persons of distinction. They even surprised and carried off two *Roman* prætors, *Sextilius* and *Bellinus*, in their purple robes with their ^d lictors and attendants. If any of the captives declared himself to be a *Roman*, the barbarians in derision threw themselves at his feet, begging his pardon, and imploring his protection. But after they had insolently sported with their prisoner, they often dressed him in a toga, and then, casting out a ship's ladder, desired him to return home and wished him a good journey. If he refused to leap into the sea, they threw him over-board, saying, that they would not by any means keep a free-born *Roman* in captivity. But the greatest calamity the world suffered by these tyrants of the sea was, the scarcity of provisions which they occasioned, not in *Europe* only, but likewise in *Asia* and *Africa*, no vessel venturing out without being taken. *Gabinus* therefore, who proposed a law for clearing the seas of these pirates, was much ^d applauded for his zeal, though in reality he had nothing in view, but the procuring of new honours for *Pompey*, who had restored the college of tribunes to their former authority. In virtue of the law which *Gabinus* proposed, the person, to whom the *Roman* people and senate should commit the management of this war, for the crafty ^e tribune did not name *Pompey*, was to have a power without controul or restriction. His authority was to extend all over the seas within the *Straits*, or the pillars of *Hercules*, and over all the countries for the space of four hundred furlongs from the sea. By the same law he was empowered to raise as many mariners and soldiers as he thought fit, to take what sums he pleased out of the public treasury, without being accountable for them, and to choose out of the senate fifteen senators to be his lieutenants, and to execute his orders, where he could not be present in person. As this arbitrary and unbounded authority was to be for three years, it gave a great deal of uneasiness and jealousy to the senate. They saw through the tribune's design, and several of them reproached *Pompey* with aiming at the sovereignty of *Rome*; nay, the consul *Calpurnius* told him smartly, that if he followed the footsteps of *Romulus* he would scarce avoid his end. But he was in danger of being tore in pieces by the people, for treating with such freedom their favourite. The conscript fathers, finding the people determined to pass the law, had recourse to their old method of disconcerting the measures of the tribunes, and gained over two of them, *Trebellius* and *Roscius*. ^e

The Gabinian law.

As no body doubted but this extensive commission, which the tribune *Gabinus* ^f called the *proconsulate of the seas*, was designed for *Pompey*, when the day appointed for holding the comitia came, in which the *Gabinian* law was to be received or rejected, the concourse was prodigious. The tribune *Trebellius* attempted to oppose it; but the tribes threatening to depose him, he was forced to give way and be silent. Then *Catulus*, prince of the senate, rising up, made a long speech, which was nothing but a panegyric upon *Pompey*. In the close of his harangue, he advised the people not to expose a man of his value, the greatest general of the republic, to so many dangers. For if you should lose him, said he, where could you find another *Pompey*? or ^{whom}

^b Vide Hist. Univers. Vol. III. p. 170, 171.

^c PLUT. in Pomp. DIO CASS. l. lvi.

a *whom would you put in his place?* At these words the people, who had hearkened to the venerable senator with great attention, cried out with one voice; *You, Catulus, we will put you in his place.* Catulus, no longer able to resist the firm resolution of the whole people, and at the same time pleased with the esteem they shewed for him, waved his opposition and withdrew. Then the tribune *Roscius* attempted to speak, but being prevented by the clamours of the people, he held up two of his fingers, to signify, that he was for dividing that extensive commission between two persons, and not intrusting *Pompey* alone with such an ample and unlimited authority. Upon this the assembly made such a terrible outcry; that a crow flying accidentally over the comitium at that instant, was stunned and dropt down among the rabble^c. *Hortensius* and several other senators spoke with great eloquence, and were heard with attention; but their harangues made no impression on the multitude. *Cicero* never opened his mouth, though so fine an opportunity offered of displaying his talents. He did not care to make either *Pompey*, the senate, or the people, his enemies. The whole day being spent in speeches and debates, the determination was postponed to the next, when *Gabinus's* motion was agreed to by a great majority, and *Pompey* appointed to make war on the pirates with the title of proconsul. The people even granted him more than the tribune had desired; for they allowed him to equip five hundred ships, to raise a hundred and twenty thousand foot and five thousand horse; and to choose out of the senate twenty, or, as *Appian* has it, twenty-five senators for his lieutenants. He had also two quæstors allowed him, and six thousand *Attic* talents paid down to him before he left *Rome*. Thus the people, seduced by their tribunes, were running blindly into slavery; for it was now in *Pompey's* power to follow the example of *Sylla*, and make himself absolute master of the republic^d.

The Gabinian law passes.

Pompey's power.

HOWEVER, on this occasion he behaved with great integrity, and gained more glory than he had done by all his former exploits. He conducted the expedition with such prudence, and took such wise measures, that, instead of the three years allowed him, he quite cleared the seas in four months, after having taken or sunk, according to some, one thousand three hundred, according to others, eight hundred and forty-six of their vessels, cut ten thousand of them in pieces, and made himself master of a hundred and twenty towns or castles on the coasts, which they had seized. In this glorious expedition the proconsul set at liberty an incredible number of captives, and took above twenty thousand of the pirates prisoners, whom he sent to people the deserted cities of *Cilicia*, namely *Mallus*, *Adana*, *Epiphania*, and *Soli*, which latter he called from his own name *Pompeïopolis*^e.

He extirpates the pirates.

No sooner did the news of *Pompey's* victories reach *Rome*, than *Manilius*, tribune of the people, at the instigation of the proconsul's friends and agents, proposed a new law in his favour, importing, that *Lucullus* should be recalled from *Asia*, where he was waging war with *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*; that the conduct of the armies employed against those two princes should be committed to *Pompey*; that *Cilicia*, where *Marcus Rex* commanded, and *Bithynia*, which had been allotted to *Acilius Glabrio*, should be resigned to him; and that finally he should, at the same time, retain the same naval forces and sovereignty of the seas as before. This was appointing him absolute monarch of all the *Roman* dominions; for the provinces, which were exempted from his authority by the former decree, such as *Phrygia*, *Lycaonia*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Colchis*, *Armenia*, &c. would by this new law be within the precincts of his province. This was the famous law, which from its author was styled the *Manilian Law*. When the tribune proposed it in the comitia, it raised such disturbances among the nobility and the zealous republicans, as are not easily described. They looked upon the new law as calculated for the establishing of tyranny; *We have then got at last*, said they, *a sovereign; the republic is changed into a monarchy; the services of Lucullus, the honour of Glabrio and Marcus, two zealous and worthy senators, are to be sacrificed to the promotion of Pompey; Sylla never carried his tyranny so far, &c.* They encouraged one another to use their utmost efforts in opposition to so scandalous a decree, and not to part with their liberty at so tame a rate. But notwithstanding the resolution they shewed in private, when the day came for the accepting or rejecting of the *Manilian* law, their hearts failed them; insomuch, that of all the conscript fathers, only *Hortensius* and *Catulus* had courage enough to speak against it. The latter especially made surprising efforts to dissuade the people from investing one man with such an

The cowardice of the senate.

^c PLUT. *ibid.* ^d PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.*
pro lege Manilia. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii.

^e APPIAN. & PLUT. *ibid.* c. 31. CIC.

Cicero and
Cæsar favour
Pompey.

Pompey's dis-
simulation
and hypocrisy.

Catiline's
character.

Conspires
against the
consuls and
senate.

an absolute power ; he reproached them with the injustice they were going to do *Lucullus*, described to them in pompous terms his glorious exploits both by sea and land, enumerated the many evils which they had reason to apprehend from such an unbounded authority, &c. But finding the people heard with great indifference, and grew uneasy at his discourse; he directed his speech to the senate, and raising his voice, *Let us fly*, said he, *conscript fathers, let us fly to some mountain, as our fore-fathers have done ; let us fly to some rocks, where we may shelter ourselves from the slavery with which we are threatened.* Two great men spoke in favour of the law, viz. *Cicero* and *Cæsar* ; the former aimed at the consulate, which *Pompey's* party could more easily procure him, than that of *Catulus* and the senate. On this occasion he made that speech, which is still preserved, and will be the admiration of all ages. As for *Cæsar*, he was delighted to see the people insensibly lose that republican spirit and love of liberty, which might one day obstruct the vast designs he had already formed. Thus was the public interest, as it too commonly happens, sacrificed to private views. The decree passed by the suffrages of all the tribes ; and the people of their own accord conferred on *Pompey* as extensive an authority as *Sylla* had usurped by an armed force^f. He was still on the coasts of *Asia*, when news was brought him of the extraordinary power with which the people had vested him. He received it with an affected modesty and reluctance ; *What !* said he, *will Rome then burden me with a new war ? Must I never have any rest ? Must I sacrifice to the desires of my country the pleasures of a retired life, and the enjoyment of a beloved wife ? Happy, thrice happy are those who live in the inglorious croud, unknown and unregarded !* *Plutarch* tells us, that even his most zealous friends were highly displeased with such gross hypocrisy, well knowing what steps he had taken in order to procure this new commission. *Lucullus*, seeing himself thus degraded, returned to *Rome*, where he was received by the nobility with all possible marks of esteem, and honoured with a most pompous and magnificent triumph. As for *Pompey*, he pursued the war against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* with great success, and performed those glorious exploits in *Pontus*, *Albania*, *Iberia*, &c. which we have described at length in our history of *Pontus*^g.

WHILE *Pompey* was extending the dominions of the republic in *Asia*, some wicked citizens were plotting her ruin at home. At the head of these was *Lucius Sergius Catiline*, who was descended of an illustrious patrician family, but had rendered himself infamous by a continued series of debaucheries, incests, murders, and the most horrible crimes. He is said to have debauched, when he was very young, a woman of distinction, and to have afterwards married the daughter he had by her. He was likewise accused of keeping an unlawful correspondence with *Fabia Terentia*, the vestal, sister to *Terentia*, *Cicero's* wife. He had committed murders without number, and had been, in the time of *Sylla's* proscriptions, the most merciless minister of that tyrant's fury. The favour of the dictator, his birth and courage, had raised him to the principal dignities of the republic. He had been quæstor, lieutenant in several armies, and had governed *Africa* in quality of prætor. But in all these different employments he had equally dishonoured himself by his debaucheries and enormous oppressions. As he had squandered away his patrimony, and was overloaded with debts, he had no prospect of retrieving his affairs, but by the subversion of the state. He therefore watched all opportunities of raising disturbances ; and one offered soon after his return from *Africa*, where he had been prætor. *P. Autronius Pætus* and *P. Cornelius Sylla*, the son of the dictator's brother, being chosen consuls, and afterwards disqualified for that office upon their being convicted of having openly bought the suffrages of the people, *Catiline* prevailed upon them to enter into a plot against the consuls who were chosen in their room, viz. *Aurelius Cotta* and *Manlius Torquatus*. His scheme was to assassinate them both, murder the greatest part of the senators, and seize the government. Besides *Autronius* and *Sylla*, he engaged a great many young men, who were undone by their excesses, and among the rest *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, a youth of a noble family, but rash, factious, and by his excesses reduced almost to beggary. This wicked attempt was to be put in execution on the calends of *January*, when the new consuls took possession of their office. But the conspirators not having found a convenient opportunity that day, they put off the affair to the nones of *February*, the day appointed for the usual meeting of the conscript fathers. But this second attempt proved as unsuccessful as the first. *Catiline* gave the signal at an improper time

^f PLUT. in Pomp. Dio. l. xxxvi. Liv. l. c. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 33. Cic. pro lege Manilia.
^g Vide Vol. III. p. 750,

a time, before the conspirators were got together ; so that no-body offered to stir ; by which means the lives of the consuls and senators were saved, and the most bloody and execrable conspiracy, which had been formed since the foundation of *Rome*, came to nothing. However, *Catiline* did not drop his wicked design ; as he had spent his patrimony in debauchery, and was plunged in debt, he had no resource but in the subversion of the republic ^h. But we shall leave him for a while to observe the conduct of another young *Roman*, who had the same view with *Catiline* of subverting the whole constitution, but took more prudent and better concerted measures for the executing of his design. This was *Julius Cæsar*, who, having passed through the offices of legionary tribune and quæstor, was this year raised to the ædileship, in which employment he made it his whole business to gain the affections of the people. Nothing could be more polite and engaging than his behaviour. His liberality knew no bounds, and the magnificence of his furniture and entertainments surpassed any thing that had ever before been seen in *Rome*. As he was naturally of a generous disposition, he is said to have owed above one thousand three hundred talents, that is, 251875*l*. sterling, before he entered upon any of the public offices. The immense sums he bestowed upon the populace gave no umbrage even to his enemies, who used to say, that this was a short-lived shew, which would soon end with his estate, and then he would be reduced to the state of a common citizen. *Cicero* only saw farther than the vulgar into the intentions of the ambitious youth. He was the first who had any suspicion of his aspiring at a sovereign power, and often used to say, that in all his other actions and intrigues he plainly discovered the air of a tyrant ; but when he saw his hair lie in so exact order, and observed him so often adjusting it with his finger, he could not imagine it should enter into such a man's thoughts to subvert the *Roman* state. *Cicero* did not discover that manly courage and intrepidity, which lay concealed under the appearance of luxury and effeminacy. As the office of ædile confined him to *Rome*, he undertook the repairing of the *Appian* way, and finished that great work almost wholly at his own expence. He entertained the people with a shew of three hundred and twenty couple of gladiators, and built porticos of timber with seats all round the forum, that the populace might see, without any inconvenience, the *Megalesian* games, which were exhibited at *Rome*, during his ædileship. By these means he so captivated the people, that they were now as much, if not more, devoted to him, than to *Pompey*. Depending upon the favour of the people, he made a funeral oration in praise of his aunt *Julia*, though she was the widow of *Marius*, whose name was odious to the senate and nobility ; and was even so bold as to bring forth on that occasion the images of *Marius*, which no-body had presumed to produce since the government first came into *Sylla*'s hands. The nobility exclaimed against him for reviving the memory of one who had been declared an enemy to his country ; but the people applauded the action ; and this encouraged him to set up in the night-time the statues and trophies of *Marius*, which *Sylla* had ordered to be taken down. Next morning the people crowded to see them, and many of *Marius*'s party even wept for joy at the sight of his statues and trophies. But the nobility inveighed bitterly against *Cæsar*, as if he had designs upon the government, and *Catulus* even accused him before the senate of aiming at the same tyrannical power which *Marius* had usurped. He closed his speech with this remarkable saying ; *Cæsar no longer undermines the government, but openly plants his batteries against it*. But the accused answered the invectives of *Catulus* with so much art and temper, that he was not only acquitted, but highly applauded by the people as a relation worthy of the great *Marius*. *Julius Cæsar* being thus become the idol of the people, he prevailed upon them to confer the consular dignity on *L. Julius Cæsar*, one of his own family, though of another branch. The colleague the republic gave him was *C. Marcius Figulus*, a man of a mild disposition, and an enemy to all factions and parties. During their administration, *Cæsar* got many of *Sylla*'s partisans condemned, some to perpetual banishment, others to death, for the murders they had committed during the dictator's tyrannical reign. Among the latter was *L. Bellicus*, uncle to *Catiline* ; but *Catiline* himself was spared, though he had been the chief instrument of *Sylla*'s fury ⁱ. He was a friend to *Cæsar*, and had communicated to him, as was supposed, his wicked design of subverting the government. Of this horrible conspiracy the ancients give us the following account :

Catiline, though he had failed in his two former plots, as we have related above, yet did not drop his wicked design of subverting the government, but having strengthened his

His conspiracy defeated.

Julius Cæsar captivates the hearts of the people.

He revives the memory and honour of Marius.

^h SALLUST. bell. Catilin. PLUT. in Cic.

ⁱ PLUT. in Cæsar. SALLUST. bell. Catilin.

Catiline's con-
spiracy.

Year after the
flood 2940.

Before Christ

59.

of Rome 689.

The conspiracy
discovered to
Cicero.

Cicero's con-
sulship.

Preparations
made by Cati-
line for an
open revolt.

his party with a great number of senators and knights, waited only for an opportunity of putting it in execution. Among his accomplices in the senate were *P. Lentulus Sura*, *P. Antronius*, *L. Cassius Longinus*, *C. Cethegus*, *Publius*, and *Servius Sylla*, *L. Vargunteius*, *Q. Annius*, *M. Porcius Læca*, *L. Bestia*, and *Q. Curius*; and among the knights *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *L. Statilius*, *P. Gabinius Capito*, and *C. Cornelius*. We are told, that *M. Licinius Crassus* was also privy to the plot, and that *Cæsar* favoured it underhand: these two cunning and equally ambitious men waited for the event before they would declare themselves. Besides the above mentioned senators and knights, *Catiline* drew into the plot all the debauched youth of *Rome*, who had squandered away their estates, and could no longer follow their extravagant courses; and likewise some of the old soldiers and officers of *Sylla's* army, who, after having consumed all the rewards of their former services in debaucheries, were longing for a new civil war, as the only remedy against want and poverty. As it was very difficult that the designs of such men as were continually rioting should long remain secret, *Cicero* was informed of them by *Fulvia*, a woman of distinction, but who dishonoured her family by a criminal correspondence with *Quintus Curius*, one of the conspirators. The young debauchee, finding himself scornfully treated by *Fulvia*, after he had spent his estate upon her, in order to recover her favour, boasted, that *he should be soon rich enough to please her*; adding, *that the method he was taking to become so, was a secret which he would never disclose to her*. This awaked her curiosity; and as she was more artful than her lover, she soon prevailed upon him by her caresses to unravel the whole plot. Whether *Fulvia* was really struck with the danger of the republic, or thought the undertaking would not succeed, as being managed in great part by young people, she made a full discovery of all she had heard to *Cicero*, but concealed the name of the person, who had given her that intelligence. This discovery *Cicero*, who then stood forth for the consulate, and had *Catiline* for his competitor, made use of to get himself chosen, and *Catiline* excluded. The colleague given him by the tribes was *C. Antonius*, a man naturally lazy, a lover of ease and pleasure, and who hitherto no further concerned himself in public affairs, than was necessary to shew that he was not absolutely unfit for them. As he was a man of little weight and easily manageable, *Cicero* flattered himself that he should be able, with a little art, to get the ascendant over him, and govern him as he pleased. They no sooner entered upon their office, than *P. Servilius Rullus*, tribune of the people, endeavoured to revive the old troubles about the distribution of the conquered lands. But he was vigorously opposed by *Cicero*, who by the force of his eloquence prevailed upon the people to sacrifice their private interest to the public tranquillity. The cause of the public disturbances being removed, the new consul applied himself next to draw off his colleague from the faction of the tribunes, which he favoured; and succeeded by changing provinces with him, and resigning to him the government of *Macedon*, which by lot was fallen to himself, and taking that of *Gaul*, which was less profitable, and had fallen to *Antonius*. This done, he made it his chief business to prevent any popular disturbance. One had like to have been raised in the theatre, on account of the new distinction which the tribune *Otho* had given to the *Roman* knights, allotting to them, in all public shews, the fourteen first ranks after those of the senators. But *Cicero* interposed, and harangued the people with such strength and success, that they willingly complied with *Otho's* regulation. By this means he stifled a sedition in its birth, of which *Catiline* might have made a very ill use^k.

In the mean time, *Catiline*, grown outrageous at *Cicero's* success, resolved to stand once more for the consulate, and prepared for an open rebellion, in case he should not succeed. He borrowed what money he could; and engaged his partisans to raise as much as possible upon their credit, and on securities. These sums were lodged in the hands of one *Manlius*, a soldier of fortune, who had served with great reputation of bravery under *Sylla*, and at that time resided at *Fæsulæ* in *Hetruria*. As that city was a colony of *Sylla's* soldiers, *Manlius*, who had great interest among them, engaged them in the plot, and made considerable levies throughout all *Hetruria*. *Lucullus* the famous general, whom *Pompey* had succeeded in the east, being informed of these preparations, made a report of what he had heard to the senate, and assisted the consul with all his interest in the prosecution of the traitor. *Cicero* at the same time kept up a strict correspondence with *Fulvia*, and even gained over some of the conspirators, who

^k PLUT. in Cic. in Rull. & Pison.

- a who, pursuant to his directions, pretended to be the warmest promoters of the plot. It was by their means that he discovered the designs of *Catiline*, the various sentiments of his accomplices, their number and quality, and the general, as well as the private, views of each of the conspirators. By them he was informed, that on a day appointed the conspirators were to set fire to several parts of the city; that during the confusion and uproar, which so general a conflagration would occasion, some were to murder the chief men of the senate in their houses, others to assemble the mutinous populace, seize the capitol, and fortify themselves there, till *Manlius* arrived from *Hetruria* with his veterans. Two *Roman* knights were appointed to murder *Cicero* in his own house; but the consul, immediately informed of all that passed in their assembly, summoned the senate, and boldly informed the fathers, in *Catiline's* presence, of the danger they were in. He communicated to them the whole plot, and though he did not think proper to name those, by whom he had been informed, yet the senate by a public decree ordered the consuls to *take care that the republic suffered no detriment*; an ancient form, by which the magistrates for the time being had almost an unbounded authority conferred on them. *Cicero*, invested with such an ample power, dispatched without delay, some of the worthiest senators to the principal cities in *Italy* to keep them in awe. At the same time he placed guards in different parts of *Rome* to prevent the incendiaries. By his advice the senate promised not only a pardon, but ample rewards, to any of the conspirators, who should make farther discoveries of this black attempt.
- b But not one single man, which is very surprising, out of so great a number of profligates, appeared as an evidence against his accomplices. The consul might indeed, upon his own personal knowledge, have made use of the new power the senate had given him, and condemned *Catiline* and his adherents to death without appeal. But as this was a dangerous step, he thought it more advisable to induce *Catiline* to leave *Rome*, and take refuge in *Manlius's* camp near *Fesulæ*. With this view he assembled the conscript fathers, and *Catiline* appearing among the rest, as if he had been no ways concerned in the affair, those senators, near whom he came to seat himself, quitting their places, left him quite by himself. Then *Cicero*, no longer able to conceal his indignation, first read certain letters, which had been put into his hand by *Licinius* *Cicero has* *argues the* *people against* *Catiline.*
- d *Craffus* (M); and then directing his speech to *Catiline*, made that famous oration, which is still extant, and will ever be admired by all men of taste and judgment. *Catiline* heard his speech with the most artful dissimulation, and even had the assurance to intreat the conscript fathers not to suffer themselves to be prejudiced against him by the calumnies of his most bitter enemy, a new man, who had not in *Rome* so much as a house of his own, and who had forged a conspiracy in order to raise himself, and acquire the title of *defender of his country*. He added, that *Cicero* laughed in private at their credulity, and the false alarms he had given them. But when he began to proceed to invectives against the consul, he was interrupted by the cries of the whole assembly, the senate-house ringing with the names of incendiary, parricide, enemy to his country, &c. *Catiline*, highly provoked at these reproaches, and foaming with rage, cried out, *Since you have provoked me to the utmost, I will not perish alone, but will have the satisfaction of involving those who have sworn my ruin, in the same destruction with myself*. Having spoke thus, he instantly left the senate, and sending for *Cethegus*, *Lentulus*, and the other chief conspirators, he gave them an account of what had just happened in the senate; made them sensible, that he could no longer stay in *Rome* with safety; encouraged them to lay hold of the first opportunity of setting fire to the city, of assassinating the senators, and above all of destroying the consul, the only man who could render their designs abortive. He told them, that he was going to put himself at the head of the forces, which *Manlius* had raised for him in *Hetruria*, and that they should soon see him again with such a force as would strike the boldest of his enemies with dread and terror. After this conference he set out in great haste for *Hetruria*, attended by three hundred of his party. His sudden flight gave *Cicero* great pleasure; but as he was sensible how tender the people were of their privileges, and feared the tribunes might exasperate the populace against him, by suggesting, that he had banished a *Roman* citizen without consulting them, the next day he mounted the rostra, and in his second

(M) After *Craffus* had supped, one of his servants brought him a packet, which, he said, had been delivered to him by an unknown person. In the packet were several letters directed to different persons, and one to *Craffus* himself, which he read; and found therein the whole scheme of the conspi-

racy. The anonymous writer likewise advised him to leave *Rome* without delay, if he tendered his life. Upon this *Craffus* went directly to the consul, and delivered to him the packet, in order to clear himself of the suspicion, which his strict friendship with *Catiline* had raised.

second oration against *Catiline*, which is still preserved in his works, informed the assembly of the true state of affairs, assuring them with great firmness that no care or vigilance should be wanting on his part to guard them against the impending dangers¹.

Catiline declared an enemy to his country.

Is betrayed by the ambassadors of the Allobroges.

The chiefs of the conspiracy seized.

Cicero styled Father of his country.

IN the mean time *Catiline* arriving at *Manlius*'s camp in the neighbourhood of *Fæsculæ*, took upon him the command of the troops, and at the same time assumed all the marks of a supreme magistrate, being preceded by lictors carrying their axes and fasces. The senate informed of so open a rebellion, declared *Catiline* and *Manlius* enemies to their country, and at the same time ordered the consul *Antonius* to take the field with a proconsular army, and *Cicero* to continue in *Rome* and there watch the motions of the conspirators. At the motion of *Cicero* a decree was also passed, promising impunity to all those who should abandon *Catiline*, and return to *Rome* within a limited time, and declaring those guilty of high treason against the state, who should join him. Notwithstanding this decree, great numbers of profligates flocked to him both from *Rome*, and the other cities of *Italy*. Among others the son of *Aulus Fulvius*, a venerable senator, set out for the army of the rebels; but his father dispatched messengers after him, who brought him back to *Rome*; where his father, in virtue of his paternal authority, condemned him to death, and caused his severe sentence to be immediately put in execution. In the mean time *Lentulus* and the other chiefs of the conspiracy endeavoured to draw into the plot the ambassadors of the *Allobroges* then at *Rome*, in order to get assistance from *Transalpine Gaul*. But the ambassadors imparted the whole affair to *Q. Fabius Sanga*, who was the protector of their nation, according to the custom of those times, when the different states subject to the republic had in the senate one who took care of their interests. *Sanga*, after having made them sensible of the danger of such an undertaking, brought them to the consul, who prevailed upon them to continue their negotiations with the conspirators, in order to procure by their means undeniable proofs of the conspiracy. Accordingly, the ambassadors made no difficulty to close with the proposals of the conspirators, but insisted on a written treaty as their credentials to their countrymen. This treaty was granted them, signed by all the chiefs of the plot; and it was agreed, that they should set out on the third of the nones of *December*, and take their way through *Hetruria* to get the treaty ratified by *Catiline*. *Cicero*, being informed by the ambassadors when they were to leave *Rome*, sent privately two prætors with a sufficient number of troops to lie in wait for them, seize them with the conspirators, who attended them, and bring them all back to *Rome*. The prætors faithfully executed their commission; the ambassadors together with *Vulturcius*, who had taken upon him to conduct them to *Catiline*, were stopped at the bridge *Milvius*, and brought back to *Rome* with all the papers, which either the *Allobroges* or *Vulturcius* had in their custody. This news *Cicero* received by break of day, and having now in his power undeniable proofs of the conspiracy, he sent, without loss of time, proper Officers to seize *Lentulus*, *Gabinus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and other chiefs of the conspiracy, in their houses. These were not sent to the public prisons, but, agreeable to the tenderness the *Roman* laws shewed to citizens, though suspected of the greatest crimes, were only committed to the care of some of the most illustrious senators. Then the consul, upon the deposition of the *Allobroges*, ordered the house of *Cethegus* to be searched; and having found there a great quantity of sulphur and tow, with arms of all sorts, he assembled the senate in the temple of *Concord*. There he produced his evidence, confronted the witnesses with the criminals, and prevailed on *Vulturcius* to discover the secrets of the plot. *Cicero*, having thus got the proofs he expected both from the witnesses and criminals, he assembled the senate again, when the conscript fathers returned him the thanks he deserved, and acknowledged, that by his wisdom, vigilance, and courage, he had discovered a detestable plot, saved *Rome* from the flames, and preserved the republic from utter ruin. *Catulus* and *Cato* went so far as to style him *the father of his country*, an appellation, which had never been given to any *Roman* before him. *L. Gellius* moved, that a civic crown should be given the consul, a mark of honour which had never been granted but in camps. After these applauses the conscript fathers entered into a debate concerning the punishment of the criminals; but before they came to any resolution, *L. Tarquinius*, one of the conspirators, appeared before the fathers, confessed his guilt, and accused *M. Licinius Crassus*, the richest man in *Rome*, of being concerned

¹ PLUT, in Cic. SALLUST. ibid.

a concerned in the conspiracy. But the very name of *Crassus* raised a great clamour in the assembly; his friends cried out, that *Tarquinius* had been suborned; and those very senators, who suspected *Crassus*, joined the majority in acquitting him. It was dangerous to provoke a man of his great interest; so that *Tarquinius* was the only sufferer by his accusation. He was condemned to imprisonment, and enjoined never to mention this affair again, unless it were to discover the person who had suborned him. The senate, after long and warm debates, came to no other resolution, than that the four chief criminals, *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, and *Gabinus* should be carried to the public prison, and there kept under close confinement, till the fathers agreed about the punishment that should be inflicted upon them. During these delays, *Cethegus* found means to convey letters to his friends and clients, encouraging them to raise the whole party, and try their utmost to rescue them out of prison. But *Cicero*, informed of this, posted troops on the ramparts, at the gates, and in the cross-ways, and having assembled the senate anew on the nones of *December*, he exhorted the fathers to come to an ultimate resolution concerning the prisoners. *Syllanus*, consul elect for the ensuing year, was, according to custom, asked his advice first; and he, without hesitation, declared, that, in his opinion, they all deserved to die. All who voted after him were of the same opinion, except *T. Nero* and *Julius Cæsar*. The latter made a famous speech in praise of clemency, which is still extant, and by all admired as a most artful piece of oratory. He concluded, saying, that in an affair, which concerned the lives of citizens and of the principal patricians in *Rome*, it was advisable not to be too hasty in giving judgment; but that they should be well guarded, and kept in some towns of *Italy*, till *Catiline* was vanquished. As *Cæsar* was an excellent orator, his speech made a great impression on the assembly. Most of the senators, and among the rest *Syllanus*, retracting what he had said, declared for *Cæsar*'s opinion. But *Cato*, when it came to his turn to vote, represented in such lively colours the horrible designs of the conspirators, and shewed with so many unanswerable arguments, that *Cæsar*'s clemency was incompatible with the safety of the state, that the whole senate returned to their former opinion, and sentence of death was pronounced against the conspirators without any opposition but from *Cæsar* only, who, obstinately persisting in his opinion, made such a noise, that the guards at the door came into the senate, and, thinking him a conspirator, would have killed him, had they not been prevented by *Cicero* and *Curio* (N). *Cæsar*'s unseasonable mildness, and management in this whole affair, made most of the senators suspect he had a hand in the plot; nay, *Curius* undertook to prove from some writings of *Catiline*, that he had entered into engagements with the author of the conspiracy. But *Cicero*, who was sensible how great his interest was in *Rome*, avoided impeaching him with the rest, lest by the assistance of his friends and relations he should not only escape the rigour of the law himself, but should likewise save the rest of the criminals. As *Cæsar* was going out of the senate, the knights, who were upon duty, turned the points of their naked swords towards him, watching the consul's looks to receive his orders. But *Cicero* made them a sign to let him escape, either for fear of the people, or because he thought the murder illegal ^m.

Crassus accused and acquitted.

The senate consults about punishing the conspirators.

Cæsar suspected.

But saved by Cicero.

As soon as the decree for the execution of the criminals was passed, *Cicero*, though it was late in the day, went directly from the assembly to the prison, and to prevent a rescue in the night, had them executed in his sight. As he was returning home after the execution, he turned to the populace, who crowded about him, and cried out, *Vixerunt, They have lived*, an expression then in use among the *Romans* to avoid saying, *Mortui sunt, They are dead*, death and dead being words of an ill augury, which conveyed melancholy thoughts to the mind. The friends and relations of the conspirators, who

The conspirators executed.

^m SALLUST. *ibid.* PLUT. in *Cic. & Cæsar.*

(N) There happened a ridiculous adventure during the heat of the contest between *Cato* and *Cæsar*. *Servilia*, *Cato*'s sister, being in love with *Cæsar*, sent a slave to him with a letter, in which she expressed her affection in the most passionate terms. The slave, who was ordered to deliver the letter into *Cæsar*'s own hands, not finding him at home, brought it to him in the senate. *Cato* no sooner saw the

letter delivered, then he cried out, that it came from one of the conspirators, and insisted upon its being read to the assembly. *Cæsar* smiling, gave him the letter, and *Cato*, after he had perused it, threw it back to him, saying with his usual sourness, *Take it, drunkard* (25). This reproach *Cæsar* well deserved; for in his youth he was greatly given to drinking.

(25) *Plut. in Cat.*

who had resolved to break open the prisons in the night and rescue them, were a thunderstruck, when they heard they were executed, lost all hopes, and immediately dispersed. It is impossible to express the joy which the people shewed, when they heard that the plot was suppressed, and the conspirators punished. They conducted the consul to his house with extraordinary shouts and acclamations : as it was night, fires were made in the streets, through which he passed ; and the whole city was illuminated, men, women, and even children calling him, as he passed by, *the deliverer of Rome, the second founder of the city, the father of his country, &c.* This night was more glorious to him, than a day of triumph had ever been to the greatest general. No consul ever since the birth of the republic had done her more important services. Others had enlarged her territories by their victories, but *Cicero* saved the b lives of his fellow-citizens, and the state itself from utter ruin ^a.

Disturbances
raised by Cæ-
sar and the
tribunes.

Cicero and *Antonius* had no sooner yielded the fasces to *D. Junius Syllanus* and *L. Licinius Murena*, than *Q. Metellus*, and *L. Bestia*, two tribunes of the people, to rob *Cicero* of the honour of putting an end to the rebellion, made a motion for recalling *Pompey* from *Asia* to march against *Catiline*. *Cæsar*, jealous of *Cicero*'s glory and growing interest, supported the tribunes ; but *Cato*, with great intrepidity, opposed the motion ; whereupon the two tribunes and *Cæsar* raised such a tumult, that he was driven from the rostra by violence, and narrowly escaped with his life. However, the tumult was no sooner appeased, than the people returned in crowds to the comitium, supported *Cato*, and prevented *Metellus* from publishing the edict. When the senate were informed of these violences, they deprived both the tribunes and *Cæsar*, who was then prætor, of their offices. *Metellus* left *Rome*, and set out for *Asia* to complain to *Pompey* of the small concern the *Roman* people shewed for his glory ; but *Pompey* paid little regard to his complaints. As for *Cæsar*, he at first refused to comply with the decree of the senate ; but at length, fearing the resentment of the fathers, he laid down his office, and shut himself up in his house. The multitude, who adored him, offered to restore him to his post ; but he wisely refused it without the consent of the senate. This conduct charmed the fathers to such a degree, that, after many encomiums, they reinstated him in his prætorship. Thus, by the departure of *Metellus*, and the political moderation of *Cæsar*, tranquillity was restored to the city. d

Catiline re-
solves to give
Antonius
battle.

Antonius com-
mits the com-
mand of the
army to Pe-
treius.

DURING these transactions at *Rome*, *Catiline* made it his whole business to lead his army into *Transalpine Gaul*, where the whole nation seemed ready to declare for him. To prevent this, *Q. Metellus Celer*, leaving *Picenum*, which he had guarded the last year, posted himself with three legions at the foot of the *Alps*. On the other hand, *Antonius*, *Cicero*'s late colleague, kept following *Catiline* in the rear ; so that the rebels were in a manner hemmed in by two bodies of troops. In this situation *Catiline* resolved to attack *Antonius*, who, as he had been formerly of his faction, seemed to act but faintly against him. With this view he marched back, and meeting the proconsul near the city of *Pistoria*, now *Pistoia*, he drew up his men in order of battle. In the first line he posted eight cohorts, which were the best armed ; in the second the veterans, who had served under *Sylla*, and in the third his new levies, armed only with knotty clubs, long poles, or the implements of husbandry. Having drawn up his troops he led them to a great distance from his camp to shew that he was fully resolved to give battle. *Antonius* observed the enemy's motions, but would not stir out of his camp, though all the officers of the army pressed him not to let slip the opportunity that offered of putting an end to the rebellion at once. Should *Catiline* escape, said they, and get into *Gaul*, what will be the fate of *Italy* ? Who knows how much blood must be spilt before the rebels are crushed ? But *Antonius* would not by any means consent to an engagement ; which some historians ascribe to a secret inclination he had for the party, which he was ordered to destroy. Whatever were his motives, when the legionaries absolutely insisted on their being led against the enemy, he pretended to be indisposed, and committed the conduct of his army to *Petreius*, who had served above thirty years, and had raised himself by his merit from a private soldier to the post of lieutenant-general, in which quality he now served under *Antonius*. The soldiers, not doubting of victory under so brave and experienced a leader, marched out of their camp in two lines, and fell upon the enemy with a fury hardly to be expressed. The rebels sustained the onset with equal intrepidity and resolution, and, being encouraged by the example of their leader, obliged *Petreius*'s first line to give ground.

^a PLUT. in Cic.

- a ground. But that brave commander flying to their relief with a body of fresh men, the rebels were in their turn forced to retire in disorder. Hereupon *Catiline*, reproaching his men with cowardice, and putting them in mind of the promise they had made before the battle, either to conquer or die, brought them back to the charge, and renewed the fight with such vigour, that the victory continued doubtful, till *Manlius* and the officer of *Fesula*, who commanded the wings, were both killed. Then *Catiline*, being no longer able to govern so great a body himself, his ranks were broken, and most of his men, especially in the wings, dispersed. Hereupon the head of the rebels, *Catiline* ^{des-} resolving not to outlive the ruin of his party, threw himself in a great rage into the ^{fiat.d and} midst of the enemy, and there found the death which he sought. He no sooner fell, ^{killed.} than his whole army betook themselves to flight, leaving *Petreius* master of the field. That prudent commander would not suffer his men to pursue the fugitives, but allowed them all, as they were for the most part *Roman* citizens, to escape and return to their own houses. Of the rebels three thousand were killed on the spot. *Catiline* was found on a heap of dead bodies, still breathing, and with those marks of fierceness in his countenance, notwithstanding the agonies of death, which had rendered him formidable to his enemies during his life. And now nothing more seemed wanting with regard to the conspiracy, than to punish *Catiline's* accomplices. *L. Vettius*, a *Roman* knight, became their accuser, and included *Cæsar*, now prætor, in the num- ^{Cæsar privy to} ber. *Q. Curius* likewise accused him to the senate of being one of the chief conspi- ^{the conspiracy.} rators, and in proof of his deposition quoted the testimony of *Catiline* himself, by whom he said he had been told the names of all the conspirators, and particularly that of *Cæsar*. As for *Vettius*, he offered to produce the accused's own hand-writing, which had been found among *Catiline's* papers. But *Cæsar* called upon *Cicero* to witness the discoveries he had made to him concerning the plot; and *Cicero's* testimony was his justification; not that the orator thought him clear from all guilt, but because he was afraid to rank so popular a man among the criminals. After this several decrees were issued out against the rest of the conspirators, and such effectual care was taken of the public peace, that in all the provinces, where any seditions had happened, the rebels were suppressed, and the guilty punished.
- a IN the mean time the pontifex maximus dying, *Cæsar* was by the suffrages of the ^{Cæsar chosen} people advanced to that high station, though he had *Servilius Isauricus* and *Lutatius Ca-* ^{pontifex maxi-} *tulus*, two of the greatest men of the republic, for his competitors. But the joy he felt on this occasion was in great measure allayed by his domestic misfortunes. His wife *Pompeia*, the daughter of *Pompeius Rufus*, entertained a strong inclination for a young patrician, named *P. Clodius*. As *Clodius*, though yet a youth, was infamous for his lewdness and debaucheries, *Pompeia* could not, without exposing her character, even speak to him in public. At home she was narrowly watched by the virtuous *Aurelia*, *Cæsar's* mother, and by his sister *Julia*, who entertained some suspicions of her. As she could therefore find no other opportunity of meeting *Clodius*, she took advan- ^{p. Clodius} tage of a very solemn feast, which was to be celebrated in her husband's house. It had ^{carries on an} been customary, ever since the birth of the republic, to have certain religious ceremo- ^{intrigue with} nies performed at the end of every consular year in the house of the consul or prætor. ^{Cæsar's wife.} Thither the vestals repaired, and offered a sacrifice to the Good Goddesses (O), whose very name

o SALLUST. *ibid.*

p PLUT. in *Cic.*

(O) We learn from *Cicero* all that is to be known of the Good Goddesses, and of the sacrifices offered to her. In his oration concerning *the answers of the aruspices*, he speaks thus; "What sacrifice is there so ancient as that which has been handed down to us from our first kings, and is coeval with Rome herself? What sacrifice is there so private and secret as that which is concealed not only from the eyes of the curious and inquisitive, but from the sight of all men, and whither neither the most profligate wickedness nor impudence ever yet presumed to enter? This sacrifice no man, except *Clodius*, was ever so impious as to violate, no man, but *Clodius*, ever thought, without the utmost horror, of assisting at it. This sacrifice, which is performed by the vestal virgins, which is performed for the prosperity of the *Roman* peo-

ple, which is performed in the house of the chief magistrate, celebrated with unknown ceremonies, and in honour of a goddess, whose very name to know is sacrilege; this sacrifice *Clodius* profaned, &c." Since then, at the very time when this adventure happened, the ceremonies observed in that sacrifice were absolutely unknown to the people, and locked up under so religious a secrecy, that all were ignorant of the very name of the goddesses, we are not to wonder, that the ancients have left us in the dark as to the nature of this sacrifice. One thing indeed seems unaccountable: *Cicero* tells us, that the name of the goddesses was concealed from the men, but revealed to the women: how then could it remain such a secret? This is much to the honour of the *Roman* women. *Plutarch* takes the good goddesses to be the same with the *Gynæcea* of the *Greeks*, that is,

name was concealed from the men, and known only to the women. At this sacrifice it was unlawful for any man to assist; nay it was deemed a sacrilege even for the master of the house, or his children, to be at home while the ceremony was performing. Some writers tell us, that the women, who assisted at the ceremony, carried their superstition so far as even to cover the pictures of men and male-animals with thick veils. On this solemn day, and in the house set apart for this religious use, *Clodius* and *Pompeia* agreed to meet. *Clodius*, in order to get admission, was to come in the habit and disguise of a singing woman; for the solemnity was attended with dancing and music. A female slave, who was in the secret, had orders to receive him and conduct him to his mistress's apartment. *Clodius*, being yet very young, was by his face and appearance, taken for a woman and readily admitted. The maid, who was in the secret, no sooner saw him than she ran to inform *Pompeia*; but as she did not return so soon as *Clodius* expected, he grew uneasy; and not thinking it safe to continue long in the same place, he took several turns in the rooms, avoiding the lights as much as possible for fear of being discovered. As he was thus walking about slowly by himself, one of *Aurelia's* maids, taking him for a female musician, asked him to sing; which he refusing to do, the maid put several questions to him, and obliged him at last to speak, which he no sooner did, than his voice betrayed him. Whereupon the woman shrieking ran into the rooms where the ceremonies were performing, crying aloud, that she had discovered a man. The women all in a fright threw a veil over the mysteries, stopt the ceremonies, and, having ordered the doors to be shut, ran about with lights in search of the sacrilegious man, whom they found in the maid's room, who was privy to the appointment. There they seized him, and having driven him out of doors, though it was yet night, they went home to acquaint their husbands with what had happened. The next morning *Clodius's* impious attempt was the subject of every conversation, and all agreed, that he ought to be punished with the utmost severity. Accordingly he was accused of prophaning the holy rites, but the populace declared in his favour; so that the judges, fearing to provoke the multitude, acquitted him. *Cæsar* immediately divorced *Pompeia*; but being summoned as a witness against *Clodius*, he said, that he had nothing to charge him with. As this looked like a paradox, the accusers asked him, why then he had parted with his wife? *Because*, said he, *I cannot bear that my wife should be so much as suspected*. He declined appearing against *Clodius*, to gratify the populace, who, he saw, were very earnest to save him^a.

Cæsar divorced his wife *Pompeia*.

THE next year *M. Pupius Piso*, one of *Pompey's* lieutenants, was, upon his recommendation, raised to the consulate, and with him *M. Valerius Messala*. Soon after their election, news was brought, that *Pompey*, after having reduced several kingdoms in the east, was preparing to return to *Rome*. Some, fearing he should turn his victorious arms against his country, were for raising troops, and guarding against any attempt of that nature; but he resolved on a conduct very different from what was dreaded. He was very desirous of making himself absolute in the republic; but at the same time so weak as to imagine, that he could attain and preserve a kind of arbitrary power by such gentle methods, as would carry no odium with them. Agreeable to this false notion, he disbanded his troops, as soon as he landed at *Brundisium*, and proceeded to *Rome* with as small a train as if he had been returning from a journey of pleasure. The whole city went out to meet him, and received him with loud acclamations. He demanded a triumph, which, as he well deserved it, was readily granted him. The procession lasted two days, and was by far the most magnificent that had ever been seen in *Rome*. Before his chariot marched three hundred and twenty-four captives of great distinction, among whom were *Aristobulus* king of *Judea* and his son *Antigonus*; *Oltaces* king of *Colchis*; *Tigranes*, the son of *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, with his wife and daughter; five sons and two daughters of *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*; a queen of *Scythia*, &c. The spoils that were carried before him were valued above three millions sterling; and the gold and silver coin, which he delivered to the quæstors, amounted to thrice that sum, not reckoning the large donatives which he bestowed on his soldiers; for he ordered one thousand five hundred drachmas

Pompey's idle scheme of power.

His triumph.

^a PLUT. in *Cæsar*.

is with the goddess of the women; and adds, that the *Phrygians*, who claimed a particular title to her, said she was mother to *Midas*, that the *Romans* pre-

tended, she was one of the dryads and married to *Faunus*, and that the *Greeks* affirmed, she was mother to *Bacchus*.

a drachmas to each soldier of his army, that is, near fifty pounds sterling, and rewarded all the officers in proportion. He did not put any of the captives to death, as other generals used to do, neither did he keep them in prison; but sent them all, except *Aristobulus* and *Tigranes*, back to their respective countries, at the expence of the public^r. The solemnity was no sooner over, than *Pompey* betook himself to a private life, declining, from a pretended modesty, even the use of those titles and privileges with which he had been honoured. His aim was to assume a sovereign authority in the state, without appearing to desire it; but he soon found, that it was easier to give law to subalterns in a camp, than to govern his equals in a free state without force. There were many, who made as great a figure in *Rome* as himself, b and were ready to oppose the sovereignty at which he aspired. *Lucullus*, who had paved the way for his conquests in the east, did not think himself at all inferior to this celebrated conqueror. *Crassus* had been *Pompey's* rival ever since he robbed him of the honour of a triumph, by assuming to himself the glory of having put an end to the war with the slaves, as we have related above. *Pompey* indeed outshined *Crassus* in glory; but the immense riches of the latter put him at least upon a level with his adversary; for he is said to have been worth seven thousand talents, that is one million three hundred fifty-six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds sterling. *Cato* was too zealous for the public good to let *Pompey* give any wound to the liberty of his country. *Cicero* was not so disinterested in his views as *Cato*; but was at bottom a c good republican, and his eloquence made him formidable. *Cæsar*, who, we may say, was at this time only beginning to shew himself, was too ambitious to submit to any superior. However, *Pompey* had interest enough to get *L. Afranius* and *Q. Metellus*, who had served under him, promoted to the consulate. They no sooner entered upon their office, than he made two attempts, which turned both to his confusion, viz. that lands should be given to his veterans, and that all his acts in the east should be approved by one decree. He made the motion himself; but it was almost unanimously rejected by the fathers, and no-body opposed it with more warmth than the consul *Metellus*, who had indeed made his court to *Pompey*, in order to raise himself, but hated him in his heart, for having divorced his sister *Mucia* (P), which d he looked upon as an affront offered to the *Cæcilian* family. As for the other consul, he was a man of no weight, and intirely incapable of business. *Pompey*, enraged at the refusal of the senate, had recourse to the tribunes, and prevailed upon *Flavius Nepos*, one of that college, to propose his request to the people; but *Lucullus*, *Cato*, and *Metellus* opposed the tribune with great steadiness and resolution. Their opposition occasioned a tumult in the forum, and the furious tribune went so far as to send the consul *Metellus* to prison; but *Pompey*, who was the author of the tumult, not caring to incur the hatred of the senate, ordered the consul to be set at liberty, under pretence that the consul had desired it. He was now fully convinced, that to pretend e to reign in a republic, otherwise than by force of arms, was a chimerical project; but as he could not conquer his boundless ambition, he made it his whole business to gain over to his interest the seditious *Clodius*, a man of a most abandoned character, but greatly favoured by the populace, and a declared enemy to the senate. The illustrious conqueror of the east demeaned himself so far as to join this profligate patrician, and to use his utmost endeavours to get him raised to the tribuneship, tho' he knew, that *Clodius's* only aim in aspiring at that office was, to revenge himself on *Cicero*, who had appeared as a witness against him, when he was accused of having profaned the mysteries of the *Good Goddesses*. Hence the bitter complaints which *Cicero* made of him in several of his letters. This conduct greatly lessened the high opinion, which both the people and the nobility had entertained of him before his return^r.

Is convinced of the folly of his scheme.

Sinks in his reputation.

IN

^r PLUT. in Pomp. APPIAN. in Mithridatic. DIO, l. xxxvii. PLIN. l. vii. c. 26. & l. xxxvii. c. 3.
^r PLUT. ibid. CIC. in epist. 13. l. i. ad. Atticum, & alibi pass.

(P) *Mucia* was the third daughter of *Q. Mucius Scaevola*. While her husband was making war in *Asia*, she took advantage of his absence, and carried on an intrigue with *Cæsar*, which was the common talk of *Rome*; insomuch, that *Pompey* did not think proper to wait till he returned to *Rome* to divorce her; but sent orders to her to leave his house before he returned to *Italy*. She was sister to the two *Metelli*, *Celer* and *Nepos*; and he could not but foresee, that he should incur the displeasure of those two patricians, who made a considerable figure in the

republic; but her life was so scandalous, that *Pompey* thought himself obliged in honour to part with her, though he had three children by her. He never forgot the injury *Cæsar* had done him; but complained several times, in the heat of the civil wars, that the debaucher of *Mucia* was his *Ægythbus*, since he was not content with having dishonoured him, but at the same time wanted to take away his life, as *Ægythbus* was *Clytemnestra's* lover, and the murderer of her husband *Agamemnon*.

Cæsar sent
into Spain.

His ambition.

Aspires to the
consulate.

The first tri-
umvirate.
Year after the
flood 2944.
Before Christ
55.
Of Rome
693.

IN the mean time the government of *Farther Spain*, which comprehended *Lusitania* and *Bætica*, that is *Portugal* and *Andalusia*, falling by lot to *Cæsar*, after his prætorship, he was preparing to set out for his new province; but being stopped by some of his creditors, *Crassus*, to whom he applied, took upon him to satisfy those creditors, who would be put off no longer, and became his security for eight hundred and thirty talents, that is, one hundred sixty thousand eight hundred and twelve pounds sterling. Upon this *Cæsar*, being at liberty to go to his government, set out without delay. In his journey, as he was crossing the *Alps*, he passed by a small village, which had but few inhabitants, and those wretchedly poor, which gave occasion to some of his friends to ask him by way of railery, Whether there was any canvassing there for offices, or any contention among the barbarians who should be uppermost? To this question *Cæsar* answered very seriously, *That he had rather be first man among those poor Barbarians, than the second in Rome* (Q). It is easy to imagine, that *Cæsar*, with these sentiments, could not continue idle in his province. To find himself work there, he made war on the innocent *Spaniards*, and, advancing as far as the ocean, subdued several nations, which had never before been subject to *Rome*. Having settled his province in peace, he returned to *Rome*, carrying with him sufficient sums to discharge his debts, which amounted to one million six hundred thousand pounds sterling, so great was his extravagance and profusion. His heart was set on a triumph and the consulate; but chiefly on the latter, which he could not obtain, without appearing personally in the comitium. On the other hand, those who demanded a triumph were obliged to halt in the suburbs, and there wait for the answer of the senate. Being therefore reduced to the dilemma either of laying aside the thoughts of a triumph by going into the city, or to give up the consulship by staying in the suburbs, he readily renounced the former, and pursued the latter, leaving nothing unattempted in order to succeed. His management on this occasion was a master-piece of policy, and the foundation of his future grandeur. The two citizens, who at this time made the greatest figure in the republic, were, without dispute, *Pompey* and *Crassus*; but these two powerful citizens were declared enemies, and, all things considered, much upon a level. As they had both great interest, *Cæsar* plainly saw, that he could never obtain the consulship, without gaining one or other of them to his cause; but the difficulty was which to choose. If he closed with *Pompey*, he would meet with a strong opposition from *Crassus's* friends; and if he joined *Crassus*, he was sure to have all *Pompey's* party against him. He therefore undertook to reconcile the two rivals, and, by proposing to them a triumvirate, in which should be lodged all the authority of the senate and people, he prevailed upon them to make up their differences, and to enter into a strict friendship with each other. In order to make their confederacy the more indissoluble, they solemnly bound themselves by mutual oaths and promises to assist each other, and to suffer nothing to be undertaken or executed, without the unanimous consent of all three. Thus was the first great triumvirate formed, by which *Rome* became a prey to three men, who, by the interest of their united parties, arbitrarily disposed of all the dignities and employments in the commonwealth. The public were long strangers to the mysteries of this new cabal. Nothing more appeared to the senate than the reconciliation of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, and *Cæsar* was congratulated by all ranks of men for having brought it about. *Cato* alone foresaw the evil consequences of this new alliance, and exclaimed against it, saying, That *Rome* had lost her liberty; but no-body hearkened to him, till it was too late to follow his prudent counsel. This association subsisted to the death of *Crassus*, and was followed by the intire subversion of the republican state.

C H A P.

* PLUT. in Pomp. Cæs. & Catone. DIO. CASS. l. xxxvii. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. SUET. in Julio.

(Q) *Plutarch* adds to this, that while he was one day reading the history of *Alexander the Great*, he appeared very thoughtful, and at last burst out into tears, answering his friends, who asked him the

reason of his grief, *Do you think I have not just cause to weep, when I consider, that Alexander, at my age, had conquered so many nations, while I have yet done nothing that is memorable?*

C H A P. XI.

The history of Rome, from the first triumvirate to the death of Crassus.

- T**HE first benefit *Cæsar* reaped from this association was, his promotion to the consulate, *Pompey* and *Crassus* employing all their interest in his favour. He had but two competitors, *L. Luceius Hirrus* and *M. Calpurnius Bibulus*. The former, a man of great learning (R), was but little versed in public affairs; and therefore *Cæsar*, well apprised that if he had him for his colleague, he should reign alone, did his utmost to get him elected. He was not ashamed openly to purchase the suffrages of the people with large sums; but the senators, being resolved to have him excluded and *Bibulus* chosen, agreed among themselves to defeat *Cæsar*'s measures in his own way, and to offer the people greater sums than he had done. *Cato* himself, tho' a rigid stoic, was of opinion, that the laws, forbidding all sort of bribery, ought to be dispensed with on this occasion; so that it was resolved, that *Bibulus* should buy the suffrages of the people, and that each senator should pay his share towards raising the promised sums. By this means *Luceius* was excluded, and *Bibulus* appointed to be *Cæsar*'s colleague. The first thing *Cæsar* did, after entering upon his office, was, to confirm all *Pompey*'s acts, pursuant to his promise. After this he made it his whole business to gain the affection of the people. With this view he drew up an agrarian law, with such wise restrictions and provisos, that the senators themselves could not justly find fault with it; for it enacted only, *that certain lands in Campania, belonging to the public, should be divided among such of the poor citizens, as had three children, or more.* *Cæsar* declared in the senate, that he would do nothing without the consent of the conscript fathers, nor propose any of his friends for commissioners, nor any person else, who might be liable to suspicions; but that they should be all men of unblemished characters and known abilities. The fathers had nothing to object against the law itself; but, as they were well apprised of the legislator's ambitious views, they put off from day to day giving their assent to it. *Cæsar* complained of these delays; and then *Cato* told him in plain terms, that he did not disapprove of the distribution of the lands as proposed, but dreaded the consequences of it: *We do not care*, said he, *that you should purchase the favour and affections of the people at the expence of the public treasury.* This open declaration piqued *Cæsar*, who ordered his lictors to carry *Cato* to prison; but he soon after privately ordered the tribunes to release him. The example of *Cato* was followed by the consul *Bibulus* and most of the senators, who declared, that they had nothing to object against the law; but that they would suffer no innovations. Hereupon *Cæsar* had recourse to the people, and having summoned them to assemble, appeared in the comitium, attended by *Pompey* and *Crassus*. He mounted the rostra, and directing his speech to his two associates, asked them, Whether they did not approve of the law? It is easy to imagine, that two men of his own cabal would speak the same language as he. They both answered, That they would support his motion, with all their power, against the enemies of the people, who opposed it. *Pompey* went further, adding, with more warmth than prudence, *If any one opposes this law with the sword, I will resist him with sword and buckler.* *Pompey*, by this rash answer, which was no-ways suitable to his dignity and was contrary to his true interest, made himself odious to the senate, and at the same time gained no credit among the people, who thought themselves indebted to *Cæsar* only for so beneficial a law. However, *Bibulus* opposed it with great courage; but the

Cæsar and Bibulus consuls.

Cæsar draws up an agrarian law.

Which is rejected by the senate.

(R) If we may judge of his learning from the account *Cicero* gives of him, he was one of the best historians of Rome. Besides the history of the war of the allies, he wrote that of *Cicero*'s consulship, at the request of the consul, who had himself already published one of his own in Greek and Latin.

But passed by
the people.

the people, losing all regard for the consular dignity, treated him with the utmost indignity, drove him out of the assembly, broke his fasces, wounded his lictors, &c. The senators, dreading the fury of the populace, held their peace; so that the law passed without any further disturbance^a.

And at last
approved by
the senate.

THIS victory over the senate and *Bibulus* made *Cæsar* in great measure absolute in *Rome*. His colleague was scarce ever mentioned; no deference was paid to his orders; they all looked upon *Cæsar* as the only consul, and called this year ironically the year of the consulate of *Julius* and *Cæsar*. And now the suspicions entertained of the confederacy between the triumvirs being confirmed by *Cæsar*'s marrying his daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*, *Cato*, who was a sincere friend to his country, loudly exclaimed against the arbitrary power usurped by the triumvirs; and when the agrarian law was brought before the senate to be confirmed by them, he continued inflexible, opposing it with great warmth, tho' threatened with banishment; but at length *Cicero* telling him, *That if Cato did not want Rome, Rome wanted Cato*; upon this consideration he acquiesced, and the law was established in full force. And now *Cæsar* resolved to gain the favour of the knights, as he had done that of the people. With this view he abated a third part of the rents which they paid annually into the public treasury, and by this means attached them unalterably to his interest. Having thus secured to himself both the people and knights, he governed *Rome* with an absolute sway. *Cicero* exclaimed against the triumvirate, and, by some severe jests (S), provoked them to such a degree, that they resolved upon his ruin; and, in order to compass it the more effectually, they got his mortal enemy, *P. Clodius*, promoted to the tribuneship. We shall soon see the seditious *Clodius* vent his rage against this great orator, and forward the ruin of the republic, by the banishment of one of the chief supporters of the public liberty^w. *Cæsar*, having thus established the power of the triumvirate, applied himself to his own private interest. *Pompey* had got two consuls elected for the next year, who were personally devoted to him, viz. *L. Calpurnius Piso* and *A. Gabinius*. *Cæsar*, fearing *Pompey* might attempt a superiority over him during their administration, attached *Piso* to himself, by marrying his daughter *Calpurnia*. Having thus secured his interest at *Rome* during the next consulship, he applied himself both to the senate and people, and, with the assistance of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, procured the government of *Transalpine* and *Cisalpine Gaul*, contrary to all law, for five years together, with the command of four legions.

P. Clodius
promoted to
the tribunate.

Clodius resolved
on the ruin
of Cicero.

UNDER the next consulship of *Calpurnius Piso* and *A. Gabinius Nepos*, the triumvirate still continued to govern *Rome* by the consuls themselves, who were their creatures. As *Cicero* adhered steadily to the interests of the republic, the consuls gave *Clodius* full liberty to vent on him all his fury. *Cicero* was looked on as the father and defender of his country, and the service he had done the republic was yet fresh in every one's memory; the tribune therefore was obliged to have recourse to craft and cunning to compass his ruin. His first step was to gain the affections of the people, by passing several laws favourable to them; then he obliged both the knights and senators, by lessening the power which the censors had of degrading them; and in the last place he paid his court to the consuls, by assigning them provinces of a very great extent. The consuls had hitherto chosen their provinces by lot; but *Clodius* pretended, that the right of assigning them was lodged in the people, who accordingly gave to *Piso*, *Macedon*, *Achaia*, *Thessaly*, and *Beotia*; and to *Gabinius*, *Syria* and most of the eastern kingdoms. *Cicero*, who had too much sagacity not to see through the tribune's design, secured to himself a faithful friend in *L. Ninnius Quadratus*, another of the tribunes, who so effectually opposed all the attempts of *Clodius*, that he could not proceed. Hereupon *Clodius*, fearing *Ninnius*, or, as others call him, *Mummius*, might by

^a PLUT. in Cæs. SUET. in Jul. DIO, l. xxx.
ATTIC. l. ii. epist. 19.

^w PLUT. in Cic. DIO. CASS. l. xxxviii. CIC. ad

(S), *Cicero*, who was naturally severe and loved raillery; seized every opportunity that offered of shewing his wit, without regard either to decency or friendship. He was one of those, who would rather lose their friend, than their jest. If this satirical turn was not one of the chief causes of his misfortunes, it contributed at least to stir up against him several powerful enemies. Tho' some of his jests were lively and poignant, yet he often brought him-

self into contempt by the low conceits and stale allusions, which he put off for wit. He has dropt several things of this nature, even in his most eloquent discourses. *Macrobius* tells us, that one of *Cicero*'s freed-men was at the pains of collecting all his master's witticisms, under the title of *Ineptiæ*. It is surprising, that a man of so much sagacity should not think such puns and ridiculous conceits unbecoming the gravity of a magistrate.

- a by his opposition overturn all his schemes, had recourse to artifice, and assured *Cicero*, *What steps he took to compass it.* that he would undertake nothing to his prejudice, provided he would persuade *Ninnius* not to oppose his measures. We are told, that both *Cæsar* and *Pompey* basely demeaned themselves to assure the orator, that the tribune had no design to hurt him; and that *Cicero*, deceived by these false assurances, desired *Ninnius* to wave his opposition, and slept in security. In the mean time, *Clodius* got another law passed, enacting, That when a tribune of the people should propose any law in the comitia, no regard should be had to the denunciations of the augurs. As most of that college favoured *Cicero*, the tribune was afraid, lest they should, under pretence of religion, prevail upon the people to reject the decree, which he had already drawn
- b up against *Cicero*. And now the tribune, thinking himself in a condition to carry his point, mounted the rostra, and proposed the following law, at which all these preparations aimed, *viz. That whoever had been concerned in the death of a Roman citizen, before the people had passed sentence on him, should be deemed guilty of treason, and punished as a state criminal.* *Proposes a law aimed at Cicero.* *Cicero*, well apprised that he was the person aimed at by this law, and seeing himself in so great danger, changed his habit, and, letting his beard grow, went about in deep mourning, soliciting the assistance of his friends. Many of the knights testified their regard for him, by changing their habits, and, in a negligent
- c dress, supplicating in his behalf. Among these was the son of *Crassus* the triumvir, who had been taught by *Cicero* the rules of eloquence, and had made an extraordinary proficiency under so great a master. This young patrician, at the head of twenty thousand young *Romans* of his age, attended *Cicero* where-ever he went. *Clodius*, on the other hand, attended by a numerous body of armed men, insulted *Cicero*, where-ever he met him, reproached him with want of courage, and, interrupting him in his humble addreses to the people, encouraged his enemies, who were the dregs of the populace, to throw stones and dirt at the orator and his company, who dared not return the like treatment, for fear of violating the sacred person of a tribune. The senate, affected with the unjust prosecution of a man, whom they looked upon as the chief ornament of their body, assembled, in order to decree, that the people should put on mourning, as in a public calamity; but the consuls, whom *Clodius* had gained over, opposed it,
- d while he himself with a band of armed slaves beset the place where the senate met, and with menaces deterred them from coming to any resolution. It must be owned; that *Cicero* on this occasion acted a part unworthy of his former constancy. He ran from house to house with sorrow and consternation in his face, imploring the protection of his friends, and cringing, with a shameful meanness of spirit, even to his enemies. The advice his friends gave him served only to embarrass him the more. *Lucullus* was for having recourse to arms and repelling force by force. The knights declared for him, and with them the better part of the citizens; but *Cato* and *Hortensius* advised him not to tarnish his past glory, by filling *Rome* with slaughter, and exercising the same cruelties on his fellow-citizens, which he had so severely condemned
- e in *Catiline*. *Cicero*, greatly perplexed and not knowing how to escape the fury of the mad tribune, had at length recourse to *Cæsar*, intreating him, that he would take him with him into *Gaul* as one of his lieutenants. This was, all things considered, the safest method he could have taken; and *Cæsar*, who wanted nothing else but to get him out of *Rome*, where he might, by his eloquence, raise great disturbances, readily consented to his request. *Clodius* was well apprised, that, by this means, his prey would escape him; and therefore, in order to divert him from accepting the new employment, he feigned himself disposed to a reconciliation, and sent him word by some common friends, that he had been informed, that his wife *Terentia* had been the chief cause of his giving evidence against him in the affair of *Pompeia*, and that now he was determined to drop the prosecution, and live again in amity with him. *Cicero*, tho' a man in other respects of uncommon sagacity, was so far imposed upon by his enemy's fair words and promises, that he changed his mind; and refused to attend *Cæsar* into *Gaul*. This so provoked *Cæsar*, that he joined *Clodius* against him, and engaged *Pompey* not to intermeddle in his behalf. Here-upon *Clodius* resumed his impeachment, and accused *Cicero* before the tribes, of have-
- f ing put *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and other *Roman* citizens to death, without a lawful trial. *Cicero*, seeing himself thus exposed anew to the rage of the furious tribune, had recourse to *Pompey*; who was indebted to him for most of his employments, and had ever professed a great friendship for him; but *Pompey* was retired to one of his country-houses, for fear of being reproached with his unfaithfulness, if he did not stir in
- g behalf

Cæsar becomes his enemy.

He is abandoned by Pompey.

behalf of his friend. *Cicero* immediately dispatched *Piso* his son-in-law to him, and, upon his delaying to return, went himself; but *Pompey*, not able to bear the sight of his old friend, who had done him so many good offices, and whom he had engaged his word with *Cæsar* not to assist, went out at a back-door, ordering his servants to tell *Cicero*, that he was returned to *Rome*. *Cicero*, no longer doubting but he was abandoned by him, having called together his true friends, asked their advice, when *Lucullus*, who was an old experienced commander, was for taking up arms; but the rest of his friends advised him to give way to the storm and retire from *Rome*. As he could not bear the thoughts of shedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, he followed their advice, left *Rome* at midnight, and resolved to retire to *Sicily*, where *Vigilius* was prætor, who owed his fortune to him; but the ungrateful governor refusing him admittance into the island, he imbarqued at *Brundisium*, and sailed to *Dyrrachium*, where he discovered so much dejection and meanness of spirit, as were a reproach to his great abilities and the philosophy he professed. He himself acknowledges, that, in the height of his grief, he was going to lay violent hands on himself; but was prevented by his friend *Atticus* * (S).

He retires into banishment.

Clodius gets the decree of his banishment passed.

In the mean time, *Clodius* got the decree of his banishment passed, confiscated his effects, which, to the immortal honour of the exile, no-body would buy when exposed to sale, burnt to the ground his houses in the country and his fine palace in *Rome*, and ordered the pontifices to consecrate the ground, on which his city-house stood, to the goddesses *Peace* and *Liberty*, to make the restitution of it in a manner impossible. Thus *Clodius* triumphed at *Rome*; but as *Cato* still thwarted him in his pernicious attempts, he prevailed on the people to pass the most unjust decree possible, purely to gratify a private resentment of his own, and then, by another decree, obliged *Cato* to put the first in execution. *Clodius* had been taken in his youth by the pirates, while he was serving in the east; and *Ptolemy*, king of *Cyprus*, a covetous prince, had refused to pay his ransom. This *Clodius* took greatly amiss; and now that he was the reigning tribune, he resolved to be revenged on the king of *Cyprus*; and accordingly got a decree passed, depriving him of his dominions, under pretence that he had forfeited them by his ill conduct. *Cato* was charged with the execution of this scandalous decree; and that he might be kept the longer from *Rome*, he was ordered at the same time to resettle some citizens of distinction in *Byzantium*, who had been driven from thence by the populace. When *Cicero* and *Cato* were gone, the furious tribune, and the triumvirs, whose tool he was, reigned without controul; but in the mean time, news being brought to *Rome*, that the *Helvetians*, having abandoned

* PLUT. in Cic. & Pomp. Cic. pro Sestio, domo sua, & alib. pass. DIO CASS. l. xxxviii.

(S) *Cicero* came first to *Vibo*, called also *Hipponium*, which stood on the coast of *Brutium*, and had chosen *Cicero* for its patron or protector; but one *Vibius*, on whom *Cicero* had conferred many favours, not only refused to admit him into his house, but would not even suffer him to come into the city. However, one *Sica*, who held a farm near *Hipponium*, received and entertained him, till he set out for *Brundisium*. Thither the people of the country guarded him, the neighbouring country being infested by a troop of exiles of the *Catilinarian* faction, under the command of *Autronius*, whose resentment *Cicero* had reason to fear. Before he imbarqued at the port of *Brundisium*, he spent some days with his friend *M. Lænius Flaccus*, who had a country-house near that city. He was then in a most deplorable condition, not knowing what place to chuse for his residence during his exile. *Greece* and *Epirus* were beset by a troop of robbers in the pay of *Autronius*, his sworn enemy. The government of *Macedon* had been given to the consul *Piso*, an avowed friend to *Clodius*. *Asia* only offered him a secure retreat; and therefore he imbarqued at *Brundisium*, resolving to sail to *Cyzicus*, a city of *Myfia*. This he himself declares in a letter, which he wrote before he imbarqued to his wife *Terentia*, and to his children *Tullia* and *Cicero*. *I have spent thirteen days*, says he, *at Brundisium, in the house of M. Lænius Flaccus. This faithful friend is affected*

with my misfortunes, and, in spite of the furious Clodius, entertains me with great civility. I am going to leave him and imbarque for Macedon, whence I intend to proceed to Cyzicus, and there finish my course. Accordingly, on the thirteenth of *April*, he took leave of his friend *Flaccus*, who, with his father and children, attended him to the port, where these illustrious friends parted, after having given each other reciprocal assurances of the most sincere friendship. *Cicero* had at first a favourable wind; but a few hours after a violent storm obliged the pilot to return to the same port. When the storm was appeased, he put to sea again, and landed at *Dyrrachium*, now *Durazzo*. There the inhabitants received him in such a manner, as might have allayed his grief if he had been capable of any comfort; but he discovered a weakness on this occasion, which could not have been expected from a man bred up in the study of philosophy. He grew melancholy, was ever sighing, and turning his eyes towards *Italy*. The *Greeks*, who came to visit him, being quite tired with his complaints, were forced to invent dreams, and draw good presages of his speedy return from the most trifling events, in order to pacify him. So very different are sometimes the greatest men from themselves in times of adversity! *Cicero*, after a short stay at *Dyrrachium*, repaired to *Thessalonica*, and there resided, till he was recalled from banishment.

- a done their country, and burnt down their towns and houses, were preparing to enter *Gaul* by way of *Geneva*, *Cæsar*, whose province *Gaul* was, found himself obliged to leave *Rome*, and hasten to the defence of the country committed to his care. Accord- ingly he repaired thither in such haste, that he reached the banks of the *Rhone* in eight days. Upon his arrival, he broke down the bridge of *Geneva*; and as he found but one legion in the province, he deferred giving answer to the *Helvetians*, who desired leave to pass through the country of the *Allobroges*, till he had covered the frontiers of his province, by carrying on a wall from the lake *Lemanus*, or lake of *Geneva*, to mount *Jura*, now *Mont S. Claude*. This wall was nineteen miles in extent, sixteen foot high, and defended by a deep ditch and castles at proper distances.
- b As *Cæsar* did not set out from *Rome* till about the beginning of *April*, and this work was completed before the *ides*, or the thirteenth, of the same month, it is manifest, that, besides the *Roman* legion, great numbers of the inhabitants were employed in it. When the deputies of the *Helvetii* returned at the time appointed for an answer, *Cæsar* told them, that the *Romans* never suffered foreign armies to march through their countries; and that, if they attempted to force a passage, he would repel force with force. Upon this, the whole nation of the *Helvetians* appeared in a body; and then *Cæsar*, persuaded that he could not resist them with the few troops he had, left *Labienus*, one of his lieutenants, to defend his lines, and hastening back brought from thence in a very short time five legions. With these he fell upon the
- c *Helvetians*, while they were embarrassed in passing the *Arar*, now the *Saone*, cut in pieces those who had not yet crossed the river, and, throwing a bridge over it, advanced against the rest. The *Helvetians*, somewhat disheartened at the loss they had sustained, sent deputies to the *Roman* camp to treat of an accommodation; but as they refused to give hostages, *Cæsar* detached his cavalry, with orders to harass them on their march. The *Roman* horse, having attacked them in narrow roads, were repulsed with no small loss, which raised the courage of the *Helvetians*, while the *Romans* began to be somewhat disheartened for want of provisions. *Cæsar* had none but the *Ædui*, the faithful allies of *Rome*, to depend on for a speedy supply of corn. Their country lay between the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Saone*, was extremely fruitful, and capable of supporting an army far more numerous than that of *Cæsar*; but the
- d *Roman* general, to his great surprise, found the corn fail when he most wanted it. The *Ædui* indeed had promised to supply his troops with provisions; but they postponed from day to day the sending of the convoys which they had promised; so that the army was reduced to great straits. *Cæsar* therefore, suspecting the fidelity of the *Ædui*, resolved to find out the true cause of these artful delays. In order to this he examined *Liscus*, the chief magistrate of the *Ædui*, and a lord of the country named *Divitiacus*, who served both in the *Roman* army. The former told him, that *Dumnorix*, younger brother to *Divitiacus*, designing to usurp the sovereign power, and depending on the assistance of the *Helvetians*, had, to gratify them, privately conveyed the corn out of the province, and raised the price of it, hoping by that means to make the *Roman* army perish with famine. *Divitiacus* owned the same thing, but without naming his brother. *Cæsar* was inclined to punish *Dumnorix* with severity; but pardoned him at the entreaty of his brother *Divitiacus*.
- e

AND now *Cæsar* drew near *Bibraëte* (T), the capital of the *Ædui*, to facilitate the conveyance of the corn, which those faithful allies had promised. When the enemy saw him retreat, they pursued and attacked him; whereupon a bloody battle ensued, which lasted from noon till night. The *Helvetians* behaved with incredible bravery; but at length were forced to give way, and retire to a hill, where they had placed their baggage and their women, and surrounded them with their waggons as with a rampart. Thither *Cæsar* pursued them, made himself master of their baggage, and took

† CÆS. bell. civil. l. i. c. 1—18.

(T) The modern geographers are divided in their opinions as to the situation of *Bibraëte*, as *Cæsar* and *Strabo* call it. They all agree, that it was the most considerable of all the cities of the *Ædui*, from the *Doux* to the *Saone*; but most of them pretend, that it stood where the city of *Autun* now stands. It was called first, according to them, *Bibraëte*, and afterwards *Augustodunum*, from the emperor *Augustus*. The latter name it retained, say they, till

the time of the emperors *Constans* and *Constantine*, by whom it was rebuilt, and from them took the name of *Flavia*, both those princes being descended from the *Flavian* family. *M. Valois* places the ancient city of *Bibraëte* near a village called *Beauvray*, about two leagues from *Autun*; and others take the town of *Pebrac*, on the borders of *Auvergne* and *Gevaudan*, to be the ancient capital of the *Ædui*.

The Helvetians, defeated anew, return to their own country.

took a great many prisoners, among whom were the wife and daughter of the famous *Orgetorix*, the first author of the transmigration. After this overthrow, the *Helvetians*, disheartened at the loss they had sustained, which amounted to one hundred and thirty thousand of their people, had recourse to the clemency of the conqueror; who, having obliged them to lay down their arms and give him hostages, sent them back to their own country, with orders to rebuild their cities and villages. Only the *Boii* were allowed, at the request of the *Ædui*, to settle in *Gaul*, whence they formerly came. This victory made the *Roman* name formidable throughout all *Gaul*; congratulations were brought to *Cæsar* from all parts, and the *Ædui* implored his protection against *Ariovistus* king of the *Germans*, who, taking advantage of the differences which had long subsisted between them and the *Arverni* (U), had joined the latter, made himself master of great part of the country of the *Sequani* (W); and obliged the *Ædui* to give him their children as hostages. *Cæsar*, pleased with this new opportunity of acquiring glory, promised them his assistance; and accordingly dispatched ambassadors to *Ariovistus*, inviting him to an interview; which he declining, *Cæsar* sent other deputies, desiring him to restore to the *Ædui* their hostages, and to bring no more troops over the *Rhine* into *Gaul*. At the same time he put him in mind of the favour he had shewn him during his consulate, since, by his means, he had been declared a friend and ally of the *Roman* people. *Ariovistus* answered, That he had a right to make war when and where he pleased; that he was not obliged to give any person an account, either of the victories he gained, or of the terms he prescribed to the conquered; that he would not restore to the *Ædui* their hostages, &c. *Cæsar* no sooner received this answer, than he marched to *Vesontio* now *Besançon*, the capital of the *Sequani*, to prevent its being surprized by *Ariovistus*. There the *Romans* received such accounts of the formidable stature and looks of the *Germans*, as alarmed them. *Cæsar* therefore having called a council of war, reproached them in such strong terms with their fears, that they were ashamed of the weakness they had discovered. He then led them against the enemy; but when they came within five miles of their camp, *Ariovistus* sent to desire an interview with the *Roman* general; which was readily granted. Both commanders repaired to the place agreed on, which was a rising ground in the midst of a large plain. During the conference, in which they treated each other with great haughtiness, the horse that attended the king drew near to those of *Cæsar*, and discharged a shower of darts and stones at them. *Cæsar* restrained the ardour of his men; but immediately broke off the conference and retired to his camp, whither he was followed by deputies from the king, desiring, that ambassadors might be sent him to treat in an amicable manner. *Cæsar* readily complied with his request; but *Ariovistus*, as soon as they arrived in his camp, treated them as spies, put them in irons, and decamping the same day, posted himself so as to intercept the *Roman* convoys. *Cæsar* followed him, and, drawing up his men for five days together in a neighbouring plain, bid the enemy defiance; but *Ariovistus* kept close in his camp, and *Cæsar* was informed, that the women in the enemy's camp, who pretended to prophesy, had foretold, that they could not be victorious till after the new-moon. Upon this intelligence, the proconsul marched all his legions up to the *German* trenches, which forced *Ariovistus* to come to a battle, in which he was intirely defeated, and most of his troops cut in pieces. The king, with much difficulty, escaped cross the *Rhine*; but two of his wives and one of his daughters perished in the flight. Another of his daughters was taken prisoner, with many *Germans* of distinction. After this victory, *Cæsar* put his troops into winter-quarters, and, crossing the *Alps*, returned into *Cisalpine Gaul*, which was a part of his government, to make there the necessary preparations for the next year².

Treachery of Ariovistus.

Ariovistus intirely defeated.

Clodius insults Pompey.

At *Rome* the tribune *Clodius*, who was intirely devoted to *Cæsar*, being sensible of the superiority that general was gaining over *Pompey*, whose glory he had almost eclipsed in one campaign, began to insult him, and even talked of disannulling all his acts. He had already taken young *Tigranes* out of the hands of *L. Flavius* the prætor,

² *Cæs. ibid. c. 18—55.*

(U) The country of the *Arverni* lay, according to *Strabo*, between the ocean, the *Pyrenees*, and the *Rhine*. *Lucan* tells us, that the *Arverni* pretended to derive their origin from a colony of *Trojans*, who settled among the *Gauls*, under the conduct of *Antenor*. This fable *Sidonius*, to do honour to his Na-

tion, adopts for a certain truth. The *Arverni*, in ancient times, were one of the most powerful nations of *Gaul*.

(W) The *Sequani* inhabited the country now called the *Franche Comte*, which reaches from the canton of *Basle* to the neighbourhood of *Stralsund*.

a prætor, to whose custody *Pompey* had committed him, and sent him back into *Armenia*, where it was feared, he would raise new troubles. This treatment roused *Pompey*, who now began to think of recalling his old friend *Cicero*, whom he had so basely deserted. As this could no otherwise be done, than by a decree of the senate, or of the people, and the latter was impracticable during the tribuneship of *Clodius*, he made it his business to engage the conscript fathers in his behalf; but the consuls, *Piso* and *Gabinus*, rendered all their attempts abortive, so that nothing could be done this year in favour of the illustrious exile. The next year, the first thing the new consuls, *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *P. Cæcilius Metellus*, proposed in the senate, was the recalling of *Cicero*, which met with a general approbation; but when the
b affair was brought before the people, *Clodius* appeared armed in the comitium, at the head of a company of gladiators, to oppose it with open violence. Then *Milo*, who was at the head of the tribunes, hired another company of gladiators to repel force with force. The conscript fathers, depending on the protection of *Milo*, passed the decree in the most solemn and pompous manner; as did also the people when it was brought before them, notwithstanding the warm opposition of *Clodius*. In the mean time, *Cicero*, informed of what passed at *Rome*, left *Theſſalonica*, where he resided, and came to *Dyrrachium*, and from thence set sail for *Brundisium*, where his reception was a kind of triumph. From *Brundisium* he set out for *Rome*, and had the pleasure to see all *Italy* take part in his joy. Every colony and municipium sent
c deputies to congratulate him; and the nearer he came to *Rome*, the more the crowds increased. As he was just ready to enter the city at the gate *Capena*, the whole senate met him in a body and conducted him, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people, to the capitol, from whence he was carried to his habitation, as he himself expresses it, *on the shoulders of all Rome*. After his return, he soon began to reassume his former ascendant over the senate, and as corn was become exceeding dear at *Rome*, he procured for *Pompey*, his benefactor, the honourable commission of supplying the city, with an unlimited power in all the ports of the *Mediterranean* for five years. After this he prevailed on the pontifices to put him again in possession of the ground, on which his house had stood, and on the conscript fathers to rebuild, at the expence of the public, his houses both in the city and country.^a

Cicero recalled.

Returns to Rome with great honour.

Cæsar marches against the Belgæ.

And defeats them.

Reduces the Sueſſones, the Bellovaci, the Ambiani, &c.

nation,

^a *Dra. Cass. xxxvi. Plut. in Cic. Cic. pro domo sua. pro Sextio in Pis. & alib. pass.*

(X) *Belgic Gaul* comprehended that great country, which is bounded by the *British* ocean on one side, and the river *Seine* on the other.

Is attacked by
the Nervii.

Whom he de-
feats.

And likewise
the Advatici.

Several other
nations subdu-
ed.

Galba defeats
a great body
of Gauls.

nation, who possessed the country now known by the name of *Cambresis*, joined the *Atrebates* and *Veromandui*, that is, the inhabitants of the territory of *Arras* and of the *Vermandois*, and, having secured their wives and children in inaccessible places, stood on their defence. In the mean time, *Cæsar* advanced, and arrived in the enemy's country; but while his legions were busy in pitching their camp, the *Nervii*, who lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, sallying out of their ambuscade, attacked the *Roman* cavalry, put them to flight, and then fell on the legionaries with a fury not to be expressed. As this attack was unexpected, *Cæsar* had in a manner every thing to do at the same instant. The banner was to be erected, the charge sounded, the soldiers at a distance recalled, the army drawn up, and the signal given. In this surprise *Cæsar* ran from place to place, exhorting his men to remember their former valour; and having drawn them up in the best manner he could, caused the signal to be given. The legionaries made a vigorous resistance; but as the enemy seemed determined either to conquer or die, the success was different in different places. In the left wing the ninth and tenth legions did wonders, drove the *Atrebates* into a neighbouring river, and made a great slaughter of them. In another place the eighth and eleventh legions repulsed the *Veromandui*, and drove them before them. But in the right wing the seventh and twelfth legions suffered extremely. They were intirely surrounded by the *Nervii*, all the centurions in the fourth cohort being slain, and most of the other officers wounded. In this extremity, *Cæsar*, seizing the buckler of one of the private men, put himself at the head of his broken wing, renewed the attack, and being joined by the two legions, which he had left to guard the baggage, fell upon the *Nervii*, already fatigued, with fresh vigour, and made a dreadful havock of them. However, that warlike nation did not give ground; as soon as one fell, another stood upon his body, and supplied his place. In short they were almost all cut in pieces; and then their old men, with their women and children, surrendered to the conqueror, who left them in possession of their cities and liberty. Then *Cæsar* advanced against the *Advatici* (Y), who, upon his approach, pretended to give up their arms, and submit; but treacherously concealed a third part of them, and made an attack on the *Romans* in the night. This so provoked the *Roman* general, that he broke down the gates of their city the next day, put a great number of them to the sword, and sold the rest, to the number of fifty-three thousand, for slaves. At the same time *P. Crassus*, the son of the triumvir and one of *Cæsar*'s lieutenants, subdued seven other nations (Z), and took possession of their cities. The fame of these exploits brought the proconsul ambassadors with offers of submission from several nations beyond the *Rhine*; but as the season was far advanced, he put his troops into winter-quarters in the territories of the *Andes*, *Taurones*, and *Carnutes*, now the *Angevins*, the *Tourangeaux*, and those of *Chartrain*, and repassing the *Alps*, spent the winter in *Insubria*^b. By these conquests *Cæsar* effaced the remembrance of *Pompey*'s victories in the east, and at the same time by the prodigious sums he heaped up in *Gaul*, chiefly by robbing the temples of their treasures, he purchased himself many friends in *Italy*.

THE following year *Marcus Philippus* and *Cornelius Lentulus* were raised to the consulate. During their administration, *Ptolemy Auletes*, king of *Egypt*, who had been driven from the throne by the *Alexandrians*, was restored to it by *Gabinus*, proconsul of *Syria*, as we have related at length in our history of *Egypt*. In *Gaul* *Galba*, one of *Cæsar*'s lieutenants, was attacked in his winter-quarters at *Ostodurus*, now *Martaigac* in *Lower Valais*, by a great body of *Gauls*, whom he defeated, killed above ten thousand of them, and then, after having burnt *Ostodurus*, marched into the country of the *Allobroges*, to spend the rest of the winter there in more peaceable quarters. In the mean time, *Cæsar*, who was in *Illyricum*, which was part of his province, being informed, that the *Veneti*, that is, the ancient inhabitants of *Vannes* in *Bretagne*, with some other nations near them, had endeavoured to recover their hostages

^b CÆS. I. II. c. 1---33.

(Y) The *Advatici* were the remains of those *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, whom *Marius* had defeated in *Italy*. They had been left on the banks of the *Rhine* to guard the baggage and booty of their countrymen, and had settled there, after the intire defeat of the *Cimbri*.

(Z) These seven nations were the *Veneti*, *Unelli*, *Osismii*, *Curiosolitæ*, *Sesuvii*, *Aulerce*, and *Rhedones*, that is, according to the modern geographers, the inhabitants of *Vannes*, *Coutance*, *Treguier*, *Cornouaille*, *Sees*, *Maine*, and *Rennes*.

a hostages, and were making great preparations for war, sent orders for building a fleet on the *Loire*, and made all haste to the army. Upon his arrival, he appointed *Brutus* admiral of the fleet, which he found ready equipped; and the new admiral putting to sea, engaged the enemy's fleet, and gained a complete victory over them. Hereupon the *Veneti* immediately submitted; but *Cæsar* put their chief men to death, The Veneti, Unelli, Aulerci, &c. subdued. and sold the rest for slaves. At the same time *Titurius Sabinus*, whom he had detached against the *Unelli*, defeated *Veridorix* their chief, and subdued them, with the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii* (A). *Crassus*, whom he had sent into *Aquitaine*, besieged the capital of the *Sociates*, and reduced it; but the rest of the *Aquitani* still refusing to submit, *Crassus* marched against them, and killed near thirty thousand of them in one battle.

b The consequence of this victory was the reduction of all *Aquitaine*. And now all the nations in *Gaul* being disarmed, except the *Morini* and *Menapii*, that is, the ancient inhabitants of the territory of *Teroüenne*, of *Guelthers*, *Fuliers*, and *Cleves*, *Cæsar* himself marched against them; but, as they retired to inaccessible fastnesses, all he could do was to burn and ravage their country; after which he put his troops into winter-quarters in the countries of the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii*, and, repassing the *Alps*, as usual, spent some months in *Cisalpine Gaul*. From thence he influenced all affairs at *Rome*, Cæsar excites Clodius to commit violence in Rome. and encouraged his chief agent *Clodius* to pull down *Cicero's* new house; but *Milo* opposed the furious tribune, and prevented the execution of his design. And now *Pompey* began to be extremely jealous of *Cæsar*, whose victories in *Gaul* intirely eclipsed the glory he had acquired in the east. *Cæsar* likewise took umbrage at *Pompey's* joining *Cicero*; however, they both kept up the appearance at least of friendship, being apprehensive, that *Crassus* would leave them, if they came to a quarrel. Besides *Cæsar* stood in great need of *Pompey's* assistance, to get *Domitius Ahenobarbus* excluded from the consulate, who had declared, that he would, if raised to that dignity, shorten the time of *Cæsar's* proconsulate. To exclude *Ahenobarbus* was no easy matter; he being supported by *Cato*, who was returned from *Cyprus*, and by all the enemies of the triumvirate, who were very numerous. Among all the well-wishers of the republic, *Cicero* was the only person who kept measures with the triumvirs, the remembrance of his banishment having made him more circumspect.

d As it was the common interest of the triumvirate, that *Ahenobarbus*, a sincere friend to his country, should be set aside at the next election, *Pompey* and *Crassus* agreed to stand in competition with him; but as they despaired of success without the concurrence of *Cæsar*, they both went to *Luca*, where he spent the winter, to propose their scheme to him, and engage his interest. There they found so many prætors and proconsuls making their court to him, that one hundred and twenty bundles of rods were seen at a time. *Pompey* and *Crassus* no sooner informed him of their design, than he came heartily into their measures. He was indeed sensible, that a second consulate would increase the power of *Pompey* and *Crassus*; but it was more for his interest, that they should succeed, than that the consulship should be conferred on *Ahenobarbus*, who was intirely under the influence of *Cato*. *Cæsar* therefore closed with the proposal, and ordered his agents and emissaries at *Rome* to spare no expence in purchasing the suffrages of the tribes. As all this was kept secret, *Ahenobarbus*, not suspecting that the two triumvirs would be his competitors, went very early on the day appointed for the election to solicit the suffrages of the people. He was attended by *Cato*, who was to present him to the tribes, and by a slave, who, as it was yet dark, carried a flambeau before him; but he had not gone far, before some assassins, who lay in wait for him, killed the slave, and falling on the candidate and his friend, would have dispatched them likewise, had they not saved themselves by flight. *Ahenobarbus* escaped unhurt; but *Cato* was wounded in the arm. This notorious act of violence roused the zeal of the senate; but the furious *Clodius*, at the head of an armed mob, opposed all their measures; and at the same time *Caius Cato*, another tribune, protested against holding the comitia; so that the consular year being expired, the republic fell into an inter-regnum; which so grieved the senators, that they went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. As the fathers were well apprised, that these disturbances were occasioned by *Pompey* and *Crassus*, they asked them in full senate, Whether they aspired to the consular dignity? They owned they did; and then the other

(A) Some take the *Unelli* for the people of *Coutance*; others place them in *Perche*; and some bring them nearer *Bretagne*. The countries of the *Aulerci* and *Lexovii* comprehended *Eurcux* and *Lisieux*.

They are
chosen.

other candidates desisting; through fear of the triumvirs, the comitia were held without the least disturbance, and *Pompey* and *Crassus* unanimously chosen ^a.

Cæsar defeats
the Usipites
and Tench-
theri.

Cæsar, now under no apprehension of being recalled from *Gaul*, hastened thither to oppose the *Usipites* and *Tenchtheri* (B), who being driven out of their own country by the *Suevi*, had crossed the *Rhine*, with a design to settle in *Belgic Gaul*. As soon as he appeared, the *Germans* sent him a deputation, offering to join him, if he would assign them lands. *Cæsar* answered, That there was no room in *Gaul* for newcomers; but that he would desire the *Ubii*; the people of *Cologne*, to give them leave to settle in their territories. Then they desired time to treat with the *Ubii*; and in the mean while, falling treacherously upon some *Roman* squadrons, killed about seventy men, *Cæsar*, exasperated at this perfidiousness, immediately marched after them, ^b and coming up with them; when least expected, made a dreadful slaughter of the unhappy wretches; who were but indifferently armed. They fled in the utmost confusion; but *Cæsar* pursued them to the conflux of the *Rhine* and the *Maese*, where the slaughter was renewed with such fury, that of four hundred thousand souls very few escaped. After this, being resolved to break into *Germany*, and spread the terror of the *Roman* name among those barbarous nations, he ordered a bridge to be built over the *Rhine*; which wonderful undertaking being completed in ten days, he entered *Germany*, plundered and sacked the country of the *Sicambri* (C), terrified the *Suevi* (D), and having made them sensible that there was a more formidable nation in the world than themselves, he returned into *Gaul*, and broke down the bridge he had ^c built. This expedition into *Germany* was finished in eighteen days ^d.

Passes the
Rhine.

His expedition
into Britain.

AND now *Cæsar*, having reduced all *Gaul*, and struck terror into the *German* nations, bordering on the countries which he had subdued, resolved to pass over into *Britain*, and punish those islanders for sending continual supplies to the *Gauls* against the *Romans*. This was a dangerous enterprize; and therefore, before he embarked in it, he carefully inquired of the merchants, who traded to the *British* islands, what sort of people they were; in what manner they made war; under what laws they lived, and which were their best ports. After this, he sent *Volusenus* over into *Britain*, to view the coast, while he himself, crossing the country of the *Morini*, came to the place where the passage from the continent to the island is narrowest. Thither he ordered ^d all the ships to repair, which he had made use of against the *Veneti*. In the mean time, the *Britains*, informed of these preparations, dispatched deputies to him, offering to submit to the republic and to give hostages. *Cæsar* sent the ambassadors back with fair promises, and with them one *Comius* of *Atrebatum*; a man well known in *Britain*, charging him to gain over to the *Roman* interest as many cities as he could, and to persuade them to send him hostages; but *Comius*, not caring to trust the inhabitants, continued five days on the coast; and then, without so much as landing, returned to make his report to *Cæsar* of what he had observed. *Cæsar*, leaving *Sulpicius Rufus* in *Gaul* to guard the ports, put to sea with two legions, and made the *British* coast the next morning, which he found lined with men to oppose his landing. ^e As he could not conveniently make a descent in that place, the eminences, which the inhabitants had seized, being so near the shore, that they could from thence harass the *Romans* with their darts, without being exposed themselves to any danger, he sailed eight miles farther, and there met with such a vigorous opposition, that he was in danger of being obliged to return to sea, till the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, leaping boldly into the water, encouraged, by his example, the others to follow him. They all leaped out of their ships, through fear of leaving a *Roman* eagle in the hands of the enemy, and, advancing through a shower of darts, gained the shore, engaged the *Britains* on firm ground and put them to flight. The *Britains* were so terrified with the success of the *Romans*, that they desired a peace; which was granted ^f them,

Lands in Bri-
tain.

^a DIO CASS. l. xxxix. PLUT. in Pomp. Cic. de provin. consular. ^d CÆS. bell. Gall. l. iv. c. 1—17.

(B) Some modern geographers place these people in the territory of *Relinchen* in *Germany*; others in the neighbourhood of *Zutphen*. It is certain that they had no fixed settlement; for, in *Tacitus's* time, they inhabited the country bordering on the territory of *Basile* (26).

(C) We cannot give any account of the country

of the *Sicambri*. All we know of them is, that they lived near the rivers *Lippe* and *Ifel*, and that they possessed a pretty large territory in *Germany*.

(D) The *Suevi* inhabited that part of *Germany* which is now the duchy of *Mecklenburg*, the marquisate of *Brandenburg*, *Turingen*, and a part of *Upper Saxony*.

(26) *Tacit. de morib. German.*

a them, upon their delivering some hostages ; but in the mean time, *Cæsar*'s transports being, for the most part, shattered by a violent storm, and provisions growing scarce in his camp, the *Britains*, instead of sending him the rest of the hostages, drew together what troops they could, and falling on the seventh legion, which *Cæsar* had sent to get provisions, would have cut them all off; had not the general come very seasonably to their assistance and disengaged them. In this extremity *Cæsar* lost no time in refitting his ships, procuring provisions, and securing his camp. However, the *Britains* attacked him anew, and fought with great bravery and intrepidity ; but, being defeated a third time, they had recourse to the clemency of the conqueror, who was glad to grant them a peace, upon their delivering up to him double the number of hostages which he had required before. With these hostages, as the season was far advanced, he put to sea, and returned to *Gaul*, without the loss of one ship, There he put his troops into winter-quarters; and, repassing the *Alps*, returned to *Insubria* ^{c.}

Defeats the inhabitants in several battles.

And returns to Gaul.

While *Cæsar* was thus employed in *Gaul*, *Pompey* and *Crassus* governed *Rome* very arbitrarily, without any regard either to the senate or people. C. *Trebonius*, tribune of the people, in order to put the consuls upon a level with *Cæsar*, proposed a law, appointing *Crassus* governor of *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Macedon*, and *Pompey* of the two *Spains*, for five years. *Cato* opposed this dangerous proposal, till he was seized by the tribune's orders and sent to prison. As *Cæsar*'s commission was near expiring, and by this law all power would be vested in *Pompey* and *Crassus*, *Cæsar*'s friends opposed it, till the tribes agreed to continue him in his government of *Gaul* for five years longer. Then the *Trebonian* law passed by a great majority, enacting, that they should have the above-mentioned governments ; that it should not be in any one's power to recal either from his province, till five years were expired ; that they might raise as many troops as they judged necessary ; and lastly, that they might draw what supplies of men and money they thought proper from the kings and states in alliance with *Rome*. This law plainly tended to the total destruction of the republican state, and made the triumvirs sole masters of the government. *Pompey* chose to stay in *Rome*; but *Crassus*, extremely desirous of making war upon the *Parthians*, embarked at *Brundisium*, before his consulate expired, and set sail for *Asia*. *Pompey*, the more to engage the people in his interest, built a stone theatre at a vast expence, and diverted the multitude with most magnificent shews, in which five hundred lions and eighteen elephants appeared in the arena.

The Trebonian law.

The next year *Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Claudius Pulcher* were raised to the consulate. The former was an avowed enemy to the triumvirate ; and *Cato*, now prætor, was in a condition to assist him : but as the triumvirs were at the head of three great armies, they feared nothing either from the consul or the prætor. *Cæsar* and *Crassus* were indeed at a great distance from *Rome* ; but *Pompey*, without any regard to law or precedents, having raised an army, to put himself, as he said, upon a level with the other two, kept it at the very gates of *Rome* ; so that the most zealous republicans durst not attempt any thing against the triumvirs, or in favour of the public liberty. While *Pompey* was thus keeping the capital in awe, *Cæsar* was intent on another expedition to the *British* islands. This was first retarded by *Indutiomarus*, a chief of the *Treviri*, who raised an insurrection among his countrymen, but submitted as soon as *Cæsar* drew near him ; and afterwards by the revolt of *Dumnorix* the *Æduan*, who was killed by the *Roman* cavalry, whom *Cæsar* sent against him. These obstacles being removed, *Cæsar* embarked with five legions and two thousand horse, and landing in *Britain* without opposition, forced one of the enemy's intrenchments, and afterwards defeated *Cassivelaunus*, general of all the *British* forces ; which so terrified the enemy, that they never after appeared in the field with any considerable body. Whereupon *Cæsar* advanced farther into the country, and, in spite of all opposition, passed the *Thames*, his men wading up to the neck in the water. However, *Cassivelaunus*, with only four thousand of his charioteers, harassed the *Romans* to such a degree, that *Cæsar* would probably have found it very difficult to have reduced him, had he not been assisted by *Mandrabatus*, prince of the *Trinobantes*, who, out of hatred to *Cassivelaunus*, by whom his father *Inmanuentius* had been killed, prevailed on his countrymen to join *Cæsar*. Then *Cassivelaunus*, after some unsuccessful attempts in *Cantium* or *Kent*, submitted to the conqueror, and gave hostages.

Cæsar's second expedition into Britain.

hostages. Whereupon *Cæsar*, fearing some new tumults in *Gaul*, embarked his troops, and returned to the continent before the autumnal equinox ^f (E).

The death of
Julia.

ON his return, he received letters from *Rome*, acquainting him with the death of his daughter *Julia*, who was, we may say, the great cement of peace between her father and husband; and had, by her good offices, hitherto prevented them from coming to an open rupture. Her virtue and extraordinary qualities had so endeared her to all ranks of men in the republic, that she was honoured after her death, with a mark of distinction never before bestowed on any of her sex. She was buried in the *Field of Mars*, an honour allowed only to the greatest heroes of the republic ^g.

A general in-
urrection in
Gaul.

Cæsar, on his return to *Gaul*, found a famine in the country; which obliged him to divide his troops; and put them into different quarters, for their better subsistence. This gave the *Eburones*, now the people of *Liege*, an opportunity of taking arms against *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, whom *Cæsar* had posted in their country with only one legion and five cohorts. At the same time *Ambiorix*, a leading man among the *Gauls*, pretending friendship, told *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, while they were besieged in their camp, that all the *Gaulish* nations were marching against them, and offered to conduct them safe through his dominions to *Cæsar* or *Labienus*. The *Romans* in this distress accepted the offer; but were by the treacherous *Ambiorix* led into an ambuscade, and most of them cut in pieces. *Ambiorix* elated with this success, proclaimed it in the neighbouring nations; and then the *Advatisci*, falling unexpectedly upon *Quintus Cicero*, whom *Cæsar* had posted among them with one legion, reduced him to great straits; but the brave *Roman* defended himself with great gallantry, till *Cæsar*, whom he found means to acquaint with his danger, came to his relief and defeated the enemy. The news of this victory soon reached *Labienus*, who was likewise attacked by the *Rheni*, among whom *Cæsar* had quartered him with one legion. *Indutiomarus*, being joined by the *Senones*, came and insulted him in his camp; but the *Roman*, after pretending fear for some time, made a vigorous sally, put the enemy to flight, and killed *Indutiomarus*, the chief author of the revolt. This victory gave *Cæsar* a little more quiet during the rest of the campaign, which was the most difficult, as well as the most glorious, of any he had made in *Gaul*; but, after all, he lost so many men this summer, that he was forced to have recourse to *Pompey*, who

Pompey sends
Cæsar two le-
gions.

was weak enough to spare him two legions out of the army, which he kept for ostentation only near *Rome*. *Pompey* was blind to *Cæsar*'s designs; but *Cato* foresaw the evils he was bringing on the republic, tho' it was out of his power to prevent them. All he could do was, to attempt the rooting out of bribery and corruption. In order to this, he enacted a law, forbidding the buying of votes at elections; and thereby incurred the hatred both of the rich, whom he endeavoured to deprive of a sure way of obtaining honours, and of the poor, whom he would have excluded from a means of living without labour; neither did the law put a stop to the evil. When the election of new consuls came on, the candidates bought no more single votes of the people, but with large sums purchased the protection of the triumvirs, or of the present consuls; and those who offered most would have been chosen, had not *Q. Mutius Scævola*, one of the tribunes and a true republican, by raising difficulty upon difficulty, got the assembly dissolved as often as it was called, till at length the consular year expired before the election was made, and then a long inter-regnum ensued ^h.

Cato endea-
vours in vain
to prevent
bribery.

Great disor-
ders occasioned
in Rome by
Pompey.

Pompey, who commanded an army in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, fomented discord in the capital, and, by his private intrigues, got the election of consuls put off for seven months; during which time his friends, to sound the disposition of the people, said in all places, that it was necessary, in the present situation of affairs, that *Rome* should be governed by one man; nay, the tribune *C. Luceius* went so far, as to propose to the people the raising of *Pompey* to the dictatorship; but *Cato* opposed

^f Idem, l. v. c. 1—23.
& ad Attic. l. iv. epist. 15, 16.

^g PLUT. in Pomp.

^h DIO CASS. l. xl.

CIC. ad Q. fratrem, l. iii.

(E) *Cæsar*, notwithstanding the great advantages he gained, according to his account, in *Britain*, abandoned the island, without leaving any troops in it, or fortifying any single place; which inclines us to believe, that the reputation he acquired in these two expeditions, was not near so great as it is represented in his commentaries. The poet *Lucan* tells us in express terms, that he turned his back to the *Britains*: *Territa quæ sitis ostendit terga Britannis*, says he.

Dion writes, that, in one action, the *Britains* entirely routed the *Roman* infantry; but were afterwards put in disorder by the cavalry. *Horace* and *Tibullus* insinuate, in several places of their works, that, in their time, the *Britains* were not looked upon as a conquered nation. Whence it is pretty plain, that his expedition into *Britain* was not so successful, as he represents it to have been.

a the motion with such eloquence and resolution, that he had like to have got the tribune deprived of his office. Then *Pompey*, fearing to disgust the people whose favour he courted, and in order to remove all suspicions, suffered *Domitius Calvinus* and *Valerius Messala* to be chosen consuls; but this did not restore peace to the city. The five remaining months of the consular year were spent in factions and massacres. Those who stood candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly to the place of election, where it was without shame distributed among the heads of the factions; and those who received it employed force and violence in favour of the persons who paid them: so that scarce any office was disposed of, but what had been disputed sword in hand, and had cost the lives of many citizens¹.

b DURING these transactions at *Rome*, *Crassus*, whose unsuccessful expedition against the *Parthians* we have described at length in our history of *Parthia*^k, after having lost his son in that war, was himself killed, and his whole army, except five hundred horse, either cut in pieces, or taken prisoners. His death gave rise to the civil war, which soon after broke out between the two surviving triumvirs; for, while he lived, he was a check to them both, and balanced their interests: but he being taken off, an open field was left for their ambition and emulation to contend in. *Pompey* would bear no rival, and *Cæsar* no superior; and hence those disturbances, which ended at length in the ruin of *Pompey* and the utter destruction of the republican state, as we shall see in the following chapter. The death of Crassus.

C H A P. XII.

The history of Rome, from the death of Crassus to the death of Pompey.

c **O**N E of the triumvirs being dead, and another at a great distance from *Rome*, *Pompey*, who continued in the capital, raised great disturbances there, hoping by that means to get himself promoted to the dictatorship. The city was now, in a manner, a seat of war between the candidates for offices; insomuch, that the people being afraid to meet in the *Campus Martius*, the comitia were deferred, and another inter-regnum ensued. These disturbances were greatly increased by the death of *Clodius*, who was killed by his mortal enemy *Milo*. This event, which *Cicero* endeavours to disguise with all the art of eloquence, is thus related by historians: As *Milo* was going from *Rome* to *Lanuvium*, with his usual guard of domestics, he met *Clodius* on the road, who was returning from his country-house. *Milo* was in a chariot, with his wife and other women; but *Clodius* on horseback, and well attended. They met near *Bovillæ*, and, tho' their looks were not very cordial, they passed each other without any insult. But the masters were scarce passed, when their slaves began to quarrel, and exchanged several blows with each other. Hereupon *Milo*, alighting out of his chariot, fell upon *Clodius's* slaves sword in hand; and his attendants, encouraged by the example of their master, wounded many of *Clodius's* retinue. In this scuffle *Clodius* himself, being dangerously wounded with a blow on the head, one of his slaves carried him to a neighbouring inn, or, as some say, to his own house. Thither *Milo* followed him, and, thinking it more easy to escape condemnation by killing his enemy, than by suffering him to live after he had been wounded, completed the work, which one of his slaves had begun. Some writers tell us, that *Milo*, finding his rival ready to expire of the wound he had received before, left him in that condition, Clodius is killed by Milo.

¹ APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. CIC. ad Q. fratrem, l. viii. epist. ult. ^k Hist. Univers. Vol. IV. p. 298--304. VOL. V. K k

tion, and returned with all speed to *Rome*, to prevent what might be related and exaggerated there to his prejudice. However that be, the bloody body of *Clodius* was brought to the city by his brother *Appius*, which raised a general commotion among the people, who looked upon the deceased tribune as their boldest protector; and the most resolute enemy of the senate and nobility. They ran to *Milo's* house to set fire to it; but he repulsed them at the head of his slaves, and killed several of the mutinous multitude in the fray. Then they carried the dead body to the senate-house, and there pulling to pieces all the seats of the senators, they made a funeral pile of them, on which they placed the body, and then set fire to it, which burnt with so much fury, that the stately building, where the senate used to assemble, was soon reduced to ashes. In the mean time, *Milo*, having sent for a great number of his slaves out of the country to guard his person, made use of an artifice with respect to the murder, which he imagined must be effectual. He gained *M. Cæcilius*, one of the tribunes, who, having called an assembly of his own creatures, ordered *Milo* to appear at his tribunal with a design to acquit him. But the people, more transported than ever, fell upon *Milo* and his tribune, who narrowly escaped being killed, dispersed the assembly, and, under pretence of seeking for *Milo's* friends, committed all sorts of violences; insomuch, that no-body durst appear in the streets, unarmed and unguarded. During these disturbances, *Pompey's* friends revived the old proposal of nominating him dictator. The senate assembled, but while they were consulting about raising him to that dignity, *Cato*, who was always watchful over the public liberty, insinuated, that it would be more proper to chuse him sole consul, since a consul was bound, when called upon, to give an account of his administration to the senate and people, whereas a dictator was accountable to no-body for his conduct. *Cato's* expedient was approved of, and *Pompey* declared sole consul, a thing never known in *Rome* before. At the same time new troops were allotted to him, a thousand talents, that is, 193750 *l.* sterling allowed him yearly for their maintenance, and he continued in the government of *Spain* for four years longer, with a power to govern that province by his deputies. *Pompey* no sooner entered upon his new office, than he ordered *Milo* to be tried for the murder of *Clodius*. On the day appointed for the trial, *Appius Claudius*, brother of the deceased, appeared against him, and was heard with great attention. *Cicero* undertook the defence of the accused, but was so terrified by *Pompey's* presence and the soldiers about him, that he could scarce open his mouth; so that *Milo* was condemned to banishment. He chose *Marseilles* for the place of his abode, whither *Cicero* sent him the speech, which he had composed in his defence. We are told, that *Milo*, in reading it, cried out, *It is lucky for me that Cicero could not pronounce this harangue; for if he had, I should not have eat so good fish as I now do.*

WHILE *Pompey* was ruling arbitrarily at *Rome*, *Cæsar* was securing his conquests in *Transalpine Gaul*. *Ambiorix*, the *Nervii*, *Adriatici*, and *Menapii*, had revolted at the instigation of the *Treviri*, and the revolt had spread to other nations. He therefore first reduced the *Menapii*, and then marched against the *Treviri* and *Eburones*. The former he found already subdued by *Labienus*, and the latter at his approach retired, under the conduct of *Ambiorix*, to the woods and marshes, whither no army could follow them. In the mean time, winter approaching, *Cæsar* retired to *Insubria*, that he might be within reach of the capital. He was afraid lest *Pompey*, who was no longer attached to him by ties of blood, or by the regard he had for *Crassus*, should gain such a superiority over him, as it would not be easy for him to conquer. To prevent this, he sent immense sums to *Rome* to be distributed by his agents among the populace, paid the debts of some, lent money to others without interest; and in short, after having conquered the *Gauls*, as one of the antients expresses it, with the *Roman* steel, subdued the *Romans* with the *Gaulish* gold. But he had not been long in *Insubria*, when news was brought him, that the *Gauls* had taken up arms in his absence, that they had made *Vercingetorix*, a young and brave prince, their generalissimo, and that almost all the nations bordering on the ocean had joined in the revolt. Hereupon the proconsul repassed the *Alps*, flew with incredible expedition to *Narbonne*, from thence through deep snows to the country of the *Nervii*, where he gathered together his scattered troops, and then laid siege to *Noviodunum*, a city of the *Bituriges*, which brought *Vercingetorix* to its defence. But he was defeated and obliged to retire. *Cæsar*, having made himself master of *Noviodunum*, led his troops against *Avaricum*, now *Bourges*, one of the strongest cities in *Gaul*; took it by storm, notwithstanding the

Great disturbances occasioned by his death.

Pompey sole consul.

Milo tried and condemned.

The progress of the Roman arms in Gaul.

The Gauls revolt.

Cæsar defeats *Vercingetorix*.

a the vigorous resistance of the garison, and made such a slaughter of the *Gaulish* troops, that of forty thousand men scarce eight hundred escaped. His next attempt was on *Gergovia*, the capital of the *Arverni*, which he besieged in sight of *Vercingetorix*. But, while he was pursuing the siege, he received advice, that the *Nitbiobriges*, now the people of *Agenois*, had revolted, and that some of the chief men among the *Ædui* had formed a treacherous scheme of carrying off to *Vercingetorix* ten thousand men, whom they were to send to the *Romans*. Upon this advice, *Cæsar*, leaving *Fabius* to guard his camp before *Gergovia*, went to meet the *Ædui*, who begged for mercy, and were incorporated among the *Roman* auxiliaries. But soon after the whole nation of the *Ædui* shook off the *Roman* yoke, and murdered all the *Italians* in their capital.

b This made *Cæsar* uncertain what measures to pursue. At length he resolved to attack the enemy's camp, which he did with good success, till his men, contrary to his orders, abandoning the attack of the camp, fell unexpectedly on the town in hopes of surprising it. But *Vercingetorix* defended it so effectually, that *Cæsar*, after the loss of seven hundred men, was forced to raise the siege. From thence he hastened to *No-*
viodunum, where he had left his military chest, baggage, and provisions; but the revolted *Ædui* had seized all and set fire to the city. Then *Cæsar*, resolving to join, if possible, his lieutenant *Labienus*, marched to *Agendicum*, now *Sens*, and at the same time *Labienus*, upon a report of *Cæsar*'s distress, hastened to the same place; and conducted his march through the enemy's country with great skill and dexterity. *Ca-*
mulogenus, a *Gaulish* general, attacked him with great courage; but the *Roman* defeated him, reached *Agendicum*, where he had left his heavy baggage, and from thence went to meet *Cæsar*. Notwithstanding this defeat, almost all the nations of *Celtic Gaul* joined in the revolt; and, having appointed *Vercingetorix* their generalissimo, had the resolution to come and attack *Cæsar*, who defeated them, and obliged them to retreat to *Alesia*, a town of the *Mandubii*, now, as is commonly believed, *Alise in Burgundy*. *Cæsar* pursued them, and laid siege to the place. As it was very advantageously situated, *Vercingetorix*, after he had sent messengers into all parts to raise new forces, shut himself up in it with eighty thousand men. *Cæsar* immediately invested the place, surrounded it with a double circumvallation, and fortified his camp with all possible art and care, intending to reduce the enemy by famine. As the garison was very numerous, they were soon reduced to great distress for want of provisions; and then *Vercingetorix* drove out of the city all the useless mouths; but *Cæsar*, refusing to accept of their surrender, inhumanly suffered them to perish within the circumvallation. At length the desired succours arrived to the number of a hundred and sixty thousand men, under four *Gaulish* generals, the chief of whom was *Comius*, prince of the *Atrebates*, on whom *Cæsar* had bestowed many favours. They made several attacks on *Cæsar*'s trenches, and fought three battles; but being always defeated and repulsed with great loss, *Vercingetorix*, despairing of success, surrendered at discretion. *Cæsar* reduced all the *Gauls* in the place to slavery, except the *Arverni* and the *Ædui*, whom he spared, hoping to gain over the two chief nations of *Celtic Gaul* by the distinction he shewed them. His expectations were not frustrated; the *Arverni* immediately submitted, and the *Ædui* received him into their capital, where he spent the winter in tranquillity, after he had placed his army in different quarters to keep the provinces in awe. Thus ended a campaign, in which *Cæsar* gained more glory, for his conduct as general and his bravery as a soldier, than any *Roman* commander had ever done before him. ¹ At *Rome* twenty days of public prayers were ordered, to return thanks to the gods for this extraordinary success.

*Is forced to
raise the siege
of Gergovia.*

*Camulogenus
defeated by
Labienus.*

*Cæsar besieges
Alesia.*

*Defeats the
united forces
of the Gauls,
and takes the
place.*

f At *Rome*, *Pompey*, to strengthen himself with a new alliance, married *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Cæcilius Metellus*, a senator of great interest and highly esteemed by the patricians. As *Cæsar* was greatly beloved by the people, *Pompey* now made it his whole business to establish his interest among the nobility. With this view he associated his father-in-law with him in the consulate, though that dignity had been conferred on him without a colleague; which moderation gained him the affection of the senate. When the time came for the electing of new consuls, *Cato*, actuated only by a zeal for the public good, appeared among the candidates; but the tribes preferred to him *Claudius Marcellus* and *Sulpicius Rufus*, who were both in *Pompey*'s interest. During their administration, *Cicero* was obliged to exchange the robe for the sword, in virtue of a law made by *Pompey* during his late consulship, which required all those who had been

*Pompey courts
the favour of
the senate.*

¹ CÆSAR *ibid.* l. vii. c. 1—89.

Cicero's expedition into Cilicia.

been consuls or prætors for some years, to repair to such provinces as should fall to their lot, and exercise there their respective offices of proconsuls and proprætors. *Cilicia* and the island of *Cyprus* fell to *Cicero's* lot, who immediately imbarqued at *Brundisium* with two legions, and arriving in *Cilicia*, incamped near *Iconium*, where he was informed by *Antiochus*, king of *Comagene*, that the *Parthians* had passed the *Euphrates*. Upon this, *Cicero*, crossing *Cappadocia*, came to *Cybistra*, in the straits of mount *Taurus*, in order to prevent the enemy from making incursions into his province. Upon his arrival he received certain advice, that the *Parthians* were assembling about mount *Amanus*. Hereupon he hastened thither, surprized the enemy, made a great slaughter of them, and recovered many castles which they had seized. But what gained him most glory was, the taking of *Pindenissum*, a strong town in *Cilicia*, which he reduced after a siege of fifty-seven days. In short, though he was more of an orator than a soldier, he supported his character in this new employment with great dignity, and performed such military exploits as induced his soldiers to salute him imperator^m. His brother *Quintus Cicero*, who attended him in this expedition, and had served in *Gaul* under *Cæsar* with great reputation, had, no doubt, his share in the glory of this campaign.

Cæsar refused a prolongation of his proconsulate.

IN the mean time, *Cæsar* spent the winter at *Bibraëte*, the capital of the *Ædui*, his cares being divided between the important business he had to transact at *Rome*, and the necessary preparations for finishing the war with the *Gauls* the next campaign. At *Rome* his party prevailed in the comitium, and the people, whom he had artfully gained by his bounties, openly declared for him. But the senate seemed to favour *Pompey's* interest more than his. The consul *Marcellus*, who was intirely and blindly devoted to *Pompey*, proposed in the senate the recalling of *Cæsar* before his time expired; and because this motion was rejected, he did all that lay in his power to disgrace and expose the proconsul of *Gaul*. Among other things, he ordered a senator of *Novocomum*, which *Cæsar* had declared a *Roman* colony and presented with the freedom of *Rome*, to be whipt, telling him, that he laid that mark upon him to let him know he was no citizen of *Rome*, and bidding him, when he went back, shew his shoulders to *Cæsar*. Soon after *Cæsar* moved the senate for the prolongation of his proconsulate; but, as *Pompey* and his agent *Marcellus* had a much greater ascendant over the conscript fathers, his request was rejected. When news of this refusal was brought him into *Gaul*, he is said to have clapt his hand on his sword, crying out in the presence of his officers, *What Pompey refuses me, this shall give me*. *Plutarch* puts these words in the mouth of an officer, whom *Cæsar* had sent to *Rome*, and who waited for the result of the debate at the door of the senate-houseⁿ.

Subdues the Bituriges, Carnutes, &c.

THE proceedings of the *Roman* senate engaged *Cæsar* to use all possible expedition in putting the last hand to his conquest. The *Gauls*, after the battle of *Alésia*, resolved to act separately, and raise, in defence of the poor remains of their liberty, as many different armies as they had provinces. This *Cæsar* knew, and notwithstanding the rigor of the season, he marched against, and successively subdued, the *Bituriges*, *Carnutes*, and *Rhemi*. He then turned towards the country of the *Bellovaci*, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, killed *Correus*, one of their chief commanders, and by this single victory quieted all *Belgic*, and the provinces bordering on *Celtic Gaul*. After this he entered the country of the *Eburones* and laid it waste, while *Labienus* did the same in the country of the *Treviri*. In the mean time *Dumnarus*, general of the revolted *Andes*, besieged *Limonum*, now *Poitiers*, in the country of the *Pictones*; but *Caninius* and *Fabius*, two of *Cæsar's* lieutenants, advancing to the relief of the place, *Dumnarus* raised the siege in order to return into his own country. *Fabius* pursued him, and, coming up with him, defeated his army, killed twelve thousand of them on the spot, and, having dispersed the rest, entered the territories of the *Carnutes*, and subdued both them and the nations bordering on the ocean, whom *Cæsar* calls *Armorici*. And now the only *Gaulish* generals, who kept the field, were *Drapes* the *Senonian* and *Luterius* the *Cadurcean*, who retired to a strong place called *Uxellodunum* (E). Thither

^m PLUT. in Cic. Cic. l. v. ad Attic. ep. 15, 18, 20. & alibi passim.
PLUT. in Cæsare.

ⁿ APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i.

(E) *Sanfon* takes *Uxellodunum* for *Cabors* in *Quercy*; wherein he seems to be mistaken, since the ancients give *Cabors* the name of *Devona*, *Dibona*, and *Divona*. Besides, *Hirtius*, in his continuation of *Cæsar's* commentaries, places *Uxellodunum* on the confines of *Quercy*, whereas *Cabors* was, according

to all the modern geographers, in the centre of that province. Whence father *Briet* and *Cellarius* are of opinion, that the ancient city of *Uxellodunum* stood near *Usseldun*, or, as others call it, *Usselon*, near the borders of *Limousin*.

Thither *Caninius* followed them, and defeated the two generals; but as the place was well garisoned and stored with provisions, he could not reduce it. As it was the only city which now held out, *Cæsar* hastened thither from the farthest parts of *Belgic Gaul*; and having soon reduced the place by depriving it of water, he cut off the right hands of all those who were fit to bear arms, to terrify other cities from the like revolt. And now *Cæsar*, having subdued all *Gaul* from the *Pyrenees* and *Alps* to the *Rhine*, reduced his conquests to a *Roman* province under the government of a prætor. During his several expeditions into *Gaul*, he is said to have taken eight hundred cities, to have subdued three hundred different nations, and to have defeated in several battles three millions of men, of which one million were killed and another taken prisoners; circumstances which would seem greatly magnified, were they not vouched by *Plutarch* and other unexceptionable historians, both *Greek* and *Roman*.

All Gaul subdued and reduced to a Roman province.

AFTER *Cæsar* had put his troops into different quarters, in order to preserve peace in all parts of *Gaul*, he went to spend the winter at *Nemetocenna* in the centre of *Belgium*. There he governed the vast continent he had subdued, with such mildness and prudence, as shewed him equally qualified to preside over nations and to command armies. In the mean time, *Pompey* got two of *Cæsar*'s most avowed enemies, *Claudius Marcellus* and *Æmilius Paulus*, promoted to the consulship, and *Scribonius Curio*, another of his creatures, put at the head of the tribunes. *Curio* was a young patrician of extraordinary talents and great eloquence, but one of the most vicious and debauched young men in *Rome*. His father, who had been distinguished by a consulate and a triumph, had given him a great example; but the son only abused the gifts of nature and fortune. We are told, that young as he was, he had contracted debts to the amount of six hundred thousand great sesterces, that is, 4,843,750 *l.* sterling. *Appius Clodius Pulcher*, who was generally thought an enemy to *Cæsar*, and *Calpurnius Piso*, were chosen censors. So that of all the chief magistrates, *Calpurnius*, *Cæsar*'s father-in-law, was the only one on whom he could depend; but neither his character nor his office were such at present as gave him any great weight. His colleague was indeed more bold; he degraded several of the *Roman* knights and senators, and among the rest *Sallust* the historian, whose enormous debauchery was branded with infamy. The two censors took the last census under the republic, in which they computed three hundred and twenty thousand citizens fit to bear arms, and ended it with a lustrum.

Pompey gets Cæsar's enemies raised to the chief magistracies.

SUCH was the state of affairs at *Rome* when *Cæsar*, after having spent the winter in *Transalpine Gaul*, repassed the mountains, in order to observe more narrowly the steps which *Pompey* and his enemies were taking against him at *Rome*. During his stay in *Cisalpine Gaul*, he was informed, that the two consuls had sworn his destruction; and that, to compass it with more ease, the tribune *Curio* was preparing a law, depriving him of his government and of the command of the army in *Gaul*. But, in a few days, he overturned all the schemes, which his competitor had been forming against him for several years. The riches he had heaped up in *Gaul* were immense. He had indeed distributed vast sums among persons of all ranks, and even among the slaves at *Rome*; but he had still reserved vast treasures for himself. With these he endeavoured to draw off from *Pompey* those very friends whom he had raised to the magistracy. *Marcellus* was proof against all temptation; but his colleague *Æmilius Paulus* was bought at the price of fifteen hundred talents, that is, 310625 *l.* sterling. With this money he built that stately edifice, which was afterwards called the *Basilica of Paulus*. As the tribune *Curio* was over-run with debts and devoted to his pleasures, *Cæsar*, by enabling him to satisfy his creditors and plentifully supplying him with money for his debaucheries, secured him in his interest. Nevertheless *Curio* did not discover at once the change which *Cæsar*'s money had wrought in him, but gradually and with circumspection. *Pompey* continued to repose an intire confidence in him, and was continually pressing him to propose his law for the recalling of *Cæsar*. But the crafty tribune postponed it, from month to month, under frivolous pretences; and when he was at length forced to act, *Cæsar*'s last year being near expired, he found means to do *Cæsar* the most important service without declaring for him. He made a motion both to the senate and people, that they would either continue both generals in their commands, or reduce both, and left it to them to take their choice. The tribune foresaw, that *Pompey* would never consent to lay down the government of *Spain*, or

Cæsar buys off one of the consuls and one of the tribunes.

Curio moves that both generals should be recalled.

part with the command of the army ; and therefore made this motion, that *Cæsar* might draw from *Pompey*'s refusal a pretence for continuing himself in his province at the head of his troops. *Cornelius Scipio*, one of *Pompey*'s friends, remonstrated, that in the present case a great difference was to be made between the proconsul of *Spain* and the proconsul of *Gaul*, since the term of the former was not yet expired, whereas that of the latter was. To this *Curio* replied, that in the present crisis, when the republic was in a manner subject to two absolute sovereigns, there was no medium. Both ought to be discharged, said he, or both continued in their office. Who-ever continues alone in arms, will become the tyrant of *Rome*. If they continue both armed, the power of the one will balance that of the other ; and we shall be secured by their mutual fears. The senate were for recalling *Cæsar* and continuing *Pompey* in his office ; but the people were inclined to favour *Curio*'s motion. *Pompey* himself, being greatly embarrassed, left *Rome*, under pretence of going to his government ; but went no farther than to a country-house at a small distance from *Rome*, whence he wrote a very artful letter to the senate, acquainting them, that he was ready to resign all his employments and disband his army, provided *Cæsar* did the same. *Curio*, well apprised that *Pompey*'s view was to induce the senate to recall *Cæsar*, told *Pompey*, on his return to *Rome* that it was his duty to begin what he proposed, and assured him, that his example would be followed by *Cæsar*. *Pompey* insisted upon *Cæsar*'s resigning the first, since his term was expired. Whereupon *Curio* proposed, that both should be ordered to lay down their commissions, and declared enemies to the republic, if they refused to comply with the order. The fathers all inclined to recall both rivals ; but were for obliging *Cæsar* to resign the command of his army before *Pompey* gave up his. Whereupon *Curio*, who represented the people at the head of the tribunes, would not suffer them to deliberate any longer about the dismissal of either. Then they only decreed, that one legion out of each army should be sent into *Syria*, where *Bibulus* wanted a reinforcement against the *Parthians*. *Pompey* at the same time demanded of *Cæsar* the legion which he had formerly lent him. *Cæsar* knew the reason of this order and of *Pompey*'s design, which was to weaken his army ; but nevertheless he delivered up the two legions to *Appius Clodius*, whom the senate had sent to receive them and conduct them into *Italy*. *Cæsar*, on their quitting his army, loaded the officers with presents, and gave each private man two hundred and fifty drachmas, that is, about five pounds of our money. When the two legions arrived in *Italy*, instead of being sent into the east, they were both, by an order from the consul *Marcellus*, added to *Pompey*'s troops. *Cicero* at this time returned to *Rome* from his government of *Cilicia*, and demanded a triumph for his victory over the *Parthians*. His absence had prevented him from joining either party, and his present pretensions obliged him to stand neuter. He therefore took upon him the office of mediator ; but *Pompey* would now hearken to no terms of accommodation ; *Appius* having, on his return from *Gaul*, to flatter *Pompey*'s ambition, spread abroad, that *Cæsar*'s troops were dissatisfied with their general, for having engaged them in so many dangerous expeditions ; that they suspected him of aiming at absolute authority ; and therefore, on their first entering *Italy*, would all to a man declare for him and the senate. This false representation gave *Pompey* great confidence, and made him neglect the necessary preparations to oppose so powerful a rival. *Cicero*, amazed to find him deaf to all terms of accommodation, and at the same time neglecting to strengthen his army with new levies, asked him, with what forces he designed to make head against *Cæsar* ? To this *Pompey* proudly answered, that he needed but stamp with his foot, and an army would start out of the ground. He spoke with so much confidence, because he flattered himself, that, in case of an open rupture, *Cæsar*'s army would abandon him. In the mean time, *Pompey* having got two of his friends, *Clodius Marcellus* and *Cornelius Lentulus*, chosen to the consulate, *Cæsar*, before they entered upon their offices, wrote to the senate, desiring them to continue him in his government, as they had continued *Pompey*. But his request being rejected, he repassed the *Alps* with the third legion, and advanced to *Ravenna*, whence he wrote a letter to the new consuls, wherein, after an honourable mention of his conquests and exploits, he declared, that he was willing to resign all his power, provided *Pompey* did the same. Hereupon warm debates arose in the senate ; but it was at length almost unanimously decreed, that *Cæsar* should give up his government and the command of the army ; and that he should be treated as an enemy to his country, if he did not, within a limited time, comply with this decree. *Cassius Longinus*, *Marc Antony*, and *Curio*, three of the tribunes,

Two legions
draughted out
of *Cæsar*'s
army.

Pompey will
hearken to no
terms of ac-
commodation.

Cæsar's re-
quests rejected.

a tribunes, protested against the proceedings of the senate. But the consuls, having first attempted in vain to make them desist from their opposition, drove them out of the senate with disgrace. *Cæsar*, informed of all these transactions, that he might have the appearance of justice on his side, wrote again to the senate with a great deal of temper, desiring, that since they were determined to deprive him of his government of *Gaul* and the command of the army, they would at least continue him in the government of *Illyricum* and allow him two legions. It is probable, he would never have made these proposals, if he had believed the senate would have complied with them. But he was well apprised, that the opposite faction had resolved to reduce him to the state of a private person. He therefore affected a great deal of moderation, b though he was all the while determined, neither to part with the command of the army, nor his government. At length the three tribunes, his friends, not thinking themselves any longer safe in *Rome*, where the consuls threatened to degrade them, retired in the night in the disguise of slaves to take shelter in *Cæsar's* camp at *Ravenna*. Upon their departure, the fatal decree was issued, which put the republic in a flame, and brought it to its destruction : *Let the consuls for the year, the proconsul Pompey, the prætors, and all those in or near Rome, who have been consuls, provide for the public safety by the most proper means.* This was proclaiming war. So that two powerful parties were seen to take up arms, both pretending to have nothing in view but the defence of their common laws and liberty, while their chiefs aimed only at establishing their own power and authority on the ruins of that liberty, which they affected c to defend. *Pompey's* party had a more specious outside : he covered his designs with the awful name of the commonwealth, which acknowledged him for her general, and the whole senate with the consuls followed his ensigns. On the other hand, the people and their tribunes were with *Cæsar* ; so that in reality the two legislative powers were divided between these two mighty rivals. The above-mentioned decree was no sooner passed, than the consul *Marcellus* went with his colleague *Lentulus* a little way out of town to a house, where *Pompey* then was ; and presenting him with a sword, *We require you*, said he, speaking in the name of both, *to take upon you with this the defence of the republic and the command of her troops.* *Pompey* declared he would obey their d orders ; adding with a feigned modesty, *Unless a more happy expedient be first found out.* By the same decree, which deprived *Cæsar* of his government and the command of the army, *Lucius Domitius* was appointed to succeed him, and impowered to raise four thousand new levies to enable him to take possession of his government ².

The fatal decree for a civil war.
Year of the flood 2955
Before Christ 44.
Of Rome 704.

AFTER the senate had taken this fatal resolution against *Cæsar*, they met daily to consult about the most proper measures for carrying on the war, in case *Cæsar* refused to comply with their decree. *Pompey* lodged in the suburbs, not being allowed as general to enter the city ; and there the senate assembled to hold their consultations. They first considered what name they should give the enterprize, and determined to call it a *tumult*, which was ranking it among those sudden commotions which are e raised and suppressed in an instant. So that *Rome* either did not know, or did not dread, the enemy she was bringing on herself. In the next place, they ordered *Pompey* to assemble thirty thousand *Roman* troops, and take into the service as many foreign forces as he should think proper. Levies were made accordingly in all haste, and money taken out of the public treasury to defray the expences of one campaign. As for *Pompey*, he was wholly intent on appointing such governors for the provinces as were most firmly attached to him. He gave *Syria* to *Cæcilius Metellus Scipio*, his father-in-law, who immediately set out with young *Pompey* to assemble a fleet on the coast of *Asia*. *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* was nominated to succeed *Cæsar*, pursuant to the decree of the senate, in the government of *Transalpine Gaul* ; but he imprudently shut himself up in *Corfinium* before he left *Italy*. *Cato* was appointed proprætor of *Sicily*, *Cotta* of *Sardinia*, and *L. Ælius Tubero* of *Africa*. *M. Calpurnius Bibulus* and *Cicero* were charged to guard the coasts of *Italy*. The other provinces, viz. *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cyprus*, *Cilicia*, *Macedon*, &c. were all bestowed on *Pompey's* friends, who from this time assumed the character of *generalissimo of the republic*, and governed with as absolute a sway as if he had been king of *Rome* ³.

Pompey and the senate prepare for war.

f IN the mean time, the three tribunes, *Curio*, *Antony*, and *Longinus*, who had been driven from *Rome*, arriving in *Cæsar's* camp, disguised like slaves, he shewed them in that condition to the legion he had then with him, exaggerating the violence which had

Cæsar exhorts his soldiers to stand by him.

² PLUT. in *Cæsar*. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. i. DIO CASS. l. xl. HIRT. comment l. viii. c. 50. SÆTON. in *Julio*. ³ PLUT. in *Pomp*.

had been offered them by the senate, and the unwarrantable steps the patricians had taken against himself; in the close of his speech, he exhorted his men to defend the honour and character of their general, under whom they had made war with success for nine years together. When he had done speaking, they all cried out, that they were ready to maintain the rights of their general and of the tribunes of the people, and revenge the injuries which had been done them. When he found he could depend on his soldiers, he resolved to begin hostilities without delay, and, entering *Italy* properly so called, to make himself master of *Ariminum*, a city bordering on *Cisalpine Gaul*, which was part of his province. As this was a bold step, and an open declaration of war, he carefully concealed his design, and sent a detachment towards the *Rubicon*, ordering the officer, who commanded it, to wait for him on the banks of that river. The next day he assisted at a shew of gladiators, and made a great entertainment. Towards the close of the day he rose from table, desiring his guests to stay till he came back, which, he said, would be very soon. But, instead of returning to the company, he immediately left *Ravenna*, where he then was, after he had ordered some of his most intimate friends to follow him, through different roads, to avoid being observed. He himself travelled in a hired chariot, and drove first another way, but at some distance from the town turned towards *Ariminum*. When he reached the banks of the *Rubicon*, which parted *Cisalpine Gaul*, his province, from *Italy*, all the misfortunes of the succeeding war offered themselves to his mind, and kept him some time in suspense. He often changed his opinion without speaking a word, being one minute determined to cross the river, and another to go back, computing with himself how many calamities his passing it would bring upon the republic, and what an account of it would be transmitted to posterity. As he had been brought up in the bosom of a commonwealth, he could not look on the approaching ruin of his country without concern; and therefore turning to *Asinius Pollio*, *If I do not cross the river*, said he, *I am undone; and, if I do cross it, how many calamities shall I by this step bring upon Rome!* Having thus spoke he mused a few minutes on the hatred and inveteracy of his enemies, and then crying out, *The die is cast*, he threw himself into the river, and, crossing it, marched with all possible expedition towards *Ariminum*, which he reached and surprised before day-break (F). From thence, as he had but one legion with him, he immediately dispatched orders to the great army he had left in *Gaul* to cross the mountains, and join him^r.

Passes the Rubicon.

Rome in the utmost consternation.

It is impossible to express the terror and fear all *Italy* and *Rome* herself was in, upon the unexpected news of this enterprise. They imagined this renowned commander already at the gates of the city, with the formidable army he commanded in *Gaul*. Nothing was seen but terror and confusion, the country people crowding into the city for safety, and the citizens flying into the country. The senate met several times without coming to any resolution. Several senators, without proposing any thing themselves, only contradicted the advice of others. *Pompey* himself was no less alarmed than the other senators; as he had not yet drawn together his troops, who were quartered in different provinces at some distance from the capital, he was no-ways in a condition to make head against *Cæsar*. But nothing gave him greater uneasiness, than the reproaches which many of his own party threw out against him, some charging him with indiscretion in arming *Cæsar* against himself and the government, and others blaming him for having neglected the necessary preparations. *M. Favonius*, alluding to the rhodomontade mentioned above, desired him *to stamp with his foot, and make armies start up, as he had promised*. Every senator thought himself privileged to reproach and advise him. In this confusion, *Pompey*, seeing himself in *Rome* without troops, and fearing, if he should arm the people, they would declare against him, resolved to retire to *Capua*, where the two legions were encamped which *Cæsar* had surrendered to *Appius*. He communicated his design to the senate, and

^r PLUT. in *Cæsar*. DIO. CASS. l. xii. Epit. LIV.

(F) Some authors; and among the rest *Suetonius* (27), tell us, that while *Cæsar* was yet in suspense and undetermined, there appeared all on a sudden a man of an extraordinary stature, playing on a flute of reeds; which uncommon sight drew many of the legionaries to him, and among the rest a trumpet,

from whom the unknown man snatched his instrument, and sounding the charge, threw himself into the river, and crossed it. Hereupon *Cæsar*, without further consideration, followed him, crying aloud, *Let us go whither the gods calls us, and the fury of our enemies drives us; the die is cast*.

(27) *Suet. in Julio.*

a at the same time declared, that if any senator or magistrate refused to follow him, he should be treated as a friend to *Cæsar*, and an enemy to his country. Upon this declaration the consuls, the senators, and all the magistrates, left *Rome* in great haste, and attended *Pompey* into *Campania* ¹. *Pompey abandons Rome.*

In the mean time, *Cæsar*, having raised new troops in *Cisalpine Gaul*, sent *Marc Antony* with a detachment to seize *Aretium*, and other officers to secure *Pisaurum* and *Fanum*, while he himself marched at the head of the thirteenth legion to *Auximum*, which opened its gates to him. From *Auximum* he advanced into *Picenum*, where he was joined by the twelfth legion from *Transalpine Gaul*. As *Picenum* readily submitted to him, he led his forces against *Corfinium*, the capital of the *Peligni*, which

b *Domitius Abenobarbus* defended with thirty Cohorts. But *Cæsar* no sooner invested it, than the garison betrayed their commander, and delivered him up with many senators, who had taken refuge in the place, to *Cæsar*, who, to shew his great moderation in the midst of victory, granted them their lives and liberty (G). *Domitius*, fearing the resentment of the conqueror, had ordered one of his slaves, whom he used as a physician, to give him a dose of poison. When he came to experience the humanity of the conqueror, he lamented his misfortune, and blamed the hastiness of his own resolution. But his physician, who had only given him a sleeping draught, comforted him, and received his liberty, as a reward for his affection ¹. *Pompey*, thinking himself no longer safe at *Capua*, after the reduction of *Corfinium*, retired to *Brundisium*, with a design to carry the war into the east, where all the governors were his creatures. *Cæsar* followed him close cross *Apulia*, and arriving with his army before *Brundisium*, invested the place on the land-side, and undertook to shut up the port by a *staccado* of his own invention. But before the work was completed, the fleet, which had conveyed the two consuls with thirty cohorts to *Dyrrachium*, now *Durazzo*, being returned, *Pompey* resolved to make his escape, which he conducted with all the experience and dexterity of a great officer. He kept his departure very secret; but at the same time made all necessary preparations for the facilitating of it. In the first place he walled up the gates, then dug deep and wide ditches cross all the streets, except only those two that led to the port; in the ditches he planted sharp-pointed stakes, covering them with hurdles and earth. After these precautions, he gave express orders that all the citizens should keep within doors, lest they should betray his design to the enemy, and then in the space of three days imbarqued all his troops, except the light-armed infantry, whom he had placed on the walls; and these likewise, on a signal given, abandoning their posts, repaired with great expedition to the ships. *Cæsar*, perceiving the walls unguarded, ordered his men to scale them and make what haste they could after the enemy. In the heat of the pursuit, they would have fallen into the ditches, which *Pompey* had prepared for them, had not the *Brundisians* ². *Takes Corfinium.*

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¹ DIO CASS. & PLUT. ibid. CÆSAR. bell civil. l. i. c. 8. LIV. l. cix. c. 46. ² PLUT. APPIAN. CÆSAR. ibid.

(G) *Domitius*, as soon as *Corfinium* was invested, found means to convey a letter to *Pompey*, wherein he pressed him to march directly to the defence of a place of such importance. Lose no time, said he, but lay hold of the favourable opportunity which fortune now offers you of surrounding *Cæsar*. If you make haste, the war will be at an end. Consider, your credit is at stake. You cannot in honour reject the request of the many senators and Roman knights, who are shut up in this place. They have recourse to you, as to their deliverer, and take it for granted, that you will not abandon thirty-three cohorts of the best of your troops to the mercy of the enemy, who hastens to his own destruction. But *Pompey*'s answer was very different from what *Domitius* expected: He told him, that he could not in his present situation hazard a battle, the loss of which would infallibly bring with it the ruin of the republic. He reproached him with having undertaken the defence of *Corfinium*, and shut himself up in that place contrary to his opinion. He advised him to abandon the place, and join the consular army, with all possible expedition. But as this was not now in his power, he prepared to sustain a siege, provided his machines, assigned his troops their posts, and, in order to encourage them, promised

each soldier four acres of land. *Cæsar*, on the other hand, provided his camp with all things necessary for a siege; and in the mean time, the eighth legion joined him with twenty cohorts of *Gauls* and three hundred *German* horse. For these he formed a new camp, and appointed *Curio* to command in it. *Domitius*, though he expected no succours, did all that lay in his power to persuade his men, that all the forces of the republic were marching to his relief. But a report being spread, that he designed to escape privately, they mutinied, ran to his quarters, and, having seized him, opened the gates to the enemy. As this tumult happened in the night, *Cæsar*, lest the darkness should encourage his men to plunder and commit violences, deferred entering the town till the next morning. At break of day *Lentulus Spinther*, one of the senators who were shut up in the place, waited on *Cæsar*, who received him with great marks of friendship, which induced the others to submit and surrender the place at discretion. *Cæsar* not only gave *Domitius* his liberty, but restored to him the money which he had taken out of the treasury for the paying of his troops, and was lodged in the hands of the magistrates of *Corfinium*.

Cæsar's lieutenants make themselves masters of Sicily and Sardinia.

Cæsar goes to Rome.

The senate assembles.

sians warned them of the danger, and by many windings and turnings led them to the haven, where they found all the fleet under sail, except two vessels, which had run a-ground in going out of the harbour. These Cæsar seized, took the soldiers on board prisoners, and brought them ashore. Cæsar, seeing himself by the flight of his rival master of all *Italy* from the *Alps* to the sea, was desirous to follow and attack him, before he was joined by the supplies which he expected from *Asia*. But being destitute of shipping, he resolved to go first to *Rome* and settle some sort of government there, and then pass into *Spain* to drive from thence *Pompey's* troops, who had taken possession of that great continent under the command of *Afranius* and *Petreius*. Before he left *Brundisium* he sent *Scribonius Curio* with three legions into *Sicily*, and ordered *Q. Valerius*, one of his lieutenants, to get together what ships he could, and cross over with one legion into *Sardinia*. *Cato*, who commanded in *Sicily*, upon the first news of *Curio's* landing there, abandoned the Island, and retired to the camp of the consuls at *Dyrrachium*: and *Q. Valerius* no sooner appeared with his small fleet off *Sardinia*, than the *Caralitani*, now the inhabitants of *Cagliari*, drove out *Aurelius Cotta*, who commanded there for the senate, and put Cæsar's lieutenant in possession both of their city and island. In the mean time, the general himself advanced towards *Rome*, and that with the more confidence, because he had made himself master of all *Italy*, without shedding one drop of blood. On his march he wrote to all the senators then in *Italy*, desiring them to repair to the capital, and assist him there with their counsel. Above all, he was desirous to see *Cicero*; and therefore, after having pressed him in vain by *Oppilus* and *Cælius*, their common friends, to come and meet him, he turned out of the road, and went to his country house, where he had a long conference with him, but could not prevail upon him to return to *Rome* (H). As Cæsar drew near the capital, he quartered his troops in the neighbouring municipia; and then advancing to the city, out of a pretended respect to the ancient customs, he took up his quarters in the suburbs, whither the whole city crowded to see the famous conqueror of *Gaul*, who had been absent from *Rome* near ten years. And now such of the tribunes of the people as had fled to him for refuge, reassumed their functions, mounted the rostra, and endeavoured by their speeches to reconcile the people to the head of their party. *Marc Antony* particularly and *Cassius Longinus*, two of Cæsar's most zealous partizans, moved, that the senate should meet in the suburbs, that the general might give them an account of his conduct. Accordingly, such of the senators as were at *Rome* assembled, when Cæsar, with that dignity and eloquence, which were natural to him, made a speech in justification of all his proceedings, encouraged the timorous, gave great hopes to the wavering, and concluded his harangue with proposing a deputation to *Pompey*, with offers of an accommodation in an amicable manner. He even desired the conscript fathers, to whom in appearance he paid great deference, to nominate some of their venerable body to carry proposals of peace to the consuls and the general of the consular army. But not one of the senators would take upon him that commission, some being afraid of *Pompey*, who had declared all those enemies who should stand neuter, and others plainly seeing that Cæsar did not mean what he said (I). He then began to think of providing himself with the necessary

(H) In this conference Cæsar earnestly pressed *Cicero* to return to the capital. *I have seen Cæsar*, says he, in one of his letters to *Atticus* (28). *who earnestly pressed me to return to Rome; but I withstood his desire. He looked upon my absence as a tacit condemnation of his proceedings against Pompey, and is persuaded, that most of the senators are induced to retire into the country by my example. Cæsar, in order to prevail upon Cicero to come to Rome, told him, that he had nothing else in view, but to employ him in bringing about a lasting accommodation between him and Pompey. To this Cicero replied, that he would readily attend him to the capital, upon condition, that he should be at full liberty to declare his opinion concerning the present state of affairs. But Cæsar not liking this condition, You must not then take it amiss, replied Cicero, that I persist, in my resolution of not going to Rome; if I am not allowed to speak my mind, I ought not to appear in the senate.*

Cæsar, little satisfied with this answer, took his leave of *Cicero*, after having intreated him in a friendly manner not to take any step in so nice an affair, without mature deliberation.

(I) Cæsar tells us, that he attempted several times to make up matters with *Pompey* in an amicable manner. On his march to *Brundisium* he sent *Gn. Magius*, one of *Pompey's* chief officers, whom he had taken prisoner, to invite his rival to an interview. But, as the consuls had already set sail for *Dyrrachium*, *Pompey* answered, that he could do nothing in their absence. In the first days of the siege he attempted once more to draw *Pompey* to a conference, and with this view sent *Caminius Rebilius*, one of the chief officers of his army, to mediate an accommodation, together with *P. Scribonius Libo*, *Pompey's* particular friend. But he returned the same answer, viz. that he could not come to an agreement in the absence of the consuls. Cæsar in his

- a necessary sum for the carrying on of the war, and had recourse to the public treasury. But *Metellus*, one of the tribunes, opposed him, alledging a law, forbidding any one to open the treasury, but in the presence, and with the consent, of the consuls. To which *Cæsar* replied, *Arms and laws do not well agree; when I shall have laid down my arms, then I will hearken to laws, and let you make as long harangues as you please; but at present I advise you to retire.* Having thus spoke, he went directly to the temple of *Saturn*, where the public money was kept. But the keys of the treasury having been carried away by the consul *Lentulus*, he ordered the doors to be broke open. This *Metellus* opposed, and then *Cæsar*, in a passion laying his hand on his sword, threatened to kill him, if he gave him any further disturbance, adding, *This you know, young man, is harder for me to say, than to do.* These words so terrified *Metellus*, that he withdrew; and then *Cæsar* took out of the treasury, which was ever after at his command, an immense sum, some say three hundred thousand pounds weight of gold. With this supply of money he raised troops all over *Italy*, and sent governors into all the provinces subject to the republic. He made *Marc Antony* commander in chief of the armies in *Italy*, sent his brother *C. Antonius* to govern *Illyricum*, assigned *Cisalpine Gaul* to *Licinius Crassus*, appointed *M. Æmilius Lepidus* governor of the capital, and having got together some ships to cruise in the *Adriatic* and *Mediterranean* seas, he gave the command of one of his fleets to *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, and of the other to young *Hortensius*, the son of the famous orator. As *Pompey* had sent governors into the same provinces, by this means a general war was kindled in all the parts of the known world. However, *Cæsar* would not trust any of his lieutenants with the conduct of the war in *Spain*, which was *Pompey's* favourite province, but took it upon himself; and, having settled his affairs in great haste at *Rome*, returned to *Ariminum*, assembled his legions there, and, passing the *Alps*, entered *Transalpine Gaul*. There he was informed, that the inhabitants of *Marseilles* had resolved to refuse him entrance into their city, and that *L. Domitius Abenobarbus*, whom he had generously pardoned and set at liberty after the reduction of *Corfinium*, had set sail for *Marseilles* with seven gallies, having on board a great number of his clients and slaves, with a design to raise the city in favour of *Pompey*. *Cæsar*, thinking it dangerous to let the enemy take possession of such an important place, sent for the fifteen chief magistrates of the city, and advised them not to begin a war with him, but rather follow the example of *Italy* and submit. The magistrates returned to the city, and soon after sent *Cæsar* the following answer: since the *Roman* people are divided into two parties, we will not take upon us to determine on which side the right lies. We have great obligations, and an equal affection for both competitors; they are both our patrons, both our benefactors; and therefore that we may not help one against the other, our port and the gates of our city shall be shut to both. In the mean time, *Domitius* arriving with his small squadron was received into the city, and declared general of all their forces. Hereupon *Cæsar*, justly provoked at such unfair dealings, immediately in-
 c vested the town with three legions, and ordered twelve gallies to be built at *Arelas*,
 now *Arles*, in order to block up the port. But as the siege was like to detain him too long, he left *C. Trebonius* to carry it on, and *D. Brutus* to command the fleet, while he continued his march into *Spain*, where he began the war with all the valour, ability, and success of a great hero. *Pompey* had three generals in this great continent, which was divided into two *Roman* provinces. *Varro* commanded in *Further Spain*; and *Petreius* and *Afranius*, with equal power and two considerable armies, in *Hither Spain*. *Cæsar*, while he was yet at *Marseilles*, sent *Q. Fabius*, one of his lieutenants, with three legions, to take possession of the passes of the *Pyrenees*, which *Afranius* had seized. *Fabius* executed his commission with great bravery, entered *Spain*, and left
 f the way open to *Cæsar*, who soon followed him. As soon as he had crossed the
 mountains, he sent out scouts to observe the situation of the enemy; by whom he was informed, that *Afranius* and *Petreius*, having joined their forces, consisting of five legions, twenty cohorts of the natives, and five thousand horse, were advantageously posted on a hill of an easy ascent in the neighbourhood of *Ilerda*, now *Lerida* in *Catalonia*. Upon this advice he advanced within sight of the enemy, and incamped in a plain
 between

*Breaks open
the treasury.*

*Marseilles be-
sieged.*

*Cæsar enters
Spain.*

first speech to the senate shewed a great inclination to compose matters in an amicable manner, and desired the conscript fathers to depute some of their body, with proposals of an accommodation, both to *Pompey* and the consuls. But men of penetration

plainly saw, that *Cæsar* was more averse to any sort of accommodation than *Pompey* himself, and that he talked of it only to lessen the odium of his proceedings, and throw the whole blame of the war on *Pompey* and his party.

between the *Sicoris* and the *Cinga*, now the *Segro* and the *Cinca*. Between the eminence, on which *Afranius* had posted himself, and the city of *Ilerda*, was a small plain, and in the middle of it a rising ground, which *Cæsar* attempted to seize, in order to cut off by that means the communication between the enemy's camp and the city, from whence they had all their provisions. This occasioned a sharp dispute between three of *Cæsar*'s legions and an equal number of the enemy, which lasted five hours with equal success, both parties claiming the victory. But after all, *Afranius*'s men, who had first seized the post, maintained themselves in possession of it in spite of *Cæsar*'s utmost efforts. Two days after this battle continual rains, with the melting of the snow on the mountains, so swelled the two rivers, between which *Cæsar* was incamped, that they overflowed, broke down his bridges, and laid under water the neighbouring country to a great distance. This cut off the communication between his camp and the cities that had declared for him, and reduced him to such straits, that his army was ready to perish for famine, wheat being sold in his camp at fifty *Roman denarii per bushel*, that is, 1 *l.* 12 *s.* 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* sterling. He tried to rebuild his bridges, but in vain, the violence of the stream rendering all his endeavours fruitless ^a.

Is in great danger.

UPON the news of *Cæsar*'s distress, *Pompey*'s party at *Rome* began to take courage. Several persons of distinction went to congratulate *Afranius*'s wife on the success of her husband's arms in *Spain*. Many of the senators, who had hitherto stood neuter, hastened to join *Pompey*, taking it for granted, that *Cæsar* was reduced to the last extremity, and all the hopes of his party lost. Of this number was *Cicero*; who, without any regard to the remonstrances of *Atticus*, or the letters *Cæsar* himself wrote to him (K), desiring him to join neither party, left *Italy* and landed at *Dyrrachium*, where *Pompey* received him with great marks of joy and friendship. But *Cicero* soon repented of the little regard he had paid to the advice of his friends, and could not forgive himself his having too easily given credit to the reports that were brought from *Spain*. He ever appeared gloomy, thoughtful, and uneasy, and even vented his ill humour in severe jests on *Pompey* (L). The offensive things he threw out on all occasions, and his unseasonable jests, led some to suspect, that he kept a correspondence with *Cæsar*. However that be, *Pompey* would neither trust him with any command, nor impart to him his designs; nay, he went so far as to bid him be gone to *Cæsar*'s camp, where he would have less reason to jest, and more to be afraid. Neither did his old friend *Cato* give him a very favourable reception. He was displeased at his having so unseasonably declared for a party, which he might have served more effectually, by keeping an exact neutrality. *Cicero* was so strongly affected with these reproaches, that he left the camp, and did not appear even at the battle of *Pharsalia*.

Cicero repairs to Pompey's camp.

Reduces all Spain.

BUT the joy of *Pompey*'s party was not long-lived. For *Cæsar*, after having attempted several times in vain to rebuild his bridges, caused boats to be made with all possible expedition; and while the enemy were diverted by endeavouring to intercept the succours that were sent him from *Gaul*, he laid hold of that opportunity to convey his boats in the night on carriages twenty-two miles from his camp; where with wonderful quickness a great detachment passed the *Sicoris*, and, incamping on the opposite bank unknown to the enemy, built a bridge in two days, opened a communication with the neighbouring country, received the supplies from *Gaul*, and relieved the wants of his soldiers. *Cæsar*, being thus delivered from all danger, pursued the armies of *Afranius* and *Petreius* with such superior address and conduct, that he forced them to submit without coming to a battle, and by that means became master of all *Hither Spain*. The two generals disbanded their troops, sent them out of the province, and returned themselves to *Italy*, after having solemnly promised never to assemble forces again, or make war upon *Cæsar* ^a. Upon the news of the reduction of *Hither Spain*,

^a CÆSAR bell. civil. l. i. c. 14.—46. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. c. 14, & seq. DIO CASS. l. 41. * Idem ibid. c. 46.—82.

(K) In one of these letters he expresses himself thus: *It will not be believed, that the justice of my enemy's cause has induced you to declare against me. Every one will think that you have been displeased at some action of mine, which would most sensibly grieve me. A man of honour, who loves the peace and welfare of his country, ought to avoid taking any side in a civil war. You cannot do better, nor more for your reputation, than to avoid engaging yourself, upon any account whatsoever, in these broils.*

(L) *Pompey* having told him one day, that he had joined the army at *Dyrrachium* a little too late; *How too late?* replied *Cicero*; *I do not find your affairs in such forwardness.* Another time, when he was told, that seven eagles had been taken in *Pompey*'s camp, and that the augurs looked upon this as a happy omen; *it would be very lucky indeed*, said he, *if we were at war with the magpies.*

- a Spain, the Spaniards in Further Spain and one Roman legion deserted from Varro, Pompey's governor in that province, which obliged him to surrender his other legion and all his money. Cæsar, having thus reduced all Spain in a few months, appointed Cassius Longinus to govern the two provinces with four legions, and then returned to Marseilles, which city was then just upon the point of surrendering, after a most vigorous resistance. Though the inhabitants had by their late treachery deserved a severe punishment, yet he granted them their lives and liberty, but stripped their arsenals of their arms, and obliged them to deliver up all their ships. From Marseilles Cæsar marched into Cisalpine Gaul, and from thence hastened to Rome, where he laid the foundations of his future grandeur. He found the city in a very different state from that in which he had left it. Most of the senators and magistrates were fled to Pompey at Dyrrachium. However, there were still prætors there, and among them M. Æmilius Lepidus, who was afterwards one of the triumvirs with Octavius and Marc Antony. The prætor, to ingratiate himself with Cæsar, nominated him dictator, of his own authority and against the inclination of the senate. Cæsar accepted the new dignity, but neither abused his power as Sylla had done, nor retained it so long. During the eleven days he held the dictatorship, he governed with great moderation, and gained the affections both of the people and patricians. He recalled all the exiles, except Milo, who had murdered Clodius. He granted the rights and privileges of Roman citizens to all the Gauls beyond the Po, and, as pontifex maximus, filled up the vacancies of the sacerdotal colleges with his own friends. Though it was expected, that he would have absolutely cancelled all debts contracted since the beginning of the troubles, he only reduced the interest to one fourth. But the chief use he made of his dictatorship was, to preside at the election of consuls for the next year, when he got himself and Servilius Isauricus, one of his most zealous partisans, promoted to that dignity. And now, being resolved to follow Pompey and carry the war into the east, he set out for Brundisium, whither he had ordered twelve legions to repair with all possible expedition. But on his arrival he found only five there. The rest, being afraid of the dangers of the sea and unwilling to engage in a new war, had marched leisurely, complaining of their general for allowing no respite, but hurrying them continually from one country to another. When at last, said they, and where will this Cæsar suffer us to enjoy some quiet? He carries us from place to place, and uses us as if we were not to be tired out, or had no sense of labour. Even our swords, our bucklers, and breast-plates, are worn out. Does not Cæsar gather from our wounds that we are mortal men, and subject to the same calamities and diseases as other mortals are? Such was their discourse as they marched from their quarters to Brundisium; and as their march was slow, they did not arrive at the time appointed. However, Cæsar did not wait for them, but set sail with only five legions and six hundred horse, in the beginning of January. When the legions found he had imbarqued without them, they changed their sentiments, and, looking upon themselves as traitors to their general, blamed their officers for marching so slowly. While they were waiting at Brundisium for ships to transport them over into Epirus, Cæsar arrived safe with his five legions in Chaonia, the northern part of Epirus near the Ceraunian mountains. There he landed his troops, and sent the ships back to Brundisium to bring over the legions that were left behind. The war he was now entering upon was the most difficult he had yet undertaken. Pompey had for a whole year been assembling troops from all the eastern countries. When he left Italy he had only five legions; but, since his arrival at Dyrrachium, he had been reinforced with one from Sicily, another from Crete, and two from Syria. Three thousand archers, six cohorts of slingers, and seven thousand horse had been sent him by princes in alliance with Rome. All the free cities of Asia had reinforced his army with their best troops; nay, if we give credit to an historical poet, succours were brought him from the Indus and the Ganges to the east, and from Arabia and Æthiopia to the south; at least it is certain, that Greece, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and all the nations from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates took up arms in his favour. He had almost all the Roman knights, that is, the flower of the young nobility, in his squadrons, and his legions consisted mostly of veterans inured to dangers and the toils of war. Pompey himself was a general of great experience and address, and had under him some of the best commanders of the republic, who had formerly conducted armies themselves. As for his navy, he had above five hundred ships of war, besides a far greater number of small vessels, which were continually cruising on the coasts, and intercepting such ships as

Marseilles surrenders.

Cæsar nominated dictator.

L chosen consul.

Cæsar goes into the east.

Pompey draws together numerous forces.

carried arms or provisions to the enemy: He had likewise with him above two hundred senators, who formed a more numerous senate than that at *Rome*. *Cornelius Lentulus* and *Claudius Marcellus*, the last year's consuls, presided in it, but under the direction of *Pompey* their protector, who ordered them to assemble at *Theſſalonica*, where he built a stately hall for that purpose. There, in one of their assemblies, at the motion of *Cato*, it was decreed, that no *Roman* citizen should be put to death but in battle, and that no city subject to the republic should be sacked. At the same time the conscript fathers assembled at *Theſſalonica* decreed, that they alone represented the *Roman* senate, and that those, who resided at *Rome*, were encouragers of tyranny and friends to the tyrant. And indeed, as the flower of the nobility was with *Pompey*, and the most virtuous men in the republic had taken refuge in his camp, he was generally looked upon as the only hope and support of the public liberty. Hence many persons of eminent probity, who had hitherto stood neuter, flocked to him from all parts. Among these were young *Brutus*, who afterwards conspired against *Cæsar*, *Tidius Sextius*, and *Labienus*. *Brutus*, whose father had been put to death in *Galatia* by *Pompey*'s orders, had never spoke to him, or so much as saluted him since that time. But, as he now looked upon him as the defender of the public liberty, he joined him, sacrificing therein his private resentment to the interest of the public. *Pompey* received him with great joy, and was willing to confer upon him some command; but he declined the offer, desiring *Pompey* to bestow such marks of distinction on others, who better deserved them, both in consideration of their age and employments. *Tidius Sextius*, though extremely old and lame, yet left *Rome*, and went as far as *Macedonia* to join *Pompey* there. *Labienus* likewise forsook his old benefactor, under whom he had served during the whole course of the *Gaulish* war, and went over to his rival, though *Cæsar* had appointed him commander in chief of all the forces on the other side of the *Alps* (M). In short, *Pompey*'s party grew into such reputation, that his cause was generally called *the good cause*, while *Cæsar*'s adherents were looked upon as enemies to their country and abettors of tyranny.

Several persons of distinction flock to his camp.

Cæsar takes *Oricum* and *Apollonia*.

BUT to return to *Cæsar*, as soon as he landed, he marched to *Oricum* the nearest city to him in *Epirus*, and made himself master of it without opposition, *L. Torquatus*, who was governor of the place for *Pompey*, having abandoned it at his approach. From thence he advanced to *Apollonia*, which stood on the confines of *Macedon*. This important place likewise surrendered, as soon as *Cæsar* appeared before it, *Staberius*, *Pompey*'s governor, not being in a condition to stand a siege. By these two conquests, *Cæsar* opened himself a way to *Dyrrachium*, a city on the confines of *Macedon*, where *Pompey* had fixed his magazines of arms and provisions. In the mean time, news was brought to *Cæsar*, that his fleet, which he had sent back to *Brundisium*, to transport the rest of his troops, had been attacked by a squadron of *Pompey*'s fleet under the command of *Bibulus*, who had taken thirty of them, and inhumanly burnt them with the seamen on board. This gave *Cæsar* great uneasiness, the more because he was at the same time informed, that *Bibulus*, with a hundred and ten ships of war, had taken possession of all the ports and harbours between *Salonium* and *Oricum*; so that the legions at *Brundisium* could not venture to cross the sea, without manifest danger of falling into the enemy's hands. Hereupon *Cæsar*, being greatly embarrassed, made new proposals of an accommodation, sending *Vibullius Rufus*, an intimate friend of *Pompey*'s whom he had twice taken prisoner, viz. at *Corfinium* and in *Spain*, to propose to him the following terms; viz. that they should both disband their armies in three days, renew their former friendship with solemn oaths, and return together to *Italy*. With these proposals *Rufus*, who was in pain for *Dyrrachium*, hastened to *Pompey*'s camp, travelling night and day, without allowing himself any rest till he reached it. Upon his arrival he found, that *Pompey* had not yet received advice of *Cæsar*'s arrival; but he no sooner informed him of the taking of *Oricum* and *Apollonia*, than he immediately decamped, and by long marches reached

Makes new proposals of an accommodation.

PLUT. in Pomp.

(M) It seemed very strange, says *Dion*, that *Labienus* should abandon *Cæsar*, who had loaded him with honours, and distinguished him above all others. But he gives this reason for it. *Labienus*, says he, elated with his immense wealth, and proud of his preferments, forgot himself to such a degree, as

to assume a character very unbecoming a person in his circumstances. He was even for putting himself upon an equal foot with *Cæsar*, who thereupon grew cool towards him, and treated him with some reserve, which *Labienus* resented, and went over to *Pompey*.

a reached *Dyrrachium* before *Cæsar*, and incamped under the walls of the city. In the mean time, *Cæsar* was likewise advancing towards *Dyrrachium*, in hopes of surprising that important place; but, upon the unexpected news of *Pompey*'s arrival, he halted on the other side of the river *Apfus*, and intrenched himself there, having but a small number of troops with him, if compared with *Pompey*'s formidable army. However, as *Pompey* durst not cross the river in *Cæsar*'s sight, the two armies continued some time quiet in their respective posts. As to the proposals of an amicable accommodation, *Pompey*, suspecting *Cæsar*'s sincerity, answered, that he would not hearken to any terms, lest it should be said, that he owed his life and return to *Italy* to *Cæsar*'s favour. Nevertheless, *Cæsar*, either to gain time, his troops not being yet arrived, b or to cast all the blame of a civil war on his rival, sent *Vatinius* to treat with *Pompey* in his name. *Labienus* was deputed to receive his proposals. But while they were conferring together, a party of *Pompey*'s men coming up to them, discharged a shower of darts at *Vatinius* and those who attended him. Some of the centurions of his guard were wounded, and *Vatinius* himself narrowly escaped with his life ^z.

As *Cæsar* had not a sufficient force with him to engage the enemy, he wrote letter after letter to *Marc Antony*, who commanded the legions he had left in *Italy*, pressing him to hasten their imbarquation. But *Antony*, either because he wanted transports, or was afraid of the enemy's numerous squadrons, which almost covered the sea, still continued at *Brundisium*, which filled *Cæsar* with many uneasy reflections. Sometimes he accused *Antony* of cowardice, and sometimes suspected him of treachery, as c if he designed to revolt from him and make a third party in the republic. At length his impatience and uneasiness put him upon a bold attempt, which nothing could excuse, but the extraordinary confidence he always had in his good fortune (N). He disguised himself in the habit of a slave, and with all imaginable secrecy went on board a fisherman's bark, which lay in the river *Anius*, or, as *Strabo* calls it, *Aous*, with a design to go over to *Brundisium*, though the enemy's fleet was cruising on the coasts both of *Greece* and *Italy*. The vessel weighed anchor in the beginning of the night, and fell down the river without any difficulty. But it d happened unluckily, that a strong wind from the sea sprung up all on a sudden, so that the rowers, after having struggled a long time in vain with the waves and winds, which continually drove them back into the river, began to despair of getting out to sea. Then *Cæsar*, who had hitherto never opened his mouth, starting up, discovered himself to the master of the vessel, who was greatly surprised to see him, and taking him by the hand, *Go on boldly, my friend*, said he, *and fear nothing; thou carriest Cæsar and his fortune along with thee*. The mariners, encouraged by *Cæsar*'s presence, used extraordinary efforts, and got out to sea; but the storm was so violent, that *Cæsar* himself, despairing of being able to get to *Italy*, suffered the pilot to return to the coast, where his soldiers met him, and expressed, with a great deal of tenderness and respect, their concern to see him so uneasy for want of more troops, as if he could not gain a victory with them alone ^z.

Cæsar tries to cross the sea in a bark.

e *Cæsar* was no sooner landed, than he dispatched *Posthumus*, one of his lieutenants, with most pressing orders to *Marc Antony*, *Gabinus*, and *Calenus*, to bring the troops to him at all adventures. *Gabinus*, unwilling to expose all the hopes of his general to the hazards of the sea, thought it safer to march a great way about by *Illyricum*, and therefore engaged all the legionaries he could to follow him by land. But the *Illyrians*, who had, unknown to him, declared for *Pompey*, fell unexpectedly upon him, and killed him and his men, not one escaping. *Marc Antony* and *Calenus*, who went by sea, were in the greatest danger from one of *Pompey*'s admirals; but had the good luck to bring their troops safe to shore at *Nymphæum*, in the neighbourhood of *Apollonia*. As soon as it was known that *Antony* was landed, *Pompey* marched to f prevent his joining *Cæsar*. On the other hand, *Cæsar* instantly decamped, and hastening to the relief of his lieutenant, joined him before *Pompey* came up. Then *Pompey*, not caring to engage them when united, retired to an advantageous post in the neighbourhood

Part of Cæsar's troops cut off in Illyricum.

^z CÆSAR. bell. civil. l. iii. c. 19.

^a PLUT. in Cæsare.

(N) Most historians blame this as a rash action; and he himself in his commentaries makes no mention of this, or of another as dangerous an attempt, which is related by *Suetonius*. While he was making war in *Gaul*, upon advice that the *Gauls* had

surrounded his army in his absence, he dressed himself like a native of the country, and in that disguise passed through the enemy's centinels and troops to his own camp.

*Cæsar besieges
Pompey in his
camp.*

*The gallant
behaviour of
Cassius Scæva.*

neighbourhood of *Dyrrachium*, known by the name of *Asparagium*, and there incamped. *Cæsar*, having thus at length got all his troops together, resolved to finish the war by one general action, and determine the fate of the world, either by his own death, or by that of his rival. To this end he offered *Pompey* battle, and kept his army a great while drawn up in sight of the enemy. But *Pompey* declining an engagement, he decamped and turned towards *Dyrrachium*, as if he designed to surprise it, hoping by this means to draw *Pompey* into the plain. But *Pompey*, looking upon the taking of *Dyrrachium* as a chimerical project, followed *Cæsar* at some distance, and letting him draw near to the city, incamped himself on a hill called *Petra*, which commanded the sea, whence he could be supplied with provisions from *Greece* and *Asia*, while *Cæsar* was forced to bring corn by land from *Epirus*, at a vast expence and through many dangers. This inconvenience put *Cæsar* upon a new design, which was to surround an army far more numerous than his own, and by shutting them up within a narrow tract of ground, distress them as much for want of forage, as his troops were distressed for want of corn. Pursuant to this design, he drew a line of circumvallation from the sea quite round *Pompey's* camp, and kept him so closely blocked up, that though his men were plentifully supplied with provisions by sea, yet the horses of his army began soon to die in great numbers for want of forage. *Cæsar's* men, though in the utmost distress for want of corn, yet bore all with incredible cheerfulness, protesting, that they would rather live upon the bark of trees, than suffer *Pompey* to escape, now they had him in their power (O). At length *Pompey*, alarmed at the distempers which began to reign in his army, made several attempts to break through the barriers that inclosed him, but was always repulsed with loss. One day *Pompey* himself attacked one of the enemy's castles; on which occasion *M. Cassius Scæva*, a soldier of fortune, at that time centurion, distinguished himself in the defence of the castle in a very eminent manner. He withstood the efforts of the enemy almost alone, made a great slaughter of them, and though he was wounded on the head, had lost an eye, and was run quite through the body, yet he maintained the fight, till *Sylla*, one of *Cæsar's* lieutenants, brought two legions from the camp to his relief, and then *Pompey* was forced to retire. This castle was defended by one cohort only of the sixth legion, which held out against the utmost efforts of *Pompey* at the head of four complete legions. Every soldier of the cohort was wounded, *Pompey's* men having discharged at them, during the attack, above thirty thousand arrows, of which the brave *Cassius* received two hundred and thirty on his shield. *Cæsar* therefore made him a present of two hundred thousand sesterces, raised him to the post of primipilus, or first centurion of the legion, and allotted the whole cohort double pay and double allowance of provisions ever after ^b.

AND now *Pompey*, being reduced to the utmost extremity for want of forage, and in great danger of losing all his forces, which for some time had had no other provender but leaves of trees, resolved at all events to force the enemy's lines and escape. With the assistance therefore, and by the advice of two deserters (P), he imbarqued his archers, slingers, and light-armed infantry, and, marching himself by land at the head of sixty cohorts, went to attack that part of *Cæsar's* lines which was next to the sea, and not yet quite finished. He set out from his camp in the dead of the night, and arriving at the post he designed to force by break of day, he began the attack by sea and land at the same time. The ninth legion, which defended that part of the lines, made for some time a vigorous resistance; but being attacked in the rear

^b CÆSAR. *ibid.* l. iii. c. 53. LUCAN. l. vi. 53. SUET. in Julio.

(O) *Cæsar* tells us, that in this extremity such of the army as had been in *Sardinia*, found out the way of making bread of a certain root called *Clæra*, which they steeped in milk; and that when the enemy insulted them on account of the starving condition which they were in, they threw several of these loaves among them, to put them out of all hopes of subduing them by famine. So long as the earth produces such roots, said they, we will not let *Pompey* escape.

(P) These were two brothers *Roscillus* and *Ægus*, *Allobroges*, and men of great distinction in their own

country. They commanded the auxiliaries, whom they had brought to the assistance of *Cæsar*, but defrauded them of their pay, and used them with great rigour, which obliged them to carry their complaints to *Cæsar*, who thereupon privately reprimanded them. The two chiefs, offended at this disgrace, took what money and horses they could with them, and deserted to *Pompey*. As they had narrowly observed all *Cæsar's* circumvallation, and knew the weak parts of it, they directed *Pompey* in this enterprize, and proved very serviceable to him (29).

(29) *Dio Cass.* l. xli. *Cæsar. ibid.* l. iii. c. 60.

a rear by *Pompey's* men, who came by sea and landed between *Cæsar's* two lines, they fled with such precipitation, that the succours *Marcellinus* sent them from a neighbouring post could not stop them. The ensign, who carried the *Roman* eagle at the head of the routed legion, was mortally wounded; but nevertheless, before he died, had presence of mind enough to consign the eagle to the cavalry of his party, desiring them to deliver it to *Cæsar*. *Pompey's* men pursued the fugitives, and made such a slaughter of them, that all the centurions of the first cohort were cut off except one. And now *Pompey's* army broke in upon the posts *Cæsar* had fortified, like a torrent, and were advancing to attack *Marcellinus*, who guarded a neighbouring fort; but *Marc Antony* coming very seasonably to his relief with twelve cohorts, they thought it adviseable to retire. Soon after *Cæsar* himself arrived with a strong reinforcement, and posted himself on the shore in order to prevent such-like attempts for the future. From this post he observed an old camp, which he had made within the place where *Pompey* was inclosed, but afterwards abandoned. Upon his quitting it *Pompey* had taken possession of it, and left a legion to guard it. This post *Cæsar* resolved to reduce, hoping to repair the loss he had sustained on this unfortunate day, by taking the legion which *Pompey* had posted there. Accordingly, he advanced secretly at the head of thirty-three cohorts in two lines, and arriving at the old camp, before *Pompey* could have notice of his march, attacked it with great vigor, forced the first intrenchment, notwithstanding the brave resistance of *Titus Pulcio*, and penetrated to the second, whither the legion had retired. But here his fortune changed on a sudden. His right wing, in looking for an entrance into the camp, marched along the outside of a trench, which *Cæsar* had formerly carried on from the left angle of his camp about four hundred paces to a neighbouring river. This trench they mistook for the rampart of the camp, and being led away, by that mistake, from their left wing, they were soon after prevented from rejoining it by the arrival of *Pompey*, who came up at the head of a legion and a large body of horse. Then the legion, which *Cæsar* had attacked, taking courage, made a brisk sally, drove his men back to the first intrenchment, which they had seized, and there put them in great disorder, while they were attempting to pass the ditch. *Pompey*, in the mean time falling upon them with his cavalry in flank, completed their defeat; and then flying to the enemy's right wing, which had passed the trench mentioned above, and was shut up between that and the ramparts of the old camp, made a most dreadful slaughter of them. The trench was filled with dead bodies, many falling into it in that disorder, and others passing over them and pressing them to death. In this distress *Cæsar* did all he could to stop the flight of his legionaries, but to no purpose; the standard-bearers themselves threw down the *Roman* eagles, when *Cæsar* endeavoured to stop them, and left them in the hands of the enemy, who on this occasion took thirty-two standards; a disgrace which *Cæsar* had never suffered before. He was himself in no small danger of falling by the hand of one of his own men, whom he took hold of when flying, bidding him stand and face about; but the man, apprehensive of the danger he was in, drew his sword and would have killed him, had not one of his guards prevented the blow by cutting off his arm. *Cæsar* lost on this occasion nine hundred and sixty of his foot, four hundred of his horse, five tribunes, and thirty-two centurions. Had *Pompey* attacked *Cæsar's* camp, during this panic, he might have easily made himself master of it, and put an end to the war at one blow. But, being afraid of some ambuscade, he pursued the enemy to the gates of their camp, and then marched back without making any further attempts; which made *Cæsar* say, that *he had been lost without redress, had Pompey known how to make use of his victory*. This loss and disgrace greatly mortified *Cæsar*, but did not discourage him. After he had by his lenity and eloquent speeches, suited to his present circumstances, recovered the spirits of his troops, he decamped and retired in good order to *Apollonia*, where he paid his troops, and left his sick and wounded. From thence he marched into *Macedon*, where *Scipio Metellus*, *Pompey's* father-in-law, was incamped. He hoped either to draw his rival into some plain, or to overpower *Scipio*, if not assisted. He met with great difficulties on his march, the countries through which he passed refusing to supply his army with provisions; to such a degree was his reputation sunk since his last defeat. On his entering *Thessaly* he was met by *Domitius*, one of his lieutenants, whom he had sent with three legions to reduce *Epirus*. Having now got all his forces together, he marched directly to *Gomphi*, the first town of *Thessaly*, which had been formerly in his interest, but now declared against him.

Pompey fortifies Cæsar's lines.

Cæsar defeated.

He retires in to Macedon.

Whereupon he attacked it with so much vigour, that, though the garison was very a numerous and the walls of an uncommon height, he made himself master of it in a few hours. From thence he marched to *Metropolis*, another considerable town of *Theffaly*, which immediately surrendered; as did all the other cities of the country, except *Larissa*, of which *Scipio* had made himself master.

Pompey pursues him.

Murmurs in his army.

Pompey unwilling to engage.

The confidence of Pompey's officers.

ON the other hand, *Pompey*, being continually importuned by the senators and officers of his army, left his camp at *Dyrrachium*, and followed *Cæsar*, firmly resolved not to give him battle, but rather to distress him by keeping close at his heels, straitening his quarters, and cutting off his convoys. As he had frequent opportunities of coming to an engagement, but always declined it, his friends and subalterns began to put ill constructions on his dilatoriness, to his face. Some reproached him with spinning out the war, in order to continue his authority over the *Roman* senate and the foreign kings under his command. *Domitius Abenobarbus* was continually calling him, in derision, *Agamemnon*, and *king of kings*; insinuating thereby, that he had no mind to lay down his sovereign authority, but was pleased to see so many kings and great commanders paying their attendance at his tent. *Favonius*, who affected *Cato's* free way of speaking, complained in a scoffing manner, that by reason of *Pompey's* ambition they should eat no figs that year at *Tusculum*. These reflections, together with the complaints of his soldiers, made him at length resolve to venture a general action. With this design he marched into a large plain near the cities of *Pharsalia* and *Thebes*, which latter was also called *Philippi*, from *Philip*, king of *Macedon* and the father of *Perfes*, who, having reduced the *Thebans*, placed a colony of *Macedonians* in their city. This plain was watered by the *Enipeus*, and surrounded on all sides by high mountains; and *Pompey*, who was still averse from venturing an engagement, pitched his camp on the declivity of a steep mountain, in a place altogether inaccessible. There he was joined by *Scipio*, his father-in-law; at the head of the legions which he had brought with him from *Syria* and *Cilicia*. But, notwithstanding this reinforcement, he was still irresolute, and unwilling to put all to the issue of a single action, being still convinced of the wisdom of his maxim, that it was better to destroy the enemy by fatigues and want, than to engage an army of brave veterans, who were, in a manner, reduced to despair. As he put off from day to day, under various pretences, descending into the plain, where *Cæsar* was incamped, his officers forced him to call a council of war, when all to a man were for venturing a general action the very next day. Thus was *Pompey* obliged to sacrifice his own judgment to the blind ardor of the multitude; and the necessary measures were taken for a general engagement. *Plutarch* and *Cæsar* tell us, that *Pompey's* officers were so confident of victory, that *Domitius Spintber* and *Scipio* quarrelled as if they had already conquered, which of them should succeed *Cæsar* in the office of pontifex maxims. Others sent to *Rome* to hire such houses as were suitable to the ranks of consuls and prætors, as being sure of entering upon those offices as soon as the battle was over. Some put in for the forfeited estates of those who followed *Cæsar*. *Spintber* reserved for his share *Cæsar's* gardens and house at *Baia*, and the house of *Hortensius*. The consuls were settled for several years; but a warm dispute arose about the choice of prætors. The relations of *Hirtius*, whom *Pompey* had sent against the *Parthians*, insisted, that regard should be had for him, though absent. In short, their thoughts ran not so much on conquering, as in what manner they should share and enjoy the fruits of their conquest, as if they were to engage, says *Plutarch*, *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, or some petty king of *Nabathæa*, and not that *Cæsar*, who had stormed a thousand towns, subdued above three hundred different nations, gained innumerable victories, taken a million of men prisoners, and slain as many upon the spot in pitched battles. This presumption was founded on the number of their forces; for *Pompey's* army consisted of forty-five thousand foot, seven thousand horse well mounted and armed, and a great number of dart-men and slingers; whereas *Cæsar* had at most twenty-two thousand foot and a thousand horse.

Pompey's speech to his men.

WHEN the day came, on which the fate of the world was to be decided, *Pompey*, having assembled his troops, made them the following speech, which is recorded by several writers. “As I have been induced by your ardor to venture a battle, contrary to my own judgment, let me see you behave in it with bravery. As you surpass the enemy in numbers, strive to do so in courage and resolution. Look back with pleasure

- a “ pleasure on the glorious battle of *Dyrrachium*; maintain the glory you there
 “ acquired, and suffer not the best cause to sink under the desperate attempts of one,
 “ whose main aim is to deprive you of your liberty, and change the republic into
 “ a monarchy. Remember, that *Pompey* leads you, that the authority of the senate
 “ supports you, and the gods protect you”. Having thus spoke, he caused the gates
 of the camp to be opened, and marched out at the head of his army. *Cæsar* was so
 far from expecting to engage that day, that he had already given the signal for decamp-
 ing, with a design to march towards *Scotusa*, his army being reduced to great straits
 for want of forage and provisions. But while his soldiers were busy in taking down
 their tents and sending away their cattle, servants, and baggage before them, word
 b was brought him by his scouts, that they had seen arms carried to and fro in the
 enemy’s camp, and that they had heard a noise and bustle as of men preparing for
 battle. Not long after other scouts came in with further intelligence, that the enemy
 were marching out of their intrenchments, and that the first ranks were already drawn
 up in the plain. *Cæsar*, transported with joy at this news, told his men, that *the so*
much wished-for day was come at last, when they should fight with men, not with hunger
and famine. Then he ordered the red standard, the usual signal of battle among the
Romans, to be set up before his tent; which was no sooner observed by the soldiers,
 than they left their tents, and with loud shouts of joy repaired to their arms. The
 officers drew up their respective corps, every man falling into his proper rank, without
 c any trouble or noise. When he had drawn up his men, he ordered three legions to
 level the ramparts, and fill up the ditches of his camp, telling them with great con-
 fidence, that they should lodge that night in *Pompey’s* camp. This he said not from
 a dependence on the vain assurances of the augurs and the presages of victory, which
 were brought him from all parts (Q); but on his own address and the experienced
 valour of his veterans. After he had levelled his trenches, he harangued his troops
 according to custom, but with such an air of confidence and satisfaction, as was sufficient
 to have inspired cowards with courage. “ Fellow soldiers, said he, the worst part of
 “ our labours is now past. To-day we are not to fight with hunger and want, but
 “ with men; nay, with those very men who left *Italy*, because they could not stand
 d “ before us, and who would deprive us of the honours that are due to us for a long
 “ course of victories. If therefore you have any grateful sense of my benevolence and
 “ bounty, let it now exert itself; and remember your promises at *Dyrrachium*. You
 “ there vowed, that you would conquer or die; and it is no difficult matter for vete-
 “ rans to conquer raw soldiers, especially when they fight under a general, who, I
 “ know, is driven to a battle contrary to his own judgment. This I say of the *Ita-*
 “ *lians* only; as for the *Asiatics*, give yourselves no concern about them; their own
 “ fears will disperse them. Exert therefore all your valour against the *Roman* legions
 “ and *Italian* cohorts. I have levelled your trenches, that you may have no resource
 “ but in victory, and that the enemy may see, we are determined to lodge in their camp
 “ by our destroying our own.” This said, he marched into the plain, and observing the
 e disposition of the enemy, as he drew near them, regulated his own by it. *Pompey*
 was on the left wing, with the two legions which *Cæsar* had returned to him at the
 beginning of the war. *Scipio*, *Pompey’s* father-in-law, was in the centre, with the
 legions he had brought from *Syria*, and the reinforcements sent by several kings and
 states of *Asia*. The *Cilician* legion and some cohorts, which had served in *Spain*,
 were in the right under the command of *Afranius* (S). As *Pompey’s* right wing was
 covered

*Pompey pre-
pares for bat-
tle.*

*Cæsar’s speech
to his soldiers.*

*The disposition
of the two
armies.*

(Q) He had three days before purified his army by a sacrifice, according to custom, when the augur, upon the death of the first victim, told him, that within three days he should come to a decisive action. *Cæsar* asked him, whether he saw any thing in the intrails, which promised an happy event? That, answered the augur, *you can best tell yourself; for the gods promise a great alteration from the present posture of affairs; if therefore you think yourself happy now, expect worse fortune; if unhappy, hope for better.* The night before the battle, as he went the rounds about midnight, he saw a light in the heaven very bright and flaming, which seemed to pass over his camp and fall into *Pompey’s*; and when *Cæsar’s* men

came to relieve the guard in the morning, they perceived a panic among the enemy (30).

(R) *Cæsar* and *Appian* agree, that *Pompey* posted himself in his left wing; but *Plutarch* places him in the right.

(S) Here again *Plutarch* differs from *Cæsar*, and gives *Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus* the command of the right wing, without so much as mentioning *Afranius*. It is somewhat surprising, that the account which *Cæsar* himself has left us of this memorable battle, should meet with contradiction. Surely his evidence must be of the greatest authority.

covered by the *Enipeus*, he strengthened the left with his slingers, archers, and the seven thousand *Roman* horse, on whom chiefly his party founded their hopes of victory. The whole army was drawn up in three lines with very little spaces between them. In conformity to this disposition, *Cæsar*'s army was drawn up in the following order: The tenth legion, which had on all occasions signalized themselves above all the rest, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been considerably weakened in the action at *Dyrrachium*, the eighth legion was posted so near it, as to be able to support and reinforce it upon occasion. The rest of *Cæsar*'s forces filled up the space between the two wings. *Marc Antony* commanded the left wing, *Sylla* the right, and *Cneius Domitius Calvinus* the main body. As for *Cæsar*, he posted himself on the right over-against *Pompey*, that he might have him always in sight. His army was likewise drawn up in three lines, but with larger spaces between the corps. *Pompey*, as we have hinted above, placed his whole body of horse in his left wing, in order to distress and cut off the tenth legion, at the head of which *Cæsar* always fought in person. Hereupon *Cæsar*, who had only a thousand horse to oppose the enemy's seven thousand, supplied that defect with a body of choice infantry, which he picked out of the legionaries of the third line, and formed into six cohorts. These he placed behind the tenth legion, commanding them to advance to the front as soon as the enemy's cavalry should charge, and together with the legionaries sustain the first onset of the cavalry. He likewise commanded them not to discharge their javelins at a distance, but first to close with the enemy, and then aim only at the faces of the horsemen, who were for the most part young patricians, and therefore, as he rightly imagined, would be more solicitous about preserving their beauty than gaining a victory. Thus was the whole plain covered from *Pharfalia* to the *Enipeus* with two armies, dressed and armed after the same manner, and bearing the same ensigns, the *Roman* eagles. *Pompey* observing how well the enemy kept their ranks, expecting quietly the signal of battle; and on the contrary how impatient and unsteady his own men were, running up and down in great disorder for want of experience, began to be afraid, lest his ranks should be broke upon the first onset; and therefore commanded the foot in the front to keep their ground, and quietly wait for the enemy (T). The two armies, though within reach of each other, kept for some time a mournful silence, which might possibly proceed from the melancholy reflections of both parties. For what could be more affecting, than to consider, that the son had taken arms against the father, brother against brother, citizen against citizen, and friend against friend? At length the trumpets sounded the charge, and *Cæsar*'s army advanced in good order to begin the attack, being encouraged by the example of one *Caius Crastinus*, a centurion, who, at the head of a hundred and twenty men, threw himself upon the enemy's first line with incredible fury. This he did to acquit himself of a promise he had solemnly made to *Cæsar*, who, meeting him as he was going out of his tent in the morning, asked him after some discourse, *What his opinion was touching the event of the battle?* To which he, stretching out his hand, replied aloud, *Thine is the victory, Cæsar; thou shalt conquer gloriously, and I myself this day will be the subject of thy praise, either dead or alive.* In pursuance of this promise he broke out of his rank, as soon as the trumpets sounded, and at the head of his company ran in

The battle of
Pharfalia.
Year after the
flood 2956.
Before Christ
43.
Of Rome
705.

(T) *Cæsar* in his third book of the civil war blames this conduct. We shall give the reader a translation of the whole passage from his own words; for every thing spoken by such a man as *Cæsar* ought to be kept intire: "There was just as much space between the two armies, says he, as was sufficient for both to meet and charge. But *Pompey* had ordered his men to receive the enemy's onset without stirring, and keep their posts, till *Cæsar*'s army by charging first should be disordered. This he is said to have done by the advice of *Triarius*, to the end, that the first force and impetuosity of those troops might abate and be weakened, and their ranks thinned; and that then those, who had remained firm in their posts, might attack them with better success, when they were thus broken and dispersed. Besides, he was in hopes that their javelins would do less execution, if they

received them in their posts, than if they advanced to meet them, and that *Cæsar*'s soldiers, running the whole void or space, instead of meeting them in the middle of it, would come up out of breath and wearied. But, in my opinion, this was founded upon no manner of reason, because there is a natural vehemence and alacrity implanted in every man, which is kindled in the mind by an eagerness and impatience to begin the onset, which should not be checked, but rather encouraged, by the general. Our ancestors therefore wisely ordained, that trumpets should sound on every side, and all the soldiers raise a shout, conceiving that those were the most proper means to animate and encourage their own troops, and daunt the enemy (31)." Thus far *Cæsar*. However, it is certain, that generals of great fame and experience have sometimes done as *Pompey* did.

- a in upon the enemy, and made a great slaughter of them. But while he was still pressing forward, forcing his way through the first line, one of *Pompey's* men ran him in at the mouth with such violence, that the point of the sword came out at the hind-part of his neck. Upon his death *Pompey's* soldiers took courage, and with great bravery stood the enemy's onset. While the foot was thus sharply engaged in the centre, *Pompey's* horse in the left wing marched up confidently, and, having first widened their ranks with a design to surround *Cæsar's* right wing, charged his cavalry, and forced them to give ground (U). Hereupon *Cæsar* ordered his horse to retreat a little, and give way to the six cohorts, which he had posted in the rear as a body of reserve. These, upon a signal given coming up, charged the enemy's horse with that resolution
- b and good order, which is peculiar to men who have spent all their lives in camps. They remembered their instructions, not striking at the legs or thighs of the enemy, but aiming only at their faces. This unexpected and new manner of fighting had the desired effect. For the young patricians, whom *Cæsar* contemptuously calls the *pretty young dancers*, not being able to bear the thoughts of having their faces deformed with scars, turned their backs, and, covering their faces with their hands, fled in the utmost confusion, leaving the foot at the mercy of the enemy. *Cæsar's* men did not pursue the fugitives, but charging the foot of that wing now naked and unguarded, surrounded them, and cut most of them in pieces. *Pompey* was so transported with rage in seeing the flower of his forces thus put to flight, or cut in pieces, that he left
- c his army, and retired slowly towards his camp, looking more like a man distracted *Pompey retires to his camp, and his army is defeated.* and beside himself, than one who by his exploits had acquired the surname of *The Great* (W). When he had reached the camp, he retired to his tent, without speaking a word to any, and continued there, like one whom the gods had deprived of his senses, till his whole army was defeated. *Cæsar* no sooner saw himself master of the field, than he marched to attack the enemy's intrenchments, that *Pompey* might not have time to recollect himself. When *Pompey* was informed that his rival was advancing to attack his intrenchments, he then first seemed to have recovered his senses, and cried out, *What! into my camp to?* He said no more; but immediately laying aside the marks of his dignity, and putting on such a garment as might best favour his
- d flight, he stole out at the decuman gate, and took the road to *Larissa*, which city had hitherto shewn great attachment to him. In the mean time, *Cæsar* began the attack *Cæsar makes himself master of Pompey's camp.* on the enemy's camp, which was vigorously defended by the cohorts *Pompey* had left to guard it; but they were at length forced to yield (X). *Cæsar* was not a little surprised, when, after having forced the intrenchments, he found the enemy's tents and pavilions richly adorned with carpets and hangings, their couches strewn with flowers, their tables ready spread, and side-boards set out with abundance of plate, bowls, and glasses, and some of them even filled with wine. So great was the confidence of *Pompey's* party, that they made preparations before-hand for pleasures to be enjoyed after the victory, which they thought certain. In *Pompey's* tent *Cæsar*
- e found the box in which he kept his letters; but, with a moderation and magnanimity worthy

(U) *Cæsar* himself owns, that his cavalry gave way and were in danger of being cut in pieces, when the six cohorts advanced to support them. *Plutarch* therefore must be mistaken, when he says, that these cohorts attacked *Pompey's* cavalry before they had time to charge that of *Cæsar*. The memoirs he followed in his account of this battle seem not to have been the most exact.

(W) *Plutarch* applies to *Pompey*, as he is retiring before *Cæsar*, a passage in the eleventh *Iliad*, where *Homer* speaks in a lofty manner of the flight of *Ajax* before *Hector*.

But partial *Jove* espousing *Hector's* part,
Shot heav'n-bred horror through the *Grecian's*
heart;
Confus'd, unnerv'd in *Hector's* presence grown;
Amaz'd he stood, with terrors not his own.
O'er his broad back his moony shield he threw,
And glaring round with tardy steps withdrew.

Pope.

(X) *Cæsar* tells us, that the cohorts appointed to

defend the camp made a vigorous resistance; but being at length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he resolved to invest them. But before he had finished his lines, want of water obliged them to abandon that post, and retire towards *Larissa*. *Cæsar* pursued the fugitives at the head of the fourth legion, and after six miles march came up with them. But they, not caring to engage a victorious legion led on by *Cæsar*, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though *Cæsar's* men were quite spent, and ready to faint with the excessive heat and the fatigue of the whole day, yet by his obliging manner he prevailed upon them to cut off the convenience of the water from the enemy by a trench. This obliged the unfortunate fugitives to come to a capitulation, throw down their arms, and implore the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except some senators, who, as it was now night, escaped in the dark. *Cæsar* received those who surrendered with all the clemency and kindness imaginable, forbidding his soldiers to offer them the least insult, or even to plunder their baggage.

worthy of himself, he burnt them all without reading one, saying; that he had rather be ignorant of crimes, than obliged to punish them ^b.

THE next day, when the dead were numbered, it appeared that *Cæsar* had scarce lost two hundred men, among whom were about thirty centurions, whom *Cæsar* caused to be buried with great solemnity. He did particular honours to the body of *Craſtinus*, who had begun the battle, and ordered his ashes to be deposited in a tomb, which he erected to his memory. On *Pompey's* side the number of the dead amounted to fifteen thousand according to some, and to twenty-five thousand according to others (Y). *Asinius Pollio*, as quoted by *Plutarch*, tells us, that *Cæsar* when he saw the field of battle covered with many dead bodies, cried out with a deep sigh; *This they would have; they brought me, by their obstinacy, to the sad necessity of conquering them to secure myself.* Among the dead were found the bodies of ten senators and forty knights. One of the senators was *Domitius Abenobarbus*, who fled from the camp when *Cæsar* attacked it; but being exhausted with fatigue, a body of horse came up with him, and left him dead on the plain of *Pharsalia*. *Cæsar* took twenty-four thousand prisoners, eight eagles, and a hundred and eighty ensigns. All the Roman citizens were immediately by his orders set at liberty; and it must be owned, that no conqueror ever took more pleasure than *Cæsar* in acts of clemency. Some writers ascribe his moderation to policy; but it is manifest from his whole conduct before, as well as after, the battle of *Pharsalia*, that he was endowed with a great fund of good-nature and humanity. He had always shewn a particular affection for young *Marcus Brutus*, whom he believed to be his son (Z); and therefore, as he had sided with *Pompey* and fought under his banners, he was under the utmost concern in not seeing him appear after the battle; nor was his pleasure less when he saw him safe, surrendering himself to him, and imploring his clemency. He received him with inexpressible joy and marks of the most tender and sincere friendship, not suspecting then, that he would one day become an accomplice of his death.

His clemency
and moderation.

Cæsar resolves
to pursue
Pompey.

Cæsar, though victorious, could not think the work complete so long as his rival lived. His fleets were still masters of the sea. *Lælius*, who commanded one of them had lately besieged *Vatinius*, *Cæsar's* lieutenant, in *Brundisium*, and *Caius Cassius* had burnt above forty of his galleys in the straits of *Messana*. Besides, the remains of his troops might unite again, and, by the help of new levies and auxiliaries from foreign kings, make as formidable an army as the former; since *Egypt*, *Africa*, *Numidia*, *Pontus*, *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, seemed to have espoused his cause with great zeal. *Cato*, whom *Pompey* had left at *Dyrrachium* with fifteen cohorts and three hundred galleys, might follow him, and renew the war in some other country. So that *Pompey's* party, though weakened, was not intirely destroyed. *Cæsar* therefore, in order to complete the work, either by the death or captivity of his competitor, resolved to set all other things aside, and pursue *Pompey* into what part soever of the world he should retire. Pursuant to this resolution, after he had stayed two days at *Pharsalia*, to return thanks to the gods for the victory he had gained, and to refresh his soldiers, he set out on the third with his cavalry, advancing every day as far as he possibly could, while one legion followed him by more easy marches ^c.

Pompey's
flight and ad-
ventures.

As for *Pompey*, he took the rout, as we have hinted above, to *Larissa*. When he had got a little way from the camp, he dismounted, and finding the enemy did not pursue him, walked on leisurely with his small retinue, wholly taken up with such thoughts as were natural to a person of his condition and circumstances. He had been for the space of thirty-four years together accustomed to conquest and victory, and was then at last in his old age beginning to know the calamities of war in slaughter and flight. He considered, with the greatest concern imaginable, that he had lost in one hour all the glory and power, which he had been gaining for so many years in innumerable battles; and that he, who a little before was guarded by a mighty army and

^d PLUT in Pomp. & Cæsar. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. DIO CASS. l. xli. CÆSAR. bell. civil. l. iii. c. 60 — 91. ^e CÆSAR. bell. civil. l. iii. APPIAN. l. ii.

(Y) *Appian* quotes some writers, who made *Cæsar's* loss amount to twelve hundred legionaries. *Asinius Pollio*, who was present in this action and fought in *Cæsar's* army, reduces the number of the slain on *Pompey's* side to six thousand men. But he is contradicted by all the ancients.

(Z) *Cæsar* was passionately in love with *Servilia* the mother of *Brutus*, who gave herself up intirely to him; whence *Cæsar*, as *Plutarch* observes, had reason to believe that *Brutus* was his son.

- a and attended by kings, was now flying in so mean a condition, and with so small a retinue, that his very enemies could not know him. Thus he came to *Larissa*, but would not enter the city, notwithstanding the pressing invitations of the inhabitants, lest their kindness to him should provoke *Cæsar* and bring them into trouble; nay, he exhorted them to submit to the conqueror, and have timely recourse to his clemency. From *Larissa* he pursued his rout with *L. Lentulus*, the last year's consul, *P. Lentulus*, and the senator *Favonius*, and in the evening reached the vale of *Tempe* in *Thessaly*, greatly fatigued and destitute of all necessaries of life. There, as he was very thirsty, he kneeled down, and drank out of a river, which watered that fruitful plain. Then rising up, he crossed the valley, and, coming to the sea-side, betook himself to a poor fisherman's cottage, where he passed the remainder of the night. How dreadful this night must have been, not so much on account of the inconveniencies of the place, as of his own tormenting reflections, we leave the reader to judge. The next morning by break of day, he went into a small boat on the river *Peneus*, and, taking his freemen along with him, dismissed his slaves, advising them to go boldly to *Cæsar*, and not be afraid. As he was going in the boat along the shore, he happened to spy a great ship of burden, riding at anchor and just ready to set sail. The master of the ship, by name *Peticius*, a Roman citizen (A), knowing *Pompey*, took him into his ship, together with the two *Lentuli*, *Favonius*, and such of his attendants as he thought fit. Soon after they had got aboard, they discovered *Deiotarus*, tetrarch of *Galatia*, who had served under *Pompey* and made his escape after the battle, flying full speed towards the shore. As the request of *Pompey*, *Peticius* stayed and took him in likewise. *Cicero* tells us, that this prince had joined *Pompey* before the battle, depending on the flight of birds, which, he thought, promised his arms good success. As the illustrious Roman had dismissed his attendants, *Favonius* performed the meanest offices about him, not scrupling to wait upon him at table and help to undress him. The ship pursued her course, touched at *Amphipolis*, on the confines of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, where *Pompey* took some money of his friends for his necessary expences, and in a few days made one of the ports of the island of *Lesbos*, with a design to take in *Cornelia*, *Pompey's* wife, and his son *Sextus*, whom in the beginning of the war he had sent to *Mitylene*, the capital of the island. He no sooner arrived in the port, than he sent a messenger into the city, not caring to come himself ashore, with news very different from what *Cornelia* expected. For she, having heard no news from her husband since his success near *Dyrrhacium*, believed that the war was near ended, and that there was nothing more remaining for *Pompey*, than to pursue *Cæsar* and disperse the few troops he had still with him. The messenger, finding her still in this persuasion, informed her of the misfortune of her husband with his tears, before he could deliver her any message; and the unfortunate *Cornelia* no sooner heard of his defeat and forlorn condition, then she fell down in a swoon, and continued a long time senseless. When she came to herself, she started up and hastened to the sea-side, where the sight of *Pompey* renewed her grief. She fainted away a second time in his arms, and, as soon as she recovered her speech, she vented her passion in the following words; *It is the effect of my cruel destiny, not of yours, that I see you thus dejected and reduced to one poor vessel, who, before your marriage with the unfortunate Cornelia, were attended by a fleet of five hundred sail. Why therefore should you come to see me, or why rather should you not have left her to a severer fate, who has been the cause of all your misfortunes? How happy a woman had I been, if I had breathed out my last, before I received the fatal news from Parthia of the death of Crassus? Or how prudent, if I had followed his destiny as I designed? But I was reserved for a greater mischief, for the ruin of Pompey the Great. Pompey is said to have answered her thus:*
- f Dear *Cornelia*, you have been hitherto accustomed only to the smiles of fortune, which perhaps has deceived you in this, that she has been constant to me beyond her custom; but it behoves

Pompey arrives in Mitylene.

The meeting of Pompey and his wife Cornelia.

(A) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Peticius* had dreamt the night before, that he saw *Pompey* in a despicable condition, and that, while he was telling his dream to the passengers, one of the mariners acquainted him, that he saw a little boat putting off from the shore, and that the persons in it held out their hands, as if they desired to be taken into his vessel. Hereupon *Peticius* standing up, observed a man in the

same dress, in which *Pompey* had appeared to him in his dream; and not doubting but it was he, he expressed with tears his concern for him; and ordering the mariners to let down the ship's boat, he called him by his name, as he drew near, and took him in with all his attendants, ready to convey him to what part of the world he pleased (32).

boves us, who are mortals, to bear with these afflictions, and try our fortune once again: ^a neither ought we to despond; for it is as possible for us to retrieve our former happiness, as it was to fall from it into our present calamity. All the Mitylenians, who ran to the port to pay their homage to their old protector, were witnesses of this interview, and, being touched with compassion, invited Pompey into their city. But he returning them thanks for their kind invitation, answered, that he would by no means enter their gates, lest he should draw upon them the resentment of the conqueror, to whom he advised them to submit, since he was a man of great goodness and clemency. Then turning to Cratippus the philosopher, who then lived at Mitylene and came among the rest to pay his respects to his old friend, he began to repine and argue with him, touching the dispensations of providence. But Cratippus modestly declined the dis- ^b pute for fear of heightening his sorrow, and only encouraged him to bear with constancy his present misfortunes. Plutarch observes here, that the philosopher might have easily answered his objections, by shewing, it was necessary, on account of the disorders which reigned in the republic, that the government should be lodged in the hands of a single person, and by asking him, what grounds men had to believe that he, if conqueror, would have used his good fortune better than Cæsar. But the dispensations of providence, adds Plutarch, are in the hands of the Supreme Being, and there we must leave them ^f.

He arrives at Attalia.

Pompey, having taken his wife and friends aboard, sailed from Mitylene, steering his course towards Cilicia. The first place he touched at was Attalia, a city of Pam- ^c phylia, where he found sixty senators of his party, seven or eight ships of his fleet, and some bands of soldiers. Here he was informed, that Cato had rallied a considerable body of troops, and was passed with them over into Africa. From Pamphylia he sailed with his small fleet for the island of Cyprus, where he received advice, that the Rhodians had refused to admit into their ports one of the Lentuli and his attendants, and that Antioch, the capital of Syria, had, at the instigation of the Roman citizens who traded there, declared for Cæsar. Hereupon being at a loss whither he should steer his course next, he summoned a council of the few faithful friends who followed him, to consider with them what place would yield him the safest refuge and retreat, in the present situation of his affairs. Some advised him to pass over into Africa, and there ^d join Juba king of Mauritania, who had espoused his cause and exerted himself in it with great zeal. Pompey himself was for retiring into Parthia, as the only country that was fit to protect him in his present distress, and supply him with a sufficient force to make head against his competitor. But this was looked upon by all his friends as the project of a man overwhelm'd with grief and reduced to despair: they repre- sented to him, that the Parthians were the most inveterate enemies of the Roman name; that they had hitherto stood neuter, and declared. that they would not espouse either party; that they were overjoyed to see the republic weakening herself by her own forces, and lastly, that it was dangerous to expose the young and beautiful Cornelia to the brutalities of a dissolute court. This last motive, which was of more weight ^e with him than all the rest, induced him to drop the design of seeking protection among the enemies of Rome, though he was much perplexed where to find a safe retreat among her friends and allies. Among those who attended the illustrious Roman in his flight was Theophanes, a native of Mitylene, who, as he was famous for the extent of his knowledge, had a great influence over Pompey; and this he made use of on the present occasion, persuading him to retire to Egypt, which was but a voyage of three days sailing, where he had reason to expect from young Ptolemy, his pupil, all possible assistance, since he had lately restored his father to his kingdom, which favour the young prince had gratefully acknowledged, by sending him a fleet to be employed against Cæsar. As soon as the advice of Theophanes prevailed, Pompey and ^f Cornelia with their attendants weighed anchor, and, leaving Cyprus, steered towards Egypt, some in galleys, others in ships of burden ^g.

He designs to retire into Parthia.

Theophanes persuades him to fly into Egypt.

Cæsar pursues him.

IN the mean time, Cæsar, wholly intent on pursuing his rival, arrived at the Hellespont, which he ventured to cross with a small number of galleys, but was met in his passage by Pompey's fleet under the command of Caius Cassius. Cæsar did not avoid him, though the fleet he commanded consisted, according to Appian, of seventy ships; but boldly making towards him, summoned him to surrender. Cassius was so struck with the boldness of Cæsar, and surpris'd at his intrepidity and good fortune, that

^f PLUT. in Pomp. DIO, l. xlii. p. 480. DIO, l. xlii. & LUCAN. l. viii.

^g PLUT. ibid. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 53. APPIAN. ibid.

Appraised by
Cæsar's de-
cree.

The Alexan-
drian war.

of his forces were dispersed all over the city in their quarters, he would have been ^a overpowered, and tore in pieces by the populace, had he not from a balcony spoke to them, and assured them, that the difference between *Ptolemy* and his sister should be soon made up to the satisfaction of both. Accordingly the next day having assembled the people, he brought out *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* to them, and then causing their father's will publicly to be read, wherein it was ordered that his eldest son and eldest daughter should, according to the custom of the country, be joined in marriage and reign together, under the guardianship of the *Roman* people, he decreed, in virtue of that guardianship, which, he said, was vested in him, that *Ptolemy*, as being the eldest son, and *Cleopatra*, as being the eldest daughter of the deceased king, should, according to the tenor of the said will, reign jointly; and that *Ptolemy*, the ^b younger son of *Auletes*, and his other daughter, named *Arfinoe*, should reign in *Cyprus*. This last he added by way of gift to appease the people; for *Cyprus* had been some time before subdued by the *Romans*, and was then governed, like the other *Roman* provinces, by a prætor sent annually from *Rome*. *Photinus* was the only person in the assembly, who did not applaud this decree. As that minister had been the chief cause of the breach between *Cleopatra* and her brother, and also of her expulsion out of the kingdom, he was well apprised, that both his life and authority would be brought into danger by her return, and therefore exerted his utmost endeavours to prevent the execution of the decree. In order to this, he not only sowed new discontents among the people, but prevailed upon *Achillas* to bring his army, consisting of ^c twenty thousand men, from *Pelusium* to *Alexandria*, in order to drive *Cæsar* out of the city. This gave rise to the *Alexandrian* war, so famous in history, of which we have given a very particular account in our history of *Egypt*°. King *Ptolemy* perishing, in this war, *Alexandria* and all *Egypt* submitted to the conqueror, who thereupon settled *Cleopatra* and the surviving *Ptolemy*, her younger brother, on the throne, as king and queen; which was putting the whole power into her hands, *Ptolemy* being then only eleven years old; but as he had engaged in so dangerous a war only for the sake of that lewd woman, he made it turn the most he could to her advantage. In this war perished not only the king, but likewise *Achillas* and *Photinus*, with all the accomplices of *Pompey's* murder, except *Theodotus*, who, abandoning *Egypt* for fear of ^d *Cæsar*, wandered up and down, despised and hated by all men, till *M. Brutus*, after *Cæsar's* death, finding him in *Asia*, which was his province, caused him to be put to death, after he had made him suffer the most exquisite torments he could invent. The ashes of *Pompey* were some time after conveyed to *Rome*, and delivered to his wife *Cornelia*, who buried them at his country-house in the neighbourhood of *Alba*®.

C H A P. XIII.

The history of Rome, from the death of Pompey to the death of Cæsar.

Honours heap-
ed upon Cæsar
at Rome.

^e **W**HEN the news of *Pompey's* death reached *Rome*, the senate and people strove who should heap most honours on the conqueror, now become absolute master of their liberties, lives, and fortunes. He was by the unanimous consent of all the orders of the republic, proclaimed consul for five years, named dictator, contrary to the ancient custom, not for six months only, but for a whole year, declared tribune of the people, and head of that college for his life; empowered to make peace

° Vide Hist. Univerf. Vol III. p. 675.

® PLUT. in Pomp. DIO. PATERÇ. ibid.

Pompey the
Great cruelly
murdered, &c.

showing any manner of civility. Since therefore they all continued silent, *Pompey* took a little book in his hand, wherein he had wrote a *Greek* oration, which he intended to speak to *Ptolemy*, and began to read it. When the boat drew near the shore, *Cornelia*, who never lost sight of her husband, and was very impatient to see the event, observed several persons of distinction running to the sea-side to meet him. Upon this the disconsolate *Cornelia* took courage, imagining they were coming to wait upon *Pompey* and conduct him to the king; but in that instant, as *Philip* his freed-man lent him his hand to help him out of the boat, *Septimius*, coming behind him, ran him through with his sword: at the same time *Achillas* and *Salvius* falling upon him with their drawn swords, the unfortunate *Roman*, having no means of defending himself or making his escape, took up his gown with both hands, and covering his face neither spoke or did any thing unworthy of himself; but giving a groan, patiently received, without stirring, all their thrusts. *Cornelia*, who had kept her eyes fixed on her husband the whole time, seeing the swords of the assassins glitter about him, gave such a shriek as was heard on the shore; but the mariners on board her galley, seeing the *Egyptian* fleet under sail, immediately weighed anchor, and being favoured by a brisk gale, saved the virtuous *Cornelia* and her son *Sextus*, from captivity and the cruel outrages they had reason to fear from such barbarous and inhuman assassins. *Cornelia* and her son were conveyed safe to *Cyprus*; but some of the other vessels were taken by the *Egyptians*, and all those who were on board most cruelly murdered¹.

THE head of *Pompey* was cut off, in order to be embalmed for a present to *Cæsar*; but the body was thrown naked upon the shore, and there exposed to public view. *Philip* the freed-man stayed by it, watching it till the multitude had satisfied their curiosity; and then washing it with sea-water, he wrapt it up in a garment of his own, and finding some rotten planks of a little fisher-boat, he gathered them together for a funeral pile. While he was laying them together, an old *Roman*, who had served from his youth under *Pompey*, came and helped him to perform the funeral rites (B). Such was the end of a hero, who in his youth had acquired the surname of *Great*, and had triumphed over three parts of the world; but having unfortunately imbarqued in a civil war, more out of a desire of becoming sole master of the republic, than a zeal for her preservation when on the brink of ruin, he perished in it through his own ill conduct (C). The next Day *Lucius Lentulus*, the last year's consul, who had left the island of *Cyprus*, and was sailing along the coast, observing a funeral pile, and *Philip*, whom he did not know, standing by it, from some secret apprehension of *Pompey's* misfortune, came ashore, and being told by *Philip*, that his apprehensions were too true, he said sighing, *Alas! is this the fate of Pompey the Great!* and continuing immoveable, expressed his grief with a flood of tears. While he was thus bewailing the death of *Pompey*, he himself was seized by the king's guards and thrown into a dark prison, where he was soon after put to death.^m

Cæsar arrives
in Egypt.

IN the mean time, *Cæsar*, pursuing *Pompey* the same way he fled, steered his course towards *Egypt*, and arrived at *Alexandria* just as the news was brought thither of his death. Soon after he landed and entered the city, when the head of his rival was presented to him, some say by *Theodotus*, others by *Achillas*, wrapt up in a veil, together with his seal, on which was engraved a lion holding a sword in his paw; but

¹ PLUT. in Pomp. LIV. l. cxii. APPIAN. p. 481. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 53. DIO, l. xlii. ^m PLUT. in Pomp. CÆS. bell. civil. l. iii.

(B) The poet *Lucan* tells us, that *Pompey's* body was thrown into the sea, and that *Servius Codrus*, who had been formerly *Pompey's* quaestor and had followed him from *Cyprus*, brought it ashore, and buried it. His words are:

*E latebris pavidus decurrit ad æquora Codrus,
Quæstor ab Idalio Cynereæ littore Cypri;
Infaustus Magni fuerat comes: ille per umbras
Ausus ferre gradum, victum pietate timorem
Compulit, ut mediis quæsitum corpus in undis
Duceret ad terram, traheretque ad littora Magnum.*

Aurelius Victor adds, that *Codrus*, having burnt the body, buried the ashes, and on the tomb wrote the following words: *Here lies Pompey the Great.*

(C) Had he continued in his camp at *Dyrrachium*, and near the sea, of which he was master, he might have forced his rival to wander from province to province in search of provisions, and destroyed his army either by gradual losses, or useless conquests; but he suffered himself to be drawn into *Theffaly*, and engaged his rival, when he might have conquered him without striking a blow, *Cæsar's* army being then reduced to the utmost extremity for want of necessaries. 'Tis true indeed, that his army forced him, in a manner, to quit his first camp; but this want of authority over his troops is just matter of blame in a general, who bore the surname of *the Great*.

a but *Cæsar*, with the utmost horror, turned his eyes from so dismal an object; and, reflecting on his former friendship with the deceased, the inconstancy of fortune, and the calamities which often attend the greatest men, burst into tears, and with a thundering voice ordered the messenger immediately to be gone. He kept the seal; but ordered the head to be buried with great solemnity in the suburbs of *Alexandria*, where he erected a temple to *Nemesis* the goddess of revenge. At the same time he prevailed upon *Ptolemy* to set at liberty all the friends of the illustrious deceased, who had been taken as they were straggling in those parts, and by his orders thrown into prison. These all joined their benefactor, who received them with marks of the most sincere friendship, signifying in all the letters he wrote to his friends at *Rome*, that the greatest advantage and pleasure he reaped from his victory was, his saving every day the lives of some *Roman* citizens, who had taken arms against him ^a.

Causes Pompey's head to be buried.

Cæsar being detained at *Alexandria* by the *Etesian* winds (D), which continue in those parts during the dog-days, in the beginning of which he entered that port, spent his time in demanding the money which the present king's father owed him, and in hearing and deciding the controversy between young *Ptolemy* and his sister *Cleopatra*. *Auletes*, as we have related in the history of *Egypt*, had engaged *Cæsar*, during his first consulate, by a promise of ten thousand talents, to get him confirmed in his kingdom by the *Roman* senate and people, and accounted among the friends and allies of that powerful state. Part only of this sum was then paid; and *Cæsar*, wanting money to maintain his army, exacted the rest with rigour; which *Photinus*, who was *Ptolemy*'s prime minister, by several artifices made appear to the people to be greater than it was: for he stripped the temples of all their silver and gold vessels, and ordered the king's table to be served in wooden and earthen dishes, giving out, in order to stir up the mutinous populace of *Alexandria* against *Cæsar*, that he had seized all the silver and gold belonging to the temples of the gods and to the king. He also measured out to *Cæsar*'s soldiers, with a design to pick a quarrel with him before he was joined by the rest of his troops, musty and unwholesome corn, telling him, when he complained, that he must take it and be contented, since his army was maintained at the cost of another. This contemptuous treatment made *Cæsar*, tho' he had then only three thousand two hundred foot and eight hundred horse with him, exact with more rigour the sum owing him; but *Photinus*, instead of paying it, pressed him every day to be gone, advising him to look after his other affairs, which were of greater consequence than such a paltry debt. *Cæsar* answered, That he was not come into *Egypt* to ask counsel, but to exact the money which the late king owed him, and to compose the differences between the present king and his sister *Cleopatra*, who were then at war. Accordingly soon after he issued out a peremptory order, injoining each of them to disband their armies, and bring the cause to his tribunal for a final decision. This was looked upon by the *Egyptians* as highly injurious to the sovereign majesty of their king, who, being an independent prince, acknowledged no superior, and therefore was not to be judged by any man. To this *Cæsar* answered, That he did not take upon him to judge as a superior, but as an arbitrator appointed by the will of the late king, who had put his children under the tuition of the *Roman* people. This quieting all for the present, the cause was brought before *Cæsar*, and advocates were appointed on both sides to plead at his tribunal; but, in the mean time, *Cæsar*, being greatly taken with the charms and graceful behaviour of *Cleopatra*, from an impartial judge became her advocate, and betrayed a great inclination to favour her. This provoked *Ptolemy*, who thereupon stirred up the whole city of *Alexandria* against *Cæsar*. The *Roman* soldiers, who were near the king, seized him, while he was encouraging the enraged multitude to take up arms in defence of their sovereign, and secured him in the house where their general lodged; but nevertheless, as the rest

Photinus endeavours to stir up the Alexandrians against Cæsar.

Cæsar summons Ptolemy and Cleopatra before him.

A tumult in Alexandria.

of

^a PLUT. APPIAN. CÆS. ibid.

(D) By *Etesian* winds are meant such as blow at stated times of the year, from what part soever of the compass they come. They are so called from the Greek word ετος *a year*, being yearly or anniversary winds, such as our seamen call *monsoons* and *trade-winds*, which, in some parts of the world, continue constantly blowing for certain stated seasons

of the year. Thus the north winds, which, during the dog-days, constantly blow upon the coasts of *Egypt*, and hinder all ships from sailing out of *Alexandria* for that season, are called *Etesia*, in *Cæsar*'s commentaries. In other authors the west and east winds are called *Etesia*, when they continue blowing for certain seasons of the year (33).

(33) Vide *Salmasii, exercit. in Solin. p. 421, &c.*

^a that he readily obeyed the summons, and joined *Cæsar* with his numerous fleet ^b. *Cicero* seems to insinuate ^c, that *Cassius* did not join *Cæsar*, till after the war of *Alexandria*, when the conqueror was sailing from *Egypt* to *Pontus*, to make war upon *Pharnaces* who had declared for *Pompey*. *Cæsar*, on his arrival in *Asia*, to gratify *Theopompus*, who had made a collection of fables, enfranchised the *Cnidians* his country-men, and remitted one third of the taxes to all the *Asiatics*. He likewise received under his protection the *Ionians*, *Æolians*, and other nations of *Asia Minor*, who came to submit to him and implore his protection. As he could have no certain account of the rout *Pompey* had taken, he resolved to make what haste he could to *Egypt*, ^b fearing his rival should get possession of that rich and wealthy kingdom, rally his forces there, and, with the assistance of young *Ptolemy*, a prince highly obliged to him, renew the war. With this design he sailed for *Rhodes*, stayed there till he was joined by two legions from the continent, and then set sail for *Egypt*, without communicating his resolution to any but *M. Brutus*, in whom he reposed an intire confidence ^k.

BUT *Pompey* arrived in *Egypt* before *Cæsar*; and being informed, that *Ptolemy* was at war with his sister and incamped in the neighbourhood of *Pelusium*, he steered his course that way, and sent a messenger before to acquaint the king with his arrival, and implore his protection. The king himself, who was very young, returned no answer to the messenger; but *Photinus*, *Achillas*, and *Theodotus*, who were the young prince's chief counsellors and had the greatest influence over him, consulted among themselves about the reception of *Pompey*. *Photinus* was the chief minister of state, *Achillas* the general of the armies, and *Theodotus* a mercenary teacher of rhetoric, but one who was in great esteem with the king, as being his preceptor. While these three were consulting, *Pompey*, riding at anchor at a great distance from the shore, was forced to wait the result of their deliberations; that *Pompey*, as *Plutarch* observes, who thought it beneath him to owe his safety to *Cæsar*, a Roman and his father-in-law, stooped so low as to lie at the discretion of three unworthy favourites. *Photinus* and *Achillas* were for receiving *Pompey*, thinking it would be a reproach to the Egyptian nation to abandon one in his distress, who had been guardian, friend, and zealous benefactor to their king; but *Theodotus* undertook to prove, that it was equally dangerous in that juncture of affairs to admit and refuse him admittance. *If we receive him*, said he, *we shall make Cæsar our enemy, and Pompey our master: if we dismiss him, we shall render ourselves obnoxious to Pompey for that inhospitable expulsion, and to Cæsar for letting him escape.* He concluded, *that the safest expedient was to send for him and put him to death; for by that means they would ingratiate themselves with the one, and have no reason to fear the other*; adding with a smile, *A dead man cannot bite.* This cruel advice was approved of, and the execution of it committed to *Achillas*, who, taking with him *L. Septimius* and *Salvius*, the former once a tribune and the latter a centurion in the Roman armies, and three or four officers more, went on board a small vessel, and made up towards *Pompey's* galley, while the whole Egyptian army stood in battle array on the shore. The chief men, who attended *Pompey*, alarmed at the meanness of this reception, advised him to weigh anchor without delay and launch into the main; but the hero encouraged them, and in the mean time the Egyptian boat drawing near, *Septimius*, standing up first, saluted *Pompey* in Latin, giving him the title of *imperator*. *Achillas* complimented him in Greek, and invited him on board his vessel, telling him, that the sea was so shallow near the shore, that his galley could not avoid striking upon some shelve. *Pompey*, observing several of the king's galleys well manned, and the shore covered with soldiers, began to suspect some treachery; but nevertheless, without betraying the least distrust, he took his leave of *Cornelia*, who already bewailed his death, and commanding two centurions, with *Philip* one of his freed-men and a slave called *Scenes*, to go on board the Egyptian boat before him, he himself followed, repeating to his wife and son as he went into the boat, the following iambics of *Sophocles*: *He that once falls into a tyrant's pow'r, Becomes a slave tho' he was free before.* As those who were in the boat kept a profound silence, without paying the least civility or speaking a kind word to him all the way, in order to begin a conversation with *Septimius*, *Pompey*, looking earnestly upon him, addressed him thus. *Metinks I should know you friend; have we not been formerly fellow-soldiers?* But *Septimius* answered with a nod only, without shewing

Pompey arrives on the coast of Egypt.

The Egyptians consult about the receiving of Pompey.

The advice of Theodotus.

Pompey's reception.

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Q q

^b Suet. in Jul. Cæs. c. 63. Appian. p. 482, 483. in Bruto. Appian. p. 483. Cæs. ibid.

^c Cic. ad Attic. l. ii. epist. 15. ^k Plut.

a peace and war with whom he pleased, to levy what forces he thought fit, &c. so that all the dignities and power of the republic now centered in *Cæsar* alone, who, without any violence or proscriptions, was raised to a higher pitch of power and authority, than *Sylla* had acquired, by the death and banishment of innumerable citizens. As the new dictator could not then go in person to *Rome*, to take possession of the many dignities conferred upon him, he appointed *Marc Antony* his general of the horse, and sent him with a detachment of troops to the capital, committing to him the government of *Italy*, during his absence. As for the dictator himself, after he had put an end to the war of *Alexandria*, and settled his favourite *Cleopatra* on the throne of *Egypt*, he was forced to quit that kingdom, and march into the north of *Asia* against *Pharnaces*, king of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, son of *Mithridates the Great*, who finding the *Romans* engaged in a civil war, had laid hold of that opportunity to attempt the recovery of his father's dominions in *Asia*. In the very beginning of the troubles, he raised a powerful army, and, appointing *Asander* governor of *Bosphorus* in his absence, passed the *Euxine* sea, and made himself master of *Colchis*, *Armenia Minor*, and several places in *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*. After the battle of *Pharsalia*, *Cæsar* had sent *Domitius Calvinus* with part of his army against him, committing to his care the government of all the provinces of *Asia Minor*; but *Pharnaces*, having overcome *Domitius* in a pitched battle, made himself master of all the remaining parts of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*. Puffed up with this success, he treated the *Roman* merchants and publicans, who resided at *Amisus* the capital of *Pontus*, with great cruelty; and having seized all *Bithynia*, was preparing to pass from thence into the province of *Asia* properly so called. This extraordinary progress at length roused *Cæsar*, who was spending his time in wanton dalliances with *Cleopatra*, and put him again upon action. Having left part of his forces in *Egypt* to protect *Cleopatra*, he hastened with the rest into *Syria*; and, having appointed *Sextus Cæsar*, his relation, governor of that province, he pursued his march northward against *Pharnaces*. As he passed through *Galatia*, *Dejotarus*, who had sided with *Pompey* and attended him in his flight, appeared before the dictator, in the habit of a suppliant and stripped of his royal robes, begging, he would extend to him the effects of the clemency, which had gained him greater glory than all his victories. The dictator was not much affected either with his submission or praises; but nevertheless, as he was naturally inclined to mercy, he freely pardoned him, and restored to him the ensigns of royalty; but at the same time ordered him to send forthwith to his assistance the legion, which he had trained up in the *Roman* discipline, and all his cavalry, to be employed against *Pharnaces*. With this reinforcement he entered the kingdom of *Pontus*, which *Pharnaces* had reconquered, and, without giving any respite either to himself or his troops, or hearkening to the proposals of peace, which the king made, with no other view but to gain time, he advanced against him, attacked him, and gained a complete victory, an account of which he wrote to his friend *Aminitius* or *Anitius* in the following words *Veni, vidi, vici, I came, I saw, I conquered*; which, being all dissyllables and having the same cadence, happily expresses the dispatch of it. This victory, which was gained near the place where *Triarius* had been formerly defeated by *Mithridates*, repaired the honour of the *Roman* arms. After this defeat, *Pharnaces* fled with a thousand horse, the only remains of his vanquished army, to *Sinope*, where he caused the horses to be killed, and putting the men on board his ships in that port, he sailed with them back to *Bosphorus*; but he was no sooner landed, than *Asander*, whom he had left his lieutenant in that kingdom, and who, in his absence, had set up for himself, seized him, and, having put him to death, reigned in his stead. Hereupon *Cæsar* gave *Mithridates* the *Pergamenian* that kingdom, as a reward for the eminent services he had done him in *Egypt*, as we have related in the history of that kingdom. But *Cæsar*, in declaring him king of *Bosphorus*, gave him only an empty title; for, *Asander* being in possession of it, he was to recover it by force of arms, in which attempt he lost his life, instead of gaining the crown, being overcome and slain in battle by *Asander*, who held the kingdom without any further opposition, the *Romans* not being at leisure, on account of the intestine broils that still continued among them, to give him any disturbance^a.

AND now *Cæsar*, having settled affairs in *Asia* in the best manner he could, and left *Cælius Vinicianus* in *Pontus*, to keep that kingdom in awe, set out for *Rome*, attended

^a DIO. l. xlii, PLUT. in CÆS. APPIAN. Mithridat. p. 254. SUET in JUL. HIRT. de bell. Alexand. VOL. V.

attended only with one legion. He passed through *Asia*, and from thence crossed a over into *Greece*, obliging every-where the publicans to bring to him the money, which, according to their engagements with the republic, they were to remit to the quæstors at *Rome*. His sudden arrival in *Italy* filled some with joy, others with fear, and kept the minds both of the senate and people in suspense. They were well acquainted with the humanity of his temper; but, as he had been greatly provoked by the blind and inconsiderate zeal of some rigid republicans, they were afraid he might rather follow the examples of *Sylla* and his uncle *Marius*, than the dictates of his own good-nature. *Cicero* was one of the first who felt the effects of his clemency. That great orator had declared for *Pompey*, and, after his defeat, returned to *Italy*, where he had lived at some distance from the capital, not caring to appear there, till he had obtained his pardon of *Cæsar*. He therefore no sooner heard, that the dictator was landed at *Tarentum* and was marching from thence to *Brundisium*, than he went to meet him, with an air of confidence mixed with fear and respect. *Cæsar*, who knew him while he was yet at some distance, in order to save him the confusion of making submissions, not suitable to the rank he had held in the republic, dismounted, ran to meet him, and, having tenderly embraced him, walked a great while with him alone, without shewing the least dissatisfaction, or taking any notice of his past behaviour. *Cicero* was greatly taken with this kind reception; but nevertheless thought it adviseable to keep at a distance from the capital, whither he repaired very seldom, and then only to make his court to the dictator. In his retirement he employed his time in the study of philosophy, and composed most of those books, which will be the admiration of all ages. *Quintus Cicero*, the orator's brother, who had formerly served under the dictator in *Gaul* as one of his lieutenants, and had received innumerable favours at his hands, had, in the very beginning of the war, abandoned him to follow *Pompey*; but, notwithstanding his ingratitude, *Cæsar* pardoned him, at the earnest intreaties of *Aulus Hirtius*, *Caius Trebonius*, and the famous *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, the orator's inseparable friend, even in his greatest misfortunes. Many others, who had borne arms against him, were not only pardoned, but received with great kindness, and even admitted to his confidence. This obliging behaviour, so different from that of *Sylla* and *Marius*, gained him the affections of the people, and drew d over great numbers of senators to his party, who had looked upon him before as a tyrant and usurper. He entered *Rome* without the least pomp or shew, being attended only by a small number of legionaries; and finding great disturbances in the city, occasioned by a misunderstanding between *Marc Antony*, his general of the horse, and *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, one of the tribunes of the people, who was no less attached to *Cæsar*'s interest than *Antony* himself, he restored *Rome* to its former tranquillity, and easily prevailed upon the people to reject the law, which *Dolabella* had promised, containing an abolition of all debts. This law had occasioned the misunderstanding between *Antony* and *Dolabella*, the former opposing it to the utmost of his power, and the latter stirring up the poor and meaner sort of citizens to get it passed by e force. Matters were carried so far, that *Antony* was ordered by the senate to bring his troops into the city; and then a battle was fought in the very forum, between *Antony* and his legionaries on one side, and *Dolabella* at the head of the insolvent debtors on the other; but the latter paid dear for their boldness, eight hundred of them being killed upon the spot; whereas the general of the horse lost only a very small number of his men in the fray. *Cæsar*'s presence put an end to all disturbances. As he seemed to disapprove the law, it was immediately rejected. Tho' he affected to govern according to the ancient laws of the republic, and pretended to leave both the senate and people in the full possession of their former privileges, yet no one dared to oppose or contradict him. Thus no change, as to outward appearance, was visible in *Rome*, and at the same time all orders of men were subordinate to the sovereign will of the dictator. During his short stay in the capital, he entertained the people with magnificent shews, and remitted them the rents of the houses which they hired of the public. Afterwards he confiscated the estates of those who still continued in arms against him, and caused them to be sold publicly by auction. The lands, houses, and moveables of *Pompey*, whose children still disturbed the public tranquillity, were, together with the effects of many others, exposed in the forum to public sale; but no-body bidding for those of *Pompey*, out of respect to the memory of so great a man, *Marc Antony* purchased them at a very low price, and immediately took possession of his house, where he spent his time, as is plain from *Cicero*'s second *Philippic*, in a continued

How he received Cicero.

His clemency

Enters Rome

Appeases the disturbances he found in the city.

Pompey's house purchased by Marc Antony.

a tinued scene of debauchery. When *Cæsar's* officers demanded the small sum he had agreed to pay for *Pompey's* house and moveables, he was highly offended, and treated them with great contempt, saying, He did not expect *Cæsar* would exact so paltry a debt of one who had done him so great services. This provoked *Cæsar*, and occasioned some coldness between him and his general of the horse. As to *Cæsar's* other friends, none of them had occasion to complain of him, or repent their having embraced his party. As pontifex maximus, he appointed some of them augurs, others pontifices, others decemvirs, to whose care the *Sibylline* books were committed, and for their sake increased the number of prætors to ten, filling that college with his friends and partizans. As the number of senators was greatly diminished by the death of some and flight of others, he raised to the senatorial dignity the chief officers of his army, and such of the knights as had followed his standards. Tho' a few days only were wanting to the end of the consular year, with which his dictatorship expired, he assembled the tribes in the *campus Martius*, and proposed to them two of his lieutenants; *Q. Fufius Calenus* and *P. Vatinius*, to be chosen consuls for the current year. This he did with no other view, but to honour with the consular dignity those two officers, who had served, with great fidelity, under him in all his wars. The shortness of their consulate made *Cicero* say by way of raillery, That the year, in which *Vatinius* and *Fufius* were consuls, had neither spring, summer, nor autumn. The next year *Cæsar* caused himself to be created consul; but did not part with the dictatorship. As consul, he took for his colleague *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who was just then returned from *Hither Spain*, which he had governed with great prudence and moderation. This was a great disappointment to *Marc Antony*, who aspired at the consular dignity; but his late behaviour and scandalous debaucheries had alienated the dictator's mind from him; the more, because he was hated by the people, on account of his haughty and imperious behaviour, while he discharged the office of general of the horse.

AND now *Cæsar*, having settled affairs in *Italy*, and taken the most proper measures to prevent any new disturbances in the capital, was wholly intent on carrying the war into *Africa*, where *Pompey's* party was still very powerful, being headed by the famous *Cato* and many officers of great distinction. When *Pompey* followed *Cæsar* into *Thessaly*, he left in his camp at *Dyrrachium*, as we have observed above, fifteen cohorts, under the command of *Cato*. When news of *Pompey's* overthrow was first brought to *Dyrrachium*, *Cato* resolved with himself, if *Pompey* were killed, to lead the fifteen cohorts into *Italy*, there disband them, and retire from the tyranny of *Cæsar*, as far as he could, and live in exile; but, if *Pompey* were safe, to keep the troops together for him. With this design he left *Dyrrachium*, which was too near *Thessaly*, where *Pompey* had been defeated, and crossed over to the island of *Corcyra*, where the fleet lay. There he found *Cicero*, to whom, as he was a scrupulous observer of the laws, he offered the command of the troops he had with him, since *Cicero* had a right to the first post, as having been consul; whereas he had only been prætor. But *Cicero*, who already repented his having declared for *Pompey*, and was then returning to *Italy*, under various pretences declined the offer, which so provoked *Cneius, Pompey's* son, that he reproached him with treachery and cowardice, and drawing his sword, in the transport of his passion would have killed him on the spot, had not *Cato*, starting up, laid hold of his arm, and held him, till the frightened orator was out of reach. The same night *Cato* conveyed him privately out of the camp, and by that means saved his life. *Cicero* immediately went on board a small vessel, and set sail for *Brundisium*, whence he wrote to *Oppius* and *Balbus* (E), two of *Cæsar's* most zealous

* PLUT. in *Cæs. & Anton.* CIC. Philip. ii. MACROB. Saturn. l. ii. c. 3. Epit. Liv. CIC. ad Attic. & passim alibi.

(E) *Caius Oppius* was one of *Cæsar's* chief favourites. *Charisius Aulus, Gellius, and Pliny* tell us, that he was a man of great learning, and the author of several works much esteemed by the ancients, among the rest, of the lives of *Scipio Africanus* and of *Pompey the Great*. *Plutarch* reproaches him with lessening the exploits and glory of *Pompey*, and magnifying those of *Cæsar*. In *Suctonius's* time he was deemed the true author of the history of the *Alexandrian, African, and Spanish* wars, which passed then, and have been transmitted to us, under the name of

Hirtius. The same writer ascribes to *Oppius* several other works, none of which have reached our times. As for *Balbus*, he was a native of *Gades*, or, according to others, of *Carteia*. He served first in the armies of *Quintus Metellus* and of *Pompey* against *Sertorius*. Several years after he became acquainted with *Cæsar*, while he governed *Spain* in quality of prætor, and was, at his recommendation, honoured with the rights and privileges of a *Roman* citizen. These were afterwards called in question; but *Balbus* found a zealous advocate in the person of *Cicero*, and

Cato retires
to Africa.

Cato's march
through the
deserts of
Africa.

Cato declines
the command
of the army,
which is con-
ferred on
Scipio.

zealous partizans, conjuring them to use their good offices in his behalf, and excuse him with the conqueror, for having inconsiderately followed *Pompey's* party. While *Cicero* was sailing towards *Italy*, many illustrious *Romans*, who had escaped from the battle of *Pharsalia*, arrived in the island of *Corcyra*, not knowing what rout *Pompey* had taken; so that *Cato* saw himself all on a sudden at the head of a considerable army, and surrounded by many officers of distinction. That zealous republican did not doubt, but *Pompey* was fled either towards *Egypt*, where young *Ptolemy*, his pupil, reigned, or to the province of *Africa*, which *P. Accius Varus* had seized before the battle of *Pharsalia*; after having killed *Curio*, whom *Cæsar* had sent against him, and cut his army in pieces. He therefore resolved to hasten after him, and, having taken all his men on board, set sail, steering his course towards *Africa*. Before he embarked, he gave those, who were not willing to follow him, free liberty to depart and return to *Italy*. On his arrival in *Africa*, he found there *Sextus*, *Pompey's* younger son, who gave him an account of his father's tragical death in *Egypt*. This news occasioned a general consternation among the troops; but nevertheless they all declared with one voice, that they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their common liberties, and that, after *Pompey*, they would follow no other leader but *Cato*. Out of compassion therefore to so many brave men, who had given such proofs of a sincere love for their country, and whom he was ashamed to abandon, in a strange country amidst so many difficulties, he took upon him the command, and, without delay, marched towards the city of *Cyrene*, which received him, tho' the inhabitants had a few days before shut their gates against *Labiens*. Here he was informed, that *Scipio*, *Pompey's* father-in-law, had landed before him in *Africa*, and taken refuge in the dominions of *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, where he had found *Accius*, or, as *Plutarch* calls him, *Appius Varus*, at the head of a considerable army. Hereupon *Cato* resolved to go and join them; and accordingly, having loaded a great many beasts of burden with water and other necessary provisions, he set out on his march, which was attended with inexpressible difficulties. His troops travelled for several days together through inhospitable deserts, covered with burning sands, and infested by lions, tigers, serpents of a monstrous size, &c. (F); so that they were obliged to be constantly on their guard night and day. Thus they marched seven days together, *Cato* himself being always the foremost, to encourage his men, who were quite exhausted, by his example. *Plutarch* tells, that since the battle of *Pharsalia*, he had never mounted on horseback, nor rid in a chariot; and that, to shew his concern, he had, ever since that fatal day, used to sit at table, saying, That he never lay down but to sleep (G). The soldiers, animated by the example of their leader, cheerfully surmounted all difficulties, and arrived at length, to the number of ten thousand men, at *Utica*. There a warm dispute arose among the chief officers about the command of the army. *Varus*, who immediately joined *Cato*, together with *Scipio* and other senators of distinction, claimed the command as governor of *Africa*; which province had been allotted him by *Pompey* himself. On the other hand, the whole army demanded *Cato* for their leader; and even *Varus* and *Scipio* were willing to comply with their desire: But *Cato* himself opposed his own promotion, saying, That he would not transgress those laws, which he had taken arms to defend,

and was solemnly acknowledged by the senate and people for a citizen of *Rome*. It was customary for foreigners honoured with this distinction, to assume the name of the person they chose for their patron; and agreeable to this custom *Balbus* took the name of *Cornelius*, having chosen *Lentulus*, who was of the *Cornelian* family, for his patron. Before the war broke out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, one *Theophanes*, a great favourite of the latter, adopted *Balbus*, and appointed him his heir. *Sidonius Apollinaris* commends some memoirs written by *Balbus* after the manner of a journal: *Quis Balbi ephemeridem*, says he, *fando adæquaverit* (34)?

(F) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Cato* took with him on his march some of those who were called *Pfilli*, and made it their business to cure the biting of serpents, by sucking out the poison. This is no extraordinary matter; for we read in *Homer*, that, in ancient

times, wounds were cured by sucking. But these *Pfilli* pretended, as we read in *Plutarch*, to a power of enchanting the serpents, and disarming them of their fury, by stupifying them and laying them asleep. We find in holy scripture instances of persons, who pretended to that power, which they vaunted as miraculous. Upon this is founded, what we read in *Jeremiah*; *For, behold, I will send serpents, cockatrices among you, which will not be charmed* (35). But these wretched enchanters often paid dear for their presumption.

(G) This was a token of mourning, which we know not what to make of now-a-days. On the contrary, we should think a lying posture at our meals very inconvenient; but this single example of *Cato* incontestably proves, that it was preferred in those days, and that sitting at table was looked upon as a very incommodious posture.

(34) *Sidonius Apollin.* l. ix. *epist.* 24. *Plin.* l. viii. *Dio Cass.* l. xlviii. *Cic.* *ad Attic.* iii. *epist.* 7.
(35) *Jerem.* c. viii. *ver.* 17.

a defend; and that he, who was only proprætor, ought not to command in the presence of *Scipio*, who was proconsul. He added, that every one would look upon it as a good omen, to see a *Scipio* at the head of a *Roman* army in *Africa*, and that the very name would inspire the soldiers with courage. *Cato's* words decided the dispute; all readily yielded to *Scipio*, who, being declared commander in chief of all the forces of the republic in *Africa*, appointed *Labienus*, who had distinguished himself in several wars under *Cæsar*, his first lieutenant. *Juba*, king of *Mauritania*, no sooner heard of *Cato's* arrival, than he came to *Utica*, to confer with him and the other officers. That prince had always shewn a great attachment to *Pompey* and his party; but, as he now thought they could not well do without him, he assumed an air of grandeur and pride, which gave great offence to *Cato*. The first time he had an interview with *Cato* and *Scipio*, he ordered his own seat to be placed in the middle; which *Cato* observing, he took up his own chair, and placed himself on the other side of *Scipio*, to whom he thus gave the most honourable place. Such was the pride and haughtiness of those republicans, even at the time their republic was ready to sink, if not supported by foreign states and princes. Under *Scipio* were several officers of great distinction and experience in war, namely, *Labienus*, *Afranius*, *Petreius*, the two sons of *Pompey*, *Cneius* and *Sextus*, *Faustus Sylla*, who had married their sister, besides a great number of senators and knights, all resolved to prefer death to the loss of their liberty, and either save the republic, or fall with it. King *Juba* promised to assist them to the utmost of his power, and join them with all his forces, as soon as the season of the year would allow him to take the field^c.

Cæsar, now master of all *Asia*, *Greece*, *Egypt*, and *Italy*, resolved to carry the war forthwith into *Africa*, and there crush the remains of *Pompey's* party; but while he was making the necessary preparations for that expedition, news was brought him, that the tenth legion, which he had always favoured in a particular manner, had openly revolted, and killed *Galba* and *Cosconius*, two officers of the senatorial order, who had endeavoured to appease them. *Cæsar*, surprised at this unexpected attempt of his favourite legion, immediately dispatched *Crispus Sallustius*, the famous historian, to quell the sedition with his eloquence, and bring back the mutinous legion to their duty. *Sallust* had great obligations to *Cæsar*, who had caused him to be appointed one of the ten prætors in the late election, after having restored him to his place in the senate, which he had forfeited by his infamous debaucheries. He therefore flew to *Capua*, where the mutineers were then encamped: but found it a more difficult task to appease a seditious soldiery, than to harange a disarmed multitude. He was forced to save himself by flight from their fury, and hasten back to *Rome*, to acquaint *Cæsar*, that the rebellious legion, without hearkening to any terms, were in full march towards the capital. The dictator, amazed at their boldness, placed guards at the gates of the city, on the ramparts, and in all open places; and then, as they drew near, sent some trusty officers to ask them what they wanted. Their ring-leaders answered, that they wanted to speak with *Cæsar* himself. Let them come into the city then, replied *Cæsar*, and appear in the field of Mars, without any other arms but their swords. Upon this, being admitted within the walls, they marched in good order to the appointed place, and there waited for *Cæsar*, who, without hearkening to the advice of his friends, went immediately to hear their complaints. The presence of a general, famous for so many victories, inspired them with such awe and respect, that even the boldest among them could not utter a single word. Then *Cæsar*, mounting his tribunal, encouraged them to speak and lay their complaints before him. Hereupon they took courage, and begged him to discharge them, alledged their age, their wounds, and their long service. As *Cæsar* was entering on a new war, they expected he would have courted them, and with large presents inticed them to follow him. They were therefore thunder-struck, when he answered, without shewing the least surprise or concern, *Your demand is just; I do discharge you, and you may be gone*. *Cæsar*, perceiving the consternation and surprise these words occasioned among them, after having kept silence for some time, added, *I do not, however, design to rob you of your rewards; these I will give you, when I shall have triumphed over the rest of my enemies*. At these words they crowded round his tribunal, begging, that, since he intended to reward them, he would suffer them to deserve the promised rewards with further services. But *Cæsar*, without seeming to take notice of their demand,

Cæsar resolves to carry the war into Africa.

The tenth legion mutinies.

Cæsar's address in appeasing the mutiny.

^c PLUT. in Cat. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. HIRT. de bell. Afric. Dio. l. xliii.
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demand, *Go, fellow-citizens*, said he, *return to your houses and families*. The word *fellow-citizens*, instead of *fellow-soldiers*, was like a clap of thunder in their ears. They all cried out, that they were soldiers, that they had not accepted of their discharge, and that they would follow him into *Africa*. But *Cæsar*, pretending to despise both their offers and submissions, turned his back upon them, and came down from his tribunal. Then the legionaries, throwing themselves at his feet, conjured him rather to inflict such punishments upon them as their insolence deserved, than to disband them in so shameful a manner. He continued long inflexible; but at length, pretending to be overcome by the importunity of his friends, he ascended the tribunal once more, and, addressing himself to them, told them, That the revolt surprised him so much the more, as it came from a legion, which he had always distinguished above the rest; that nevertheless he could not prevail upon himself to punish those, whom he had once so tenderly loved; that, on his return from *Africa*, he would give them the rewards he had promised, and lands too for their subsistence; but that he would not by any means suffer them to attend him in the expedition he was now undertaking, in order to convince them that he could conquer without them. This speech made so deep an impression on their minds, that, with tears in their eyes, they begged he would rather decimate them than debar them from sharing with him the glory of his victories. *We will follow you as volunteers*, they all cried out with one voice, *if you refuse to admit us in the number of your legions*. These words, which were manifestly spoken from a true sense of their crime, and a sincere repentance, touched *Cæsar*; he could no longer dissemble, but styling them again *fellow-soldiers*, he not only freely forgave them, but declared, that they should share with him both the glory and advantages of all his victories. Having thus by his intrepidity, resolution, and address, regained the affections and confidence of the rebellious legion, he pursued with great ardour the necessary preparations of the new war in *Africa*, ordering his legions in the mean time to assemble at *Rhegium*, the place of the general rendezvous.

He passes over into Sicily.

Thither he repaired soon after himself, and finding there but one legion of new levies and six hundred horse, with them he crossed over into *Sicily*, leaving orders for the other legions to follow him with all possible expedition. On his arrival in *Sicily*, he incamped on the shore, declaring, that he was determined to set sail, as soon as the wind proved favourable, without waiting for the five legions and a body of two thousand horse, who were in full march to join him. Accordingly on the sixth of the calends of *January*, that is, on the thirteenth of *September*, according to the computation which then obtained, the wind blowing fair, he embarked the troops he had with him, and in the evening weighed anchor, leaving orders with *Alienus* prætor of *Sicily*, to convey over to him the other legions, as soon as they came up. In four days he arrived off *Adrumetum* on the coast of *Africa*; and having landed his troops at a small distance from that city, by the advice of *Plancus*, one of his lieutenants he sent to summon *Considius*, who commanded in the place, to deliver it up to him; but *Considius*, trusting in his numerous garison, which consisted of two legions and three thousand *Mauritanian* horse, killed with his own hand the messenger, and then marched out at the head of all his troops to attack *Cæsar* in the camp he had formed in great haste, and consequently but very indifferently fortified. *Cæsar* thought it adviseable to abandon his camp, and retire in good order, marching along the coast towards *Ruspina*, at a small distance from *Adrumetum*. *Considius* pursued him, and greatly harassed his troops on their march. On this occasion it was, that thirty *Gaulish* horse, who marched in the rear, put to flight two thousand *Mauritanian* horse, and drove them back to the very gates of *Adrumetum*. *Cæsar* with much ado reached *Ruspina*, being continually harassed by the enemy's parties; but not finding sufficient provisions in that neighbourhood to subsist his army, he turned towards *Leptis*, situate on the coast between the two *Syrtes*. As *Leptis* was a free city, the inhabitants opened their gates to him, and supplied his army in the best manner they could. He had not been long here, before part of the troops he expected from *Sicily* arrived on board some galleys and a small number of transports. These informed him, that the rest of the fleet were steering their course towards *Utica*; which gave *Cæsar* great uneasiness, that city being in the hands of the enemy. He therefore immediately dispatched *Rabirius Posthumius*, with orders to sail along the coast, and direct to *Leptis* such of his vessels as he should meet on his course. In the mean time,

Cæsar pardons the mutineers.

And from thence into Africa.

Is admitted into Leptis.

Chap. 13.

- a as the enemy were masters of the country, and *Cæsar* in a manner besieged in *Leptis*, ^{Is greatly distressed for want of provisions.} his army was reduced to great straits for want of provisions; forage especially was become so scarce, that he was forced to feed his horses with a sea-weed, which he mixed with grass, to take off its saltiness. He sent out indeed several parties to bring in provisions; but they had always the misfortune to fall in with the enemy, who narrowly watched their motions, and return with great loss. One day a party of horse, whom he sent out to forage, meeting an *African*, who played with great art on the flute, dismounted to hear him, leaving the care of their horses to their servants; but, in the mean time, the enemy falling upon them unexpectedly, cut most of them in pieces, and pursued the rest to their camp; which they would have entered with ^{Several of his parties defeated.} the fugitives, had not *Cæsar* and *Asinius Pollio*, at the head of a few cohorts, put a stop to their flight, by placing themselves in the gate of the camp, and by that means obliging the horse to face the enemy. In another encounter, which happened a few days after, the best part of *Cæsar*'s foot was put to flight by a strong detachment from *Scipio*'s army. On this occasion *Cæsar*, seeing one of the standard-bearers flying with the rest, taking hold of him by the collar, forced him to face about, saying, *Look that way; the enemy is there*. However, he could not prevail upon his frightened troops to stand their ground; but was forced himself to give way, and retire with them in no small disorder to his camp. As he was daily more and more straitened for want of provisions, and durst not venture out of his camp with the few forces he had with him, he resolved to go himself in quest of his fleet; and accordingly embarking in the dead of the night, he set sail, attended only with a small number of officers. The next day, when the soldiery missed him, they gave all up for lost, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the lieutenants, tribunes, and centurions kept them from abandoning their camp and deserting to *Scipio*, who, with ten legions and twenty elephants, was advancing against them. But their fears were soon calmed; for *Cæsar*, the next day meeting by good fortune the rest of his fleet, returned with them to *Leptis*, and decamped as soon as they were landed, with a design to advance farther into the country. He had scarce marched three miles, when his scouts brought ^{Meets Labienus.} him word, that the enemy appeared; and soon after he discovered a very numerous army, which covered the whole plain, advancing in good order towards him. *Cæsar* immediately ordered his men to halt, and having drawn them up in one line, to prevent their being surrounded, waited in order of battle to receive the enemy's first onset. This numerous body of *Roman* and *Mauritanian* forces was commanded by *Labienus*, who attacked *Cæsar* with such fury, that he had need of all his courage and experience, to prevent his troops from flying back to their camp, and leaving the enemy master of the field. He was surrounded on all sides, and would have been cut in pieces with all his men, had not a soldier of the tenth legion, by killing *Labienus*'s ^{His army in danger of being cut in pieces.} horse, occasioned some confusion among the enemy's battalions. Those who were next to the general, seeing him fall and believing him dead, gave ground, and began to retire. *Cæsar*, observing the consternation they were in, advanced at the head of a choice body of legionaries, and attacking with great intrepidity and resolution the enemy's first line, put them to flight, before *Labienus*, who was stunned with his fall, recovered himself; but as *Labienus*'s second line still kept their ground, *Cæsar* thought ^{Retires in good order to his camp.} it adviseable not to attack them, but march back in good order to his camp, before the first line could rally, which they were attempting to do, being commanded by officers of great experience and conduct. As *Cæsar* was retreating, *M. Petreius* and *Cneius Piso*, two zealous partizans of *Pompey*, appeared unexpectedly at the head of eleven hundred *Numidian* horse and a numerous body of light-armed infantry, and fell upon his rear. We are told, that *Petreius* on this occasion, remembering the favours he had formerly received at *Cæsar*'s hands, spared his benefactor, under the pretence that he ought not to rob his general of the glory of completing the victory. Be that as it will, *Cæsar* got safe to his camp at *Leptis*, and from thence marched the same night to *Ruspina*. In the mean time, *Scipio* joined his lieutenant *Labienus* with eight legions and four thousand horse; and then *Cæsar*, intrenching himself under the walls of *Ruspina*, dispatched messenger after messenger to *Italy* and *Sicily*, acquainting his friends with the danger he was in, and intreating them to send him speedy succours, without which he should be obliged to abandon *Africa*, and return with shame and disgrace to *Italy*. *Alienus*, prætor of *Sicily*, upon the first notice of his danger, sent him powerful succours; which were no sooner arrived, than he resolved ^{Receives reinforcements from Sicily.} to march out of his camp and offer *Scipio* battle, who, with an army twice as numerous

rous as his, was incamped at a small distance, to prevent his drawing any forage or provisions from the neighbouring country. *Cato*, who commanded in *Utica*, being informed of the enemy's motions, wrote a letter to *Scipio*, advising him, as he had before done *Pompey*, by no means to hazard a battle, with a commander experienced in war and encouraged with success; but to use delay, which, he said, would cool the heats and passions of men, which are the chief support and strength of usurpers; but *Scipio*, flushed with his late success, not only rejected his advice, but wrote a letter to him, wherein he reproached him with cowardice, since he was not content himself to lie secure within walls and trenches, but must hinder others from making use of their courage, and laying hold of the opportunities of conquering which offered. Then *Cato* openly declared, that he was sorry he had yielded the command to *Scipio*, who, said he, will not use his power wisely in war, and if he should, contrary to all appearance, succeed, will, without all doubt, use his success as unjustly at home; nay, he even told his friends, That, if *Scipio* should conquer, he did not doubt, but he would prove as cruel and arbitrary a tyrant as *Cæsar* himself.

Cæsar marches
to *Utica*.

Is in a manner
blocked up by
the enemy.

Marches to
attack the
enemy and de-
feats them.

The chief men
of *Scipio*'s
army either
killed or taken.

All Africa,
except *Utica*,
submits.

BUT, to return to *Cæsar*: being informed that the enemy laid great stress on an oracle, importing, that the family of the *Scipios* should be always victorious in *Africa*, and having in his army a mean and contemptible man of that family, known by the name of *Scipio Salutio*, he gave him the title of general; either in raillery, as *Plutarch* observes, to ridicule *Scipio*, who commanded the enemy's army, or seriously, to bring over the omen to his side. After this, he quitted his camp at *Ruspina*, and marched straight to *Utica*, with a design to draw the enemy to a general engagement, by threatening to lay siege to that city, which was the great magazine of all their provisions and ammunition. He incamped before the place, without being in the least disturbed by the enemy, who were unwilling to engage before the arrival of *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, whom they daily expected with eighteen thousand foot, eight hundred horse, and thirty elephants. At length the king arrived with the expected succours, and, together with *Scipio* and *Labienus*, formed three different camps, which in a manner blocked up that of *Cæsar*, who was again greatly distressed for want of provisions, the enemy having laid waste all the neighbouring country. While he was thus besieged, news was brought him, that the ninth and tenth legions were at length arrived from *Sicily*, and in full march to join him. Hereupon *Cæsar*, leaving in his camp a sufficient number of troops to defend his works, marched out with the rest to meet them, and brought them safe to his camp before *Utica*. As he now thought himself strong enough to cope with the enemy, he drew out his forces in order of battle for several days together; but the enemy not accepting the challenge, he resolved to decamp, and, leaving *Utica*, which was in a condition to sustain a long siege, to attack *Thapsus*, a place of great importance, but not so well provided and fortified. *Juba*, *Scipio*, and *Labienus* followed him, and incamped separately about fifteen hundred paces from the enemy. *Cæsar* was no sooner informed that they were intrenching themselves, than he marched out of his camp, and making his way with incredible expedition, through thick woods and a country almost impassable, fell upon *Scipio*'s men, before they had completed their works, put them to flight, and then attacking first *Labienus*'s camp, and afterwards *Juba*'s, made himself master of them, and killed fifty thousand of the enemy in the three camps, with the loss only of fifty of his own men. After this battle, *Thapsus*, *Adrumetum*, and *Zama* immediately submitted; and the heads of the party, giving all up for lost, either laid violent hands on themselves, or were taken and put to death by the enemy. *Scipio* endeavoured to save himself by sea; but his vessel being taken, he chose rather to die, than owe his life to the conqueror. *Juba* and *Petreius* sought death in a single combat, in which *Juba* being killed, *Petreius* ordered one of his slaves to dispatch him. *Afranius* and *Sylla*, with a small body of troops, took their rout along the coast of *Africa*, with a design to join the two sons of *Pompey*, whom *Cato* had sent into *Spain*; but were met, defeated, and taken by *Sitius*, one of *Cæsar*'s lieutenants, who would have saved them; but his soldiers in a mutiny cut them in pieces. Of all the heads of *Pompey*'s party, *Labienus* alone found means to make his escape, and convey himself safe into *Spain*. And now the enemy's forces being dispersed, and their leaders either fled or killed, all *Africa* submitted, except the city of *Utica*, where *Cato* commanded, and had formed a kind of senate, composed of three hundred *Romans*, who had repaired to him from different parts.

- a part. The news of the victory gained by *Cæsar* at *Thapsus* threw the whole city into the utmost consternation. Some of the citizens betook themselves to their arms; others thought of nothing but how to save themselves from falling into the hands of the conqueror. But *Cato* endeavoured to calm their fears, representing to them, that perhaps things were not so bad in truth, but more than half increased by fame, as is usual in war. Thus he quelled the tumult for some time; and having called together his senate or council, consisting of three hundred *Roman* citizens he first commended their courage and fidelity, and then intreated them by no means to separate, since, while they kept together, *Cæsar* would have less reason to despise them, if they fought against him, and be more ready to pardon them, if they submitted to him. Consult among your selves, said he; if you think fit to submit, I will impute your resolution to necessity; but if you resolve to stand up in defence of your rights and liberties, I will be your companion, and, if you think fit, your leader. We are to fight against one, whose affairs are not in so good a condition as is generally believed. *Spain* has already declared for the sons of *Pompey*; *Rome*, unaccustomed to slavery and oppression, will be ready to shake off the yoke upon every turn of affairs; *Italy* will never submit to a sovereign, who acknowledges no other law but his own caprice; *Utica* is well furnished with all sorts of provisions and military engines, and in a condition to stem the course of this mighty conqueror's victories. Let us therefore defend to the last what ought to be more dear to us than our lives and fortunes. Notwithstanding the uncertainty of war, we shall lead a most happy life, if we succeed, or die a most glorious death, if we miscarry. *Cato's* words inspired even the most cowardly with courage. They forgot the present danger, and declared with one voice, that they would stand a siege, protesting they would rather die with *Cato*, than save themselves by abandoning a person of such exalted virtue. When they came to deliberate about the proper measures for the defence of the place, some were for setting the slaves at liberty; but this *Cato* opposed, saying, That no slave ought to be set at liberty without the consent of his master. We ought not, said he, even in our present circumstances, to make free with the property of others; but let every one dispose as he pleases of what is his own. Some of the senators immediately set their slaves at liberty, and furnished them with arms; but the greater part of them, forgetting their former resolution, shewed great backwardness in parting with their slaves, from whose labour they drew great advantages. Why should we risque all, said they among themselves, to preserve *Utica*? Have we forgot what enemy we have to deal with? Is it not that *Cæsar*, to whom all the power of *Rome* has submitted? and which of us is a *Pompey*, a *Scipio*, or a *Cato*? Now that all men give way to *Cæsar's* fortune, shall we alone engage for the liberty of *Rome*, and in *Utica* declare war against one, who has driven *Pompey the Great* and *Cato* himself out of *Italy*? No, let us know ourselves, submit to the conqueror, and send deputies to implore his mercy. *Cato*, tho' he perceived the change, took no notice of it; but wrote to *Juba*, who, with a small body of men, was retired to a neighbouring mountain, and to *Scipio*, who lay at anchor under a promontory near *Utica*, advising them not to come near the place, since he suspected the fidelity both of the inhabitants and of the senators who formed his council. Not long after, a considerable body of horse, who had escaped from the battle, appearing at some distance from *Utica*, sent a messenger to acquaint *Cato* with the different sentiments that prevailed among them, and to ask his advice; for some were for joining him; others, not caring to lock themselves up in the city, were for going to *Juba*. *Cato* hastened out to confer with their leaders, whom he intreated not to abandon so many worthy senators, but to seek the mutual safety of one another, and to come into the city, which was impregnable and well furnished with corn and other provisions for many years. The senators likewise, who attended *Cato*, with tears in their eyes besought them to stay. Hereupon the officers went to consult the soldiers; but, in the mean time, news was brought to *Cato*, that the greater part of his senators were raising a tumult in the city, and stirring up the inhabitants to exclude *Cato* and send deputies to *Cæsar*. This news being immediately divulged among the horse, they desired their officers to return to *Cato* with this answer, That they should not be afraid of *Cæsar*, while they followed *Cato*, whom they were ready to join, provided he would either drive out of the city, or cut in pieces, all the *Uticans*, who would not fail to betray them and plot their ruin, as soon as *Cæsar* appeared. This condition seemed too cruel to the virtuous *Cato*, who therefore chose rather to deprive himself of so powerful and necessary a supply, than consent

Cato encourages the Romans in Utica to stand a siege.

The senate at Utica resolves to submit.

Cato's humanity.

Cato's constancy.

Statilius a follower of Cato.

Cato maintains the principles of the stoics.

to it. Upon his return to the city, the senators of his council openly declared, that they were neither able nor willing to withstand *Cæsar*; nay, they even threatened to seize those senators, who were for standing a siege, and to deliver them up to *Cæsar*. Hereupon *Cato* with much-ado prevailed upon the horse to stay, at least one night, in the city, in order to facilitate the escape of those worthy senators, who were thus threatened by the rest. While they were preparing to set out, news was brought, that *Cæsar* was drawing near with his whole army; and then *Cato*, ordering all the gates to be shut, except one towards the sea, attended his friends to the port, and putting them on board some vessels he had prepared for that purpose, he returned to the city, and dismissed the body of horse, advising several of his friends to join them, and abandon a city, which would soon fall into the enemy's hands. *Plutarch* observes, that tho' he was very pressing with his other friends to save themselves by flight, yet he gave no such advice to his son, not thinking fit to persuade him to abandon his father. As *Cæsar* drew near, the senators, who remained in *Utica*, appointed *Lucius Cæsar*, a relation of the conqueror, who had followed *Pompey's* party, to intercede for them and make their submissions to the dictator. *Cato* approved of their choice, and even composed the speech, with which he was to address *Cæsar*. *Lucius*, in taking his leave of *Cato*, told him, That he should not scruple to kiss the hands and fall at the knees of *Cæsar* in his behalf; but *Cato* would by no means give him leave so much as to mention his name. *I will not*, said he, *be indebted to a tyrant, for those very things which are marks of tyranny: to save men is an instance of his tyranny, as if he were lord of their lives.* However, as *Lucius* was departing, he recommended to him his son and the rest of his friends, and, tenderly embracing him, bid him farewell. While the rest were preparing to attend *Lucius* in the habit of suppliants, *Cato* was greatly surprised at the constancy of a young Roman, named *Statilius*, who, tho' in the flower of his age and a noted enemy to *Cæsar*, declared, That he would rather die, than be indebted to an usurper for his life. *Cato*, having attempted in vain to persuade him to yield to fortune and join the other suppliants, recommended him to *Apollonides* and *Demetrius*, two celebrated philosophers, saying, *It belongs to you to bring down this young man's spirit, and to make him know what is good for him* (H). Towards the evening, he ordered the gates of the city to be opened, exhorting both the Romans and inhabitants to go out, and meeting the conqueror, throw themselves upon his mercy. As for himself, he went, according to his custom, to bathe before supper; and while he was in the bath, remembering *Statilius*, he cried out aloud to the philosopher *Apollonides*, who always attended him, *Well, Apollonides, have you brought down the high spirit of Statilius? Is he gone without bidding us farewell? No*, answered the philosopher, *I have discoursed much with him, but to little purpose; he is still unalterable, and determined to follow your example.* This, answered *Cato* with a smile, *will soon be tried.* He then called his son, and advised him, among other things, never to intermeddle in affairs of state; telling him, *That to act therein as became him was now impossible, and to do otherwise dishonourable.*

AFTER he had bathed, he went to supper, at which he sat, as he had always used to do ever since the battle of *Pharsalia*, contrary to the Roman custom. Several of his particular friends, and some of the principle citizens of *Utica*, supped with him. Among the former were *Apollonides* the stoic philosopher and *Demetrius* the peripatetic. After supper, many philosophical questions were discussed, and, among the rest, those fundamental principles, which were called the *paradoxes of the stoics*; and this in particular, *that the good man only is free, and that all wicked men are slaves.* The moment this was proposed, the peripatetic took up the argument against it (I); but *Cato*, raising his voice, maintained the incontestable truth of that maxim with more than ordinary warmth; and, in the heat of the dispute, let some words drop, which plainly shewed, that he designed to put an end to his life, and by that means set himself at liberty. Hereupon, when he had done speaking, the whole company kept silence and seemed much dejected; but *Cato*, to divert them from any suspicion of his design, turned the discourse, and began again to talk of the present affairs, shewing

(H) By these words *Cato* implied, that the disposition of mind, in which *Statilius* fancied himself to be, was rather the effect of vain-glory, than true constancy; and that what became *Cato*, who had always made a profession of severe virtue and was *Cæsar's* equal, did not become such a young man as *Statilius*. *Epictetus* observes, that it is only for an

extraordinary person to imitate an extraordinary virtue. It is not fitting for a person of common size to attempt so high a flight.

(I) The peripatetics maintained, that neither virtue nor vice had any relation to freedom or servitude, taking these words in a sense too constrained and literal.

a shewing great concern for his friends who were at sea, and for those who were travelling by land, since they were to pass through a dry desert, which afforded nothing for their support.

WHEN the company broke up, he walked with his friends, as he used to do after supper, gave the necessary orders to the officers of the guard, and then withdrew, having first embraced his son and every one of his friends, with more than usual tenderness. As this renewed their suspicion of his design, his son, entering his room unknown to him, stole away his sword, which he used to have always by him. *Cato* Reads Plato's phædo. now alone, lay down, and taking up *Plato's* dialogue on the immortality of the soul, began to read it with great attention. After he had read some time, in a transport of joy, which the hope of a happy immortality raised in his breast, he looked up for his sword, and missing it, called one of his slaves; and, without shewing the least eagerness or concern, only asked him, Who had taken away his sword? As the slave made no answer, he continued reading; and a little while after, not seeming importunate or hasty for it, but as if he would only know what was become of it, he ordered it to be brought to him. He then took up the book again, and having finished the whole dialogue without any tidings of his sword, he called all his servants one by one, and in an angry tone demanded it of them, crying out, That he was betrayed and delivered into his enemy's hands, naked and disarmed. One of his slaves attempted to appease him; but he had scarce begun to speak, when *Cato* gave him such a blow on the mouth, that he hurt his own hand. At this noise his son and the rest of his friends came running into his room, and, falling at his feet, endeavoured, with tears and intreaties, to divert him from any design he might have on his own life; but *Cato*, raising himself up, *Why does no body persuade me by reason, said he, or teach me what is better, if I have designed any thing that is ill? Must I be thus disarmed, and hindered from making use of my own reason?* Then turning to his son, *And you, young man, said he, why do you not tie your father's hands behind his back, that when Cæsar comes, I may not be able to hurt him? for against myself I stand in no want of a sword; to end my days I need but hold my breath a little while, or strike my head against the wall.* Having thus spoke, he dismissed his son and the rest of his friends, except the two philosophers *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*, to whom he addressed himself more calmly thus: *Can you bring any reason to prove, that it is not base and unworthy of Cato to beg his life of his enemy? I have not yet determined any thing on this subject; but I would have it in my power to perform what I shall think fit to resolve on.* As the philosophers made no reply, which indeed they could not without contradicting their own principles, *Cato* told them, That he would not fail to ask their advice, when he should have occasion to make use of what their philosophy taught; but, in the mean time, said he, *go tell my son, that he should not compel his father to what he cannot persuade him.* Upon this they both withdrew, and sent him his sword by a young slave. *Cato* took it with great pleasure, and, having drawn it and examined the point, said in putting it up, *Now I am master of myself.* He then took the book again, and having read it twice over (K), he lay down, and fell into a sound sleep. About midnight he called

(K) And yet this dialogue seems too long to be read twice over in so short a space; but that which seems most incomprehensible is, that *Cato*, before he laid violent hands on himself, should read over that dialogue, which proves in the strongest terms, that what he was going to do was not lawful. A philosopher, says *Plato* in that dialogue, will never lay violent hands on himself, that not being lawful even for those to whom death is more desirous than life. They are not allowed to procure that remedy to themselves, tho' it be ever so necessary; for God has placed us in this life as in a post, which we are never to quit without his permission. The gods take care of us, and we must consider ourselves as their peculiar property. If one of your slaves should dispatch himself without your command, you would think he had done you an injury, and would punish him, if it lay in your power. How could *Cato* persist in his resolution against such strong arguments? He might possibly justify himself from what is added by *Socrates*; *We must wait with patience till it pleases God to send us an express order to remove out of this life.* He looked perhaps

on the condition he was then in as such an order; and thus has *Cicero* commented upon it in the first book of his *Tusculan questions*: *Cato autem sic abiit e vita, ut causam moriendi natum se esse gauderet. Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis deus injussu hinc nos suodemigrare; cum vero causam justam deus ipse dederit, ut tunc Socrati, nunc Catoni, sæpe multis, næ ille, medius fidius, vir sapiens lætus ex his tenebris in lucem illam excesserit; nec tamen ille vincula carceris ruperit, leges enim vetant; sed tanquam a magistratu, aut ab aliqua potestate legitima, sic a deo evocatus atque emissus exierit.* But this trifling distinction destroys the very end and design of the dialogue. If it was left to every one to explain, as he thought fit, the state he is in, and interpret it as an express order from God to quit his station, the prohibition of self-murder would be unnecessary, since a reason would never be wanting upon occasion to justify it; therefore this action in *Cato* is not by any means warrantable. However, it must be allowed, that it was less criminal in him, than it can be in those, who destroy themselves for some private reasons, when

His whole
concern is
about his
friends.

Stabs himself
with his
sword.

Puts an end
to his life.

The concern of
the inhabitants
of Utica at
his death.

Utica submits
to Cæsar.

called up two of his freed-men, *Cleanthes*, his physician, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly employed in public affairs. The latter he sent to the port, to see whether his friends had set sail, and ordered the former to apply some remedy to his hand that was hurt by the blow he gave his slave. At this they were all overjoyed, hoping he had laid aside all thoughts of putting an end to his life. *Butas* soon came back, and brought him word, that all his friends were imbarqued, except *Crassus*, who had staid on account of some business, but was just ready to depart. He added, that the wind was high, and the sea very rough. At this he sighed, shewing a great deal of compassion for those who were at sea, and sent again *Butas* to see, whether any of them were driven back and wanted his assistance. In the mean time, he again fell asleep, and did not wake till day began to appear; when *Butas* returning, acquainted him, that the storm was allayed, and that no noise was heard in the port. Then *Cato*, laying himself down again, as if he intended to sleep, desired *Butas* to withdraw and shut the door after him. He was no sooner gone, than the zealous republican, as if he had waited till those of his party were out of danger, taking his sword, ran it into his body; but not being able to use his hand so well which had been hurt, he did not die immediately of the wound, but fell upon his bed, and threw down a table on which he had drawn some figures of geometry. The noise of this alarmed his son and his friends, who, breaking into the room, found him weltering in his blood, with his bowels in great part out of his body. Such a dreadful sight and his ghastly looks, his eyes being yet open, struck them all with so great terror, that they stood some time motionless, without being able, in that surprize and confusion, to lend him the least assistance. At length *Butas* accosting him, put in his bowels, which were not hurt, and sewed up the wound; but *Cato*, after some time, coming to himself, thrust away the physician, rent open his wound again, and, tearing his bowels, expired immediately, in the forty-eighth, or, as others will have it, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was one of the most virtuous citizens *Rome* ever produced, had all the virtues, and none of the faults, of *Cato* the censor, one of his illustrious ancestors, and would, with his invincible constancy and resolution, have supported the sinking republic, had not the gods themselves, as *Plutarch* observes, decreed her destruction. His death was no sooner known, than the inhabitants of *Utica* flocked to his house, calling him their benefactor, their deliverer, the only free, the only invincible, *Roman*. Tho' at that very instant word was brought them, that *Cæsar* was drawing near, yet neither fear of the present danger, nor the commotions and discord which reigned among them, nor even the eagerness each of them had of making their court to the conqueror, could divert them from burying his body with the utmost pomp, and paying all the funeral honours that were due to a person of his merit and rank. How strong must the impressions have been, which the virtue of *Cato* left in their minds, since they thus openly honoured his memory at the approach of his enemy, who was victorious, and upon whose mercy they were that moment to throw themselves! When *Cæsar*, who was now at the very gates of *Utica* with all his forces, heard of *Cato's* death, he is said to have uttered these words; *Cato, I envy thee thy death, since thou hast envied me the glory of saving thy life* (L). Upon *Cato's* death, the city of *Utica* was by *Lucius Cæsar* delivered up to the conqueror, who pardoned some, but caused others to be privately put to death. Among the latter was *Lucius Cæsar* himself,

when overwhelmed with grief, pinched with poverty, overcome with fear, or some other passion; for there is a wide difference, in our opinion, between the pusillanimity of such and the despair of a brave man, who kills himself, not for any private reason, but, if the expression may be allowed, for some reason of state; for tho' the action carries in it a brutal fury and the blind impulse of an ungovernable passion; yet, as *Plutarch* has well observed on another subject, where he compares *Romulus* and *Theseus*, *he is more excuseable, who is transported by a stronger cause, as by a more severe stroke*. And what stroke can be more severe than the ruin of our country?

(L) *Plutarch* seems to question whether *Cæsar* would have pardoned *Cato* or no. The discourse, says that writer, which *Cæsar* wrote against *Cato*, is no great sign of his kindness, or that he was inclined to shew him any favour. Is it probable, adds

he, that *Cæsar* would have been tender of his life, when he was so bitter against his memory? But, with *Plutarch's* leave, we are of opinion, that *Cæsar* would have spared him, as he did *Cicero*, *Brutus*, *Marcellus*, his most inveterate enemy, and many others, not indeed out of any friendship he had for him, but out of vanity, and perhaps policy. As for the book mentioned by *Plutarch*, *Cæsar* wrote it not out of hatred to *Cato*, but in his own vindication. *Cicero* had written an encomium on *Cato*, and called it by his name. A discourse composed by so great a master, upon such an excellent subject, was immediately in every body's hands. This touched *Cæsar* to the quick; for he looked upon a panegyric on his enemy, who chose rather to kill himself than fall into his hands, as no better than a satire against himself. He therefore published an answer to it, containing a collection of charges and accusations against that great man, which he styled *Anticato*.



a himself, who had treated with great cruelty such of *Cæsar's* adherents, as he had got into his power during the war; among the former were *Cato's* son, his daughter, *Statilius*, and most of his friends. His son was afterwards slain in the battle of *Philippi*, with more glory than he had lived; for we are told, that he led a debauched life, and that being lodged, while he stayed in *Cappadocia*, in the house of *Marphadates*, one of the royal family, he maintained a criminal conversation with his wife, by name *Psyche*, which in *Greek* signifies soul. This gave the *Romans* occasion to say by way of raillery, *That Cato and Marphadates were good friends; for they had but one soul; that Cato was noble and generous, and had a royal soul, &c.* *Cato's* daughter was married to *Brutus*, one of the conspirators, and ended her life as became one of her birth and family, as we shall relate in a more proper place. As for *Statilius*, b who affected to imitate *Cato*, he was prevented by the philosophers from putting an end to his life; but he afterwards followed *Brutus*, to whom he proved very faithful and serviceable, and at length died, with many other illustrious *Romans*, in the battle of *Philippi* ^w.

Cæsar, now master of *Utica*, and of the whole *Roman* province in *Africa*, marched into *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, and reduced both those kingdoms to *Roman* provinces, appointing *Crispus Sallustius* to govern them in quality of proconsul, with private instructions to pillage and plunder the inhabitants, and by that means put it out of their power ever to shake of the yoke. The fruitful plains of *Numidia* he divided among c the soldiers of *P. Silius*, who had reduced great part of that country. *Silius*, being driven out of *Rome*, we know not on what account, had taken refuge in *Mauritania*, and there assembled a considerable number of *Roman* exiles, with whom he entered into the service of *Bogud*, a petty king of *Mauritania*, then at war with *Juba*. *Bogud* appointed him commander in chief of all his forces; which trust he discharged with great fidelity, invading *Juba's* dominions, and making himself master even of *Cirta* his capital. This diversion was of great use to *Cæsar*; for it obliged *Juba* to leave great part of his forces at home, under the command of *Sabura*, one of his best generals, to defend his own kingdom; but, during his absence, *Silius*, having defeated and killed *Sabura*, made himself master of the whole country, and then marched with his vic- d torious army to join *Cæsar*, whom he scarce knew. On his march he met a body of *Romans*, who had saved themselves from the battle of *Thapsus*, under the command of *Afranius* and *Faustus Sylla*, defeated them, and took their leaders prisoners, together with *Sylla's* wife the daughter of *Pompey*, whom he delivered up to *Cæsar*, who not only pardoned her, but sent her into *Spain* to her brothers. Soon after *Silius's* fleet surprised in the port of *Hippo* the squadron which was conveying into *Italy* *Scipio* and other *Romans*, who had left *Utica*, and took most of them prisoners. *Scipio* laid violent hands on himself; but the rest were brought to *Silius*, who consigned them to *Cæsar*. These services the dictator rewarded with a fruitful country bordering on *Numidia*, which he bestowed on *Silius*, appointing him sovereign of that district, after having driven out a *Numidian* prince named *Manasses*, who had declared for *Juba*, and served in his army against *Cæsar* ^e.

AND now *Cæsar*, having brought all *Africa* under subjection and settled the affairs of that province, repaired to *Utica*, where his fleet waited for him. There he gave orders for the rebuilding of *Carthage*, as he did soon after his return to *Italy* for the rebuilding of *Corinth*; so that these two famous cities were destroyed in the same year, and in the same year raised out of their ruins, in which they had lain about a hundred years. Two years after they were both re-peopled with *Roman* colonies; and from these new inhabitants of *Corinth* were descended those *Corinthians*, to whom *St. Paul* wrote his two epistles. As the dictator had now no enemy to contend with in *Africa*, he left that country, loaded with glory and spoils, and set sail for *Italy* on the ides of *June*, that is, on the fourteenth of the *Julian April*; and arriving three days after at *Caralos*, now *Cagliari*, sailed from thence, on the third of the calends of *July*, for *Ostia*, which he did not reach, the weather proving very stormy, till the twenty-sixth of the *Julian May*, that is, twenty-eight days after. As he drew near *Rome*, the whole city went out to meet him, and conducted him to the capitol, where he returned thanks to *Jupiter* for the success of his arms. The senate and people strove who should be most forward in heaping honours upon him. Supplications were appointed, and sacrifices ordered to be offered daily in the temples for forty days together.

Cæsar reduces Mauritania and Numidia.

P. Silius renders Cæsar important services.

How rewarded.

Carthage and Corinth rebuilt.

Cæsar returns to Rome.

Honours bestowed on him by the senate and people.

Cæsar's speech
to the senate.

Cæsar pardons
Marcellus.

together in thanksgiving to the gods for the victories he had gained in *Africa*. His usual guard was by a decree of the senate trebled, and the number of the lictors, who attended him as dictator, doubled. His dictatorship was prolonged for ten years, and the dignity of censor, which had been hitherto divided between two magistrates, conferred on him alone, under the title of *prefect*, or *reformer*, of manners, that of *censor* seeming too vulgar. His person was declared sacred and inviolable; and, to raise him above the level of his fellow-citizens, it was decreed, that he should sit, during his life, next to the consuls; that he should give his opinion the first in all public deliberations; that he should sit at all public shews in a curule chair, and that, even after his death, the chair should be placed as usual at the shews, to render his memory immortal; nay, they went so far as to place his statue in the capitol next to that of *Jupiter*, with this inscription on the pedestal, *To Cæsar a demi-god*. Cæsar had too much penetration not to know, that this profusion of honours was the effect of fear, and not of any sincere kindness or affection for him; and therefore, in accepting such marks of distinction, he declared, That he would make no other use of the authority, with which they were pleased to trust him, than to prevent any further disturbances in the republic, and to render, as far as in him lay, all the members of it happy. I shall not, said he, renew the massacres of *Sylla* and *Marius*, which I cannot reflect on without horror. I wish I had been able to save the republic without shedding a drop of blood, and without depriving *Rome* of one single citizen; but, since that was not in my power, now that my enemies are subdued, I will make no further use of the sword; but endeavour to gain by good offices those who still continue obstinate. You shall all find in me not a *Marius* or a *Sylla*, but an indulgent father and zealous protector. As for my troops, I shall keep them together, not so much for my own defence, as for that of the republic. They shall not, however, be any charge to you; the spoils I have brought with me from *Africa*, will be sufficient to maintain them, and likewise to defray for some time the expences of the government. This speech and the pardon he granted a few days after to *M. Caullius Marcellus*, one of his most inveterate enemies, calmed the fears both of the senate and people. *Marcellus* had been consul five years before, and, during his consulate, employed all his interest and authority against Cæsar. He had fought under *Pompey's* banners at *Pharsalia*; but, retiring after that fatal action from public affairs, he had chosen the city of *Mitylene* in the island of *Lesbos* for the place of his residence, and there led a quiet life, being intirely taken up with the study of philosophy. *Cicero*, who had always professed a strict friendship for *Marcellus*, prevailed upon the conscript fathers to intercede for him all in a body. Accordingly, the first time Cæsar appeared in the senate, *Lucius Piso* having addressed him with an affecting speech in favour of the illustrious exile, all the conscript fathers seconded him, and, quitting their places, surrounded the dictator's tribunal, imploring his clemency in behalf of one of the most worthy members of their body. Cæsar heard them with great attention, and, as soon as they had done speaking, *I willingly pardon Marcellus*, said he, *out of regard to your intercession, conscript fathers, and to his own merit. Let him return and take his place in the senate. I shall not for the future look upon him as an enemy, but rank him among my friends, to convince the world of the deference I pay to this venerable body.* The conscript fathers returned him thanks, and *Cicero* in particular, in that famous speech, which is still admired by all the learned. But Cæsar's clemency did not avail the unfortunate exile. Upon the first notice of what had passed at *Rome*, he left *Mitylene*, and came to *Athens*, with a design to pass from thence over into *Italy*; but when he was ready to imbarque, he was stabbed by one *Magius Chilon*, a no less zealous follower of *Pompey* than himself. What prompted him to this murder is not well known; some suspected Cæsar of being privy to it; but that suspicion seemed quite groundless to *Cicero*, since *Magius* with the same dagger put an end to his own life, and died on the spot with *Marcellus* (M).

THE

(M) *Cicero* writes on this subject to *Atticus* thus: We can by no means suspect Cæsar of having any hand in the death of *Marcellus*, since *Magius* stabbed himself with the same dagger, which he had plunged into *Marcellus's* breast. I am at a loss to know what could prompt him to so black an attempt. *Marcellus* had been bail for him a little time before at *Sunium*. Perhaps, as *Magius* was not in a condition to satisfy his creditors, he had recourse to *Marcellus*, who refused to supply him with the necessary sums in a rough and uncivil manner, which was natural to him; and hence their quarrel (35).

- ^a THE dictator having, by his clemency and the extraordinary civility he shewed to all without distinction, delivered the senators from their fears, in the next place summoned the people, and, appearing in the assembly more like a common citizen, than a victorious general, returned them thanks, in a most obliging manner, for their inviolable attachment to his person. He then entertained them with a very particular account of his victories, telling them, That he had, by his last victory, subdued a country so rich, and of such extent, that it would yearly supply the city with two hundred thousand Bushels of corn, and three millions of measures of oil. In consideration of the many conquests he had made, four triumphs were decreed him both by the senate and people. Accordingly he triumphed four times the same month, ^{His triumphs.}
- ^b viz. over the *Gauls*, over *Egypt*, over *Pharnaces*, and over *Juba*. In the first triumph were carried before his chariot the names of three hundred nations and eight hundred cities, which he had reduced by the death of a million of enemies. Among the prisoners appeared *Vercingetorix*, who had stirred up all *Gaul* against *Cæsar*, and attempted to relieve *Alesia* at the head of three hundred thousand men. His soldiers followed him, crowned with laurel, and the whole city attended him with loud acclamations; but, in the midst of the public rejoicings, the axletree of the triumphal chariot breaking near the temple of *Fortune*, the victor narrowly escaped being crushed by the wheels. The superstitious *Romans* drew from thence presages no-ways favourable to the conqueror; but the only inconvenience, that unforeseen accident occasioned then, was, the retarding of the triumph till it was night; and then *Cæsar*, to prevent all disturbances in the dark, embellished his triumphal procession with a new ornament, causing forty elephants to be ranged, twenty on each side of his chariot, with a prodigious number of flambeaux on their backs, disposed in the shape of so many pyramids, which in a manner turned night into day, and conducted, without the least confusion, the numerous crowd to the capitol. There *Cæsar*, to set the people an example of religion, mounted the steps of the temple on his knees. After he had offered the usual sacrifice to *Jupiter*, he viewed the statue, which the senate and people had erected to himself near that of the god; and being offended at the inscription, *To Cæsar a demi-god*, ordered the fulsome title of *demi-god* to be immediately cancelled.
- ^d The second triumph was over *Egypt*, when the pictures of *Ptolemy*, *Photinus*, and *Achillas* were carried before the triumphal chariot, with representations of the cities of *Pelusium* and *Alexandria*, of the palace of the *Egyptian* kings, of the tower of *Pharos*, &c. Before the chariot walked many prisoners of distinction; among the rest *Arfinoe*, the sister of *Cleopatra*, loaded with chains; but, after she shew, she was set at liberty, and only banished from *Egypt*, that she might not create new disturbances in that kingdom to the prejudice of *Cleopatra* (N). The third triumph shewed the defeat of *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*. In the midst of the spoils, which the conqueror had brought from *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, and *Galatia*, the famous words *Veni, vidi, vici*, were carried on a table in large Characters, to shew rather the dispatch, than the difficulty or importance, of that victory. The subject of the fourth triumph was the conquest
- ^e of *Africa* and *Numidia*, with the defeat of *Juba* and his allies. In this triumph *Juba*, ^{Juba, the son of king Juba, led in triumph.} the son of king *Juba*, who was then very young, walked among the other captives before the triumphal chariot; but when the shew was over, *Cæsar* set him at liberty, and gave him an education suitable to his rank, appointing masters to teach him the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and such sciences as the young noblemen of *Rome* studied in those days. By this means he became one of the most learned men of the age he lived in; inasmuch, that the emperor *Augustus*, in consideration of his great knowledge and abilities, afterwards bestowed on him the kingdom of *Getulia* in *Africa*, and gave him in marriage *Cleopatra Selene*, the daughter of queen *Cleopatra* by *Marc Antony* (O).
- ^f The *Romans* were not so well pleased with this triumph as with the other three, *Cæsar* having caused the statues of *Scipio*, *Petreius*, and *Cato* to be carried before him among those of the foreign kings and princes whom he had subdued. They could not behold *Cato* tearing his bowels, as the statue represented him, without expressing their concern

(N) This young princess took up her residence in *Asia Proper*; for there *Antony* found her after the battle of *Philippi*, and, at the request of *Cleopatra*, caused her to be put to death (36).

(O) He was the author of several works, and, among the rest of the history of *Rome*, which he

wrote in *Greek*, and which is often quoted, and with great approbation, by the ancients, but is now intirely lost, as are also all his other works. One of them was of the affairs of *Affyria*, and chiefly collected from the writings of *Berosus*.

His liberality
towards the
soldiers and
the Roman
people.

cern with loud sighs and tears for the death of so great a man. The vessels of gold^a and silver, which in these triumphs were carried before the conqueror, amounted to the value of sixty-five thousand talents, that is, above twelve millions of our money, besides eighteen hundred and twenty-two crowns of gold, weighing fifteen thousand and thirty-three pounds, which were presents made him, according to the custom of those times, by princes and cities after his victories. Out of these sums he paid his soldiers their arrears, and besides a hundred and fifty pounds of our money to every private man, as much more to each centurion, and thrice that sum to each tribune and commander of the cavalry. As to the *Roman* people, whose favour he courted, he gave to each particular person ten bushels of corn, ten measures of oil, and added a hundred denarii by way of interest, to the three hundred he had promised them before^b he set out for *Africa*. After this he entertained the people at twenty-two thousand tables with six thousand murenas, and an incredible profusion of other dainties and rich wines, which most of them had never tasted before; and that nothing might be wanting to the pomp and magnificence of these feasts, he entertained the city with a combat of two thousand gladiators, with representations of sea and land fights, in which were sometimes three, sometimes four thousand combatants on a side, and with all sorts of plays, farces, and mimic performances (P). These entertainments lasted several days, and drew such multitudes of people to *Rome*, that the greatest part of them were forced to lie in the open air, and many were stifled in the croud, among the rest two senators^c.

Reforms the
government.

Cæsar, having by his largesses, entertainments, and shews, secured the affections of the soldiery and people, made it his whole business to reform the government, and establish good order in the city. In order to this he published many wholesome laws. In the first place, as many of the inhabitants had lost their lives in the civil war, and many had abandoned their native country; he appointed great privileges and exemptions for such as had numerous families, recalled all those who had settled in foreign countries, and invited to *Rome* from all parts of the world such persons as were in any repute for their learning and knowledge, granting them for their encouragement all the rights and privileges of *Roman* citizens. At the same time he published a law, forbidding all citizens, above twenty years of age and under forty, to^d absent themselves from the capital more than three years, under any pretence whatsoever (Q). By other laws he restrained the profuse way of living, which at that time prevailed

^a DIO, l. xlii. PLIN. l. xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii. SUET. in Cæs. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 56.

(P) The two famous *mimics*, or, as they were then called, *pantomimes*, *Laberius* and *Publius*, acted on this occasion. *Laberius* was by birth a *Roman* knight, but nevertheless acted on the stage mimic pieces of his own composing. *Cæsar* rewarded him for acting in the plays, with which he presented the people, giving him, when they were over, five hundred sesterces, and a golden ring, which was restoring him to the equestrian dignity he had forfeited by performing on the stage. *Macrobius* has given us part of a prologue of this author (37), which may serve for a taste of his wit and style. *Horace* indeed taxes his compositions with want of elegance (38). But *Scaliger* thinks the censure very unjust, and the verses cited by *Macrobius* more elegant than those in which *Horace* finds fault with them (39). When *Laberius*, was going, after he had received the golden ring of *Cæsar*, to resume his place among the knights, *Cicero* told him, as he passed by the *orchestra*, where the senators sat, that he would with all his heart make room for him there, but that he was already squeezed up himself; this he said in allusion to the many senators *Cæsar* had lately created. No wonder, replied *Laberius*, that you, who commonly make use of two seats at once, fancy yourself squeezed up, when you sit like other people. This was a severe wipe on the inconsistency and double-dealing of the orator (40).

Publius was a *Syrian* by birth, but received his education at *Rome* in the condition of a slave. Having by several specimens of wit obtained his freedom, he undertook the writing of mimic pieces, and acted them with uncommon applause in the towns of *Italy*. At last being brought to *Rome* to bear a part in *Cæsar*'s plays, he challenged all the dramatic writers and actors, and carried the prize from every one of them, even from *Laberius* himself (41). A collection of sentences taken out of his works is still extant, which *Joseph Scaliger* highly commends, and even thought it worth his while to translate them into *Greek*.

(Q) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Cæsar* took a census of the people, who from three hundred and twenty thousand were now reduced to a hundred and fifty thousand; so great a waste, says he, had the civil war made in *Rome* alone; not to mention what the other parts of *Italy* and the provinces had suffered. But there are no fewer than three notorious mistakes in this passage, as the learned *Rualdus* observes. The first is, where it is said, that *Cæsar* took a census of the people; *Suetonius* does not mention it, and *Augustus* himself in his *Marmora Ancyriana* says, that in his sixth consulate he numbered the people, which had not been done for forty-two years before. The second is, that before the civil wars broke out between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, the number of the peopleⁱⁿ

(37) *Macrobius. Satur. l. ii. c. 7.*

re Poet. l. i. c. 10.

(38) *Horat. satyr. l. i. satyr. 10. v. 5. 6.*

(40) *Macrobius. Saturn. l. ii. c. 7.*

(41) *Idem ibid.*

(39) *Scaliger de*

a prevailed in *Rome* and all over *Italy*; he confined the use of litters, of embroidered robes and jewels to persons only of the first rank, or of overgrown estates; he limited the expence of feasts by many sumptuary laws, which he caused to be put in execution with the utmost rigour, his officers often breaking into the houses of the rich citizens, and snatching from off their tables such meats as had been served up contrary to his prohibition. All the markets swarmed with informers, so that nothing could be brought thither, or sold, without his knowledge; and he never failed to punish with heavy fines such as he found guilty of the least breach of the laws he had enacted for the restraining of luxury. As for the management of the public money, he reserved that intirely to himself, but committed the administration of justice to the senators and knights, chusing from among them such persons as were noted for their integrity and probity. As his long command in *Gaul* had given him an opportunity of usurping an absolute power, to prevent others from treading in his footsteps, he ordained by a law, that no prætor should be continued in his government above a year, and no consular above two. All the magistrates in *Rome*, as well as in the provinces, were appointed by him, the people, whom he suffered to assemble in the comitium, to maintain at least some appearance of a republican state, not daring to chuse any but such as he proposed, or recommended; by which means all the places and governments were filled with his creatures. The tribunes, the prætors, the quæstors, and even the consuls, were all persons who had served under him, and were inviolably attached to his interest. The government of the countries subject to the republic was committed to such only as the dictator thought he could confide in. Thus *Sicily* was allotted to *A. Allienus*, *Cisalpine Gaul* to *M. Junius Brutus*, *Transalpine Gaul* to another *Junius Brutus*, surnamed *Albinus*, *Achaia* to *Servius Sulpicius*, *Numidia* to *Crispus Sallustius*, *Illyricum* to *P. Vatinius*, *Syria* to *Q. Cornificius*, and *Spain* to *Q. Cassius Longinus*; so that the absolute authority of *Cæsar* seemed to be equally established in the capital and in the most distant provinces. In *Syria* indeed his power was disputed by one *Cæcilius Bassus*, who created great disorders in that province. He was a *Roman* knight, and had fought on *Pompey's* side in the battle of *Pharsalia*. After that overthrow he fled to *Tyre*, and there, pretending to be a merchant, underhand engaged in his party many who had been favourers of *Pompey*, and even some of the *Roman* soldiers who were sent thither to garison the city. Whereupon being at length taken notice of by *Sextus Cæsar*, whom the dictator had appointed governor of that province, as he hastened northward against *Pharnaces*, he was summoned to appear before him, and give an account of his proceedings. *Sextus*, without betraying the least fear, told the governor, that he was raising volunteers, and making other preparations with no other design but to assist *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* in the reduction of the kingdom of *Pergamus*, which had been given him by *Cæsar*. *Sextus* believing him, he was dismissed, and no more taken notice of, till having got together a considerable number of conspirators, he seized on the city of *Tyre*, giving out, that *Cæsar* was killed in *Africa*, and that thereupon he was appointed by the senate president of *Syria*. By this imposture he increased his forces so as to be able to take the field, and engage *Cæsar*; but he was intirely defeated, and forced to take shelter in *Tyre*. There he continued inactive, till the many wounds he had received in the battle were cured; and then by his emissaries stirred up the troops under the command of

Sumptuary laws.

Disposes of all employments.

Cæcilius Bassus raises disturbances in Syria.

in *Rome* amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thousand; for long before that it was much greater, and had continued upon the increase. The last is, where it is asserted, that in less than three years those three hundred and twenty thousand citizens were reduced by that war to a hundred and fifty thousand; the falsity of which assertion is evident from this, that a little while after *Cæsar* made a draught of eighty thousand to be sent to foreign colonies. Is it probable, that he would have left no more than seventy thousand souls in *Rome*? But what is still stronger, eighteen years after, *Augustus* took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and sixty-three thousand, *censere civium Romanorum capita quadragies centum millia, & sexaginta tria millia*, says *Suetonius*. Such an increase in so short a time must be prodigious, if

not impossible. *Rualdus* has not only discovered these mistakes, but the source of them; he makes it appear, that *Plutarch*, for want of a thorough understanding of the *Latin* tongue, has been misled by the following passage in *Suetonius*, who says of *Cæsar*, *recensum populi ne more, nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit, atque ex viginti trecentisque millibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquaginta retraxit* (42). *Suetonius* speaks there of the review taken by *Cæsar* of the needy citizens, who shared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thousand, and reduced to a hundred and twenty thousand. *Plutarch* mistook *recensum* for *censum* the muster taken by the censors, and this error led him into the other mistakes.

(42) *Sueton. in Jul. c. 4.*

X x

Sextus Cæsar
governor of
Syria murder-
ed by his own
men.

The various
success of
Bassus

of Cæsar, who was given to all manner of lewdness, to rebel against their leader and murder him. Upon his death, the troops he commanded joined Bassus, excepting a small body that retired into Cilicia. Bassus seeing himself again at the head of a considerable army, marched straight to Apamea, and seizing that city, fortified it, and made it the place of his residence, there taking on him the government of the whole province. But Antistius Verus putting himself at the head of those who had retreated into Cilicia, and drawing to him several others of the Cæsarean party in that country, marched back with them into Syria. There he was joined by the sons of Antipater with auxiliaries from Judæa, and by several of the neighbouring princes, who were glad of an opportunity to shew their attachment to the dictator, and by that means gain his favour. Thus Antistius was enabled to make head against Bassus, and even to drive him quite out of the field. He retreated to Apamea, where he was closely besieged by Antistius; but, as he was a brave soldier and experienced commander; his adversary, having spent the whole summer before the place without being able to gain any advantage over him, was forced towards the end of the campaign to raise the siege and forbear all hostilities, till he received new supplies both of men and provisions².

Cæsar, being informed of what passed in Syria, immediately dispatched Statius Murcus, whom Josephus through mistake names Marcus, to succeed Sextus in the government of Syria, appointing him three legions to put an end to that unexpected war. These, with the troops which Antistius commanded, formed a very considerable army; so that Bassus was again obliged to shut himself up in Apamea, the siege of which place was renewed by the united forces of Murcus and Antistius. During the siege, both sides solicited the assistance of the neighbouring princes and states. Alcaudonius, an Arabian king, being on this occasion sent to both by Bassus and Murcus, came with all his forces, and placing himself between Apamea and the camp of the Cæsareans, that covered the siege, offered his assistance, by way of auction, to that side which should give most for it; and Bassus having bid highest, he immediately joined him. At the same time Pacorus came to his assistance at the head of a numerous body of Parthians; which two reinforcements added such strength to the besieged, that the Cæsareans were again forced to raise the siege, and leave Bassus master of the field³. Hereupon the dictator sent orders to Q. Martius Crispus, governor of Bithynia, to march with the three legions he had under his command, to the assistance of Murcus; and at his approach Bassus retired to Apamea, where he was closely besieged the third time, but held out till the death of Cæsar, when he was relieved by Cassius, who seized on the province of Syria, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history.

Cæsar reforms
the kalendar

WHILE the dictator's lieutenants were thus employed in the east, the dictator himself, to shew that nothing escaped his care, undertook at Rome the reformation of the Roman kalendar, which it belonged to him to rectify as pontifex maximus, an office he had bore long before he was either consul or dictator. This reformation was at this time much wanted; for by reason of the faults of the former kalendar the festivals of the Romans and their solemn days were removed by degrees, and put out of due time; till at last they came to fall in with seasons quite opposite to those of their primitive institution. The year which the Romans made use of till this time consisted of twelve lunar months; but twelve lunar months falling eleven days short of a solar year, it was the office of the pontifex maximus with the college of the pontifices to add such intercalations as should make all even. This they usually did by casting in an intercalary month every two years, which alternatively consisted of twenty-two and twenty-three days. This short month is called by Plutarch in one place Mercedinus^b, and in another Mercedonius^c. The place it was allotted in the Roman kalendar was between the 23d and 24th of February. But the care of this intercalation being left to the pontifices, they put in or left out the intercalary month according as they had a mind to prolong or shorten the time of the annual magistrates then in office; by which means great disorders crept into the political as well as the astronomical year; to prevent which Cæsar undertook that reformation, of which the world has had the benefit ever since, and happily completed it (R).

YET

² DIO, l. xlvii. LIBO apud APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. iii. Epit. LIV. l. cxiv. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiv. c. 17. & de bell. Judaico, l. i. c. 8. ³ DIO, l. xlvii. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 69. APPIAN. ibid. l. iii. & iv. CIC. ad Attic. l. xiv. epist. 9. ^b PLUT. in Numa. ^c Idem in Cæs.

(R) This he did by the following methods: 1st, lunar months, or three hundred and fifty-five days, by which the Romans had hitherto computed their time; and He abolished the lunar year, consisting of twelve

- a YET so commendable and useful a work gave offence to some, who envied his grandeur, and were weary of his power. They took occasion from thence to say, that, after he had triumphed over the earth, he had a mind to govern likewise in heaven. It is no strange thing to hear ignorant people talk at that rate; but that *Cicero*, who had long before translated *Aratus*, and consequently ought to have been better acquainted than any with the disorders of the former calculation, could be guilty of such a weakness, is surprising. Yet the orator made the reformation of the kalendar the subject of several severe jests. As one chanced to say in his company, that the next morning the *Lyra* would rise, Yes, replied *Cicero*, by *Cæsar's* order, insinuating thereby, that the dictator pretended to subject even the celestial bodies to his power.
- b But *Cæsar*, who knew better than *Cicero*, what advantages would accrue to posterity from so useful an undertaking, and what glory to himself, thought it beneath him to take any notice of such low jests.

c WHILE *Cæsar* was thus employed at *Rome* in works of peace, the two sons of *Pompey*, having assembled beyond the *Pyrenees* such of their father's party as had escaped from the battles of *Pharsalia* and *Thapsus*, made themselves masters of great part of *Spain*. The *Spaniards*, who had formerly served under their father, flocked to them from all parts; insomuch, that they soon saw themselves at the head of a very numerous army, composed partly of *Romans*, and partly of the natives of the country. They had likewise experienced officers, and among the rest *Labiennus*, who had learnt the art of war under *Cæsar* himself, and had on many occasions given signal proofs both of his courage and the wisdom of his conduct. *Cæsar* had indeed after the conquest of *Africa* dispatched first *Caius Didius* into *Spain*, to oppose the progress of the two young generals in that country, and after him *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Q. Pædus*, two of his lieutenants, with such a body of troops, as he thought sufficient to keep the *Spaniards* in awe. But the republican party, being favoured by the natives, had gained the ascendant over them, made themselves masters of several cities, and obliged the *Cæsareans* to shut themselves up in their strong-holds. The dictator's presence was therefore necessary; and accordingly he resolved to go in person, and put a stop to their further progress. But, before he left *Rome*, he assembled the comitia,

PLUT. in Cic. & Cæsare.

and introduced the use of the solar year, consisting of the time in which the sun goes through the *Zodiac*, and comes about again to the same point, whence his course began. 2dly, Having, according to the best observations of those times, concluded this revolution to be made in three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours; of these he made his solar year to consist. 3dly, These three hundred and sixty-five days he distributed into twelve artificial; instead of lunar, months before in use, some of them consisting of thirty-one days, some of thirty, and one, that is, *February*, of twenty eight. 4thly, The six hours over and above in four years making a day, he made every fifth year to consist of three hundred and sixty-six days, and this is what we call the *Leap Year*. 5thly, This day he added between the 23d and 24th day of *February*, in the same place in the *Roman* kalendar, where formerly the intercalary month *Mercidinus* had been inserted. As this addition was made by putting the latter of those days, which was called *Sextus Kalendas*, twice in the kalendar, the year was thence called by the *Latins* *Annus Bissextilis*, the *Bissextile Year*. But we, instead of putting the 24th day of *February* twice in the bissextile or leap year, number on the days, so as to make the month consist of twenty-nine. 6thly, *Cæsar* began this year on the kalends or first day of *January*, because on that day the annual magistrates of *Rome* entered on their offices. 7thly, The first of *January* he then fixed to the winter solstice; but it has now over-run that time several days, by reason that the *Julian* solar year is eleven minutes longer than the natural solar year. 8thly, To bring this reformation into practice, besides the month *Mercidinus*, which was inserted in *February*, as usual, *Cæsar* added to this present year two months more, which

he put in between the months of *November* and *December*; so that this year thereby consisted of four hundred and forty-five days, viz. three hundred and fifty-five days for the common *Roman* year, twenty-three for the month *Mercidinus*, and sixty-seven for the other months added between *November* and *December*; so that this year, which was the longest the *Romans* had ever had, putting their affairs out of their usual order, was called by them the year of confusion. In the settling of this point *Cæsar* made use of the assistance of *Sosigenes*, an astronomer of *Alexandria*, for the astronomical calculations, and of *Flavius* a scribe, for the forming and digesting of them into a kalendar, according to the *Roman* manner, that is, in distributing the days of each month into their *kalends*, *ides*, and *nones*, and fixing the festivals, and other solemn times, to the days on which they were to be observed. But the pontifices, who had been the authors of the old confusion, not well understanding the new computation, instead of interposing the leap day after every fourth year in the beginning of the fifth, put it in after the third in the beginning of the fourth, which disorder was continued for thirty-six years following; by which means twelve years having been made leap years instead of nine, the error was at length perceived. Hereupon *Augustus*, who succeeded *Julius Cæsar*, to bring matters into the right course again, ordered, that for the twelve years next ensuing no leap year should be made: whereby the three supernumerary days, which had been erroneously cast in, being again dropped, this way of computing has been observed ever since without any alteration, except that made by *Gregory XIII.* which we have mentioned above.

*Cæsar chosen
consul the
fourth year.*

*He sets out for
Spain.*

*Invests the ci-
ty of Ategua.*

*And makes
himself master
of it and other
places.*

*Pompey in-
camps in the
plain of
Munda.*

*Cæsar follows
him thither.*

comitia, and having caused himself to be chosen consul the fourth time, as dictator he appointed *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, whom the tribes had given him for his colleague, his general of the horse. All the inferior offices were filled with his friends and creatures, no one daring to oppose the election of such as he thought fit to recommend to the assembled tribes; for though he pretended to allow them the liberty of choosing whom they pleased, yet to each tribe in particular he wrote in the following terms: *Cæsar recommends such a person to such a tribe, and begs they would oblige him so far as to chuse him.* This recommendation from *Cæsar* was in reality an order, which no one had courage enough to dispute or oppose; so that all the power and authority of the republic being lodged in the hands of such persons as were intirely addicted to him, he had no reason to apprehend the least disturbance in the capital during his absence. Having thus settled matters, *Cæsar* took his leave of *Cleopatra*, whom he had invited to Rome, and kept in his own house during her abode in that city, and setting out for Spain about the beginning of this year, which was the first *Julian* year, he arrived in twenty-four days in the province of *Bætica*. There he assembled what troops were quartered in that and the neighbouring provinces, and, putting himself at their head, marched without loss of time towards *Corduba*, hoping to surprize *Sextus*, the younger of the two *Pompeys*, who was then quartered in that city. But he, having timely notice of *Cæsar's* arrival and design, immediately dispatched an express to his brother *Cneius*, who was then besieging the city of *Ulla*, acquainting him with the danger that threatened him, and intreating him to break up the siege, and hasten with all his forces to his assistance. *Cneius* had reduced the place to the last extremity, and was then preparing for a general assault; but the unexpected arrival of the dictator, and the danger his brother was in, made him drop the enterprise and fly to *Corduba*. *Cæsar*, having upon his arrival attempted in vain to draw him to a battle, decamped in the night, and went to invest the city of *Ategua*, about sixteen miles from *Corduba*, which the republican party had made their place of arms. Thither *Cneius* followed him, and incamped on some hills at a small distance from *Cæsar's* intrenchments, with a design to cut off his communication with the neighbouring country, and by that means oblige him to raise the siege. But the dictator, notwithstanding the many and almost unsurmountable difficulties he had to struggle with, pursued his point with a constancy and resolution peculiar to himself. The besieged defended themselves with incredible bravery; but being at length reduced to the utmost extremity, the garison, which consisted mostly of *Romans*, resolved to cut the throats of all the inhabitants, set fire to the city, and attempt by a general sally to force the enemy's lines, and retire to *Cneius's* camp which was in sight of the city. The cruel massacre was put in execution; but the garison, after having attempted in vain to make their way through *Cæsar's* camp, were driven back into the town with great slaughter. At length *L. Minutius Flaccus*, who commanded in the city and had distinguished himself, during the siege, in a most eminent manner, surrendered the place upon honourable terms, and put *Cæsar* in possession of the few magazines which the flames had spared. From *Ategua* *Cæsar* marched to *Bursavolis*, which he surprized, and put great numbers of the inhabitants to the sword, for having cruelly massacred such of their countrymen as had advised them to surrender. After the reduction of these two places, *Cæsar* marched to find out the enemy, and force them to a general engagement. They were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Ucubis*, now *Lucubi*, according to *Mariana*, in the kingdom of *Grenade*. *Cæsar* posted himself at a small distance from the enemy's camp, which gave occasion to daily skirmishes, in one of which *Cæsar's* cavalry was put to the rout, and defeated with great slaughter. *Pompey* was so elated with this advantage, that he resolved to put the whole to the issue of a general action. He even wrote to his friends, that *Cæsar* had with him only raw and unexperienced soldiers, that he apprehended he would never venture an engagement so long as he could avoid it, but that he would find means to force him to it. In order to this, he marched towards the city of *Hispalis*, now *Seville*, and from thence advanced into the plains of *Munda* (S), and incamped there. *Cæsar* was no sooner informed of the enemy's motions, than he decamped, and after two days easy march appeared with his army in the same plain where *Pompey* was incamped. As the enemy were very impatient

(S) The city of *Munda* is placed by the antient geographers in the province of *Bætica*, about twenty miles from *Malaga* in an agreeable and fruitful plain watered by a small river, or rather a rivulet. It was in former times a place of great note, but is at present, as *Mariana* informs us, a sorry village known by its antient name.

- a impatient to come to an engagement, the very next morning they drew up their army by break of day; but had the precaution to post themselves advantageously on a rising ground, whereof one side was defended by the city of *Munda*, and the other by a small river, which watered the plain, and by a marsh; so that the enemy could not attack them but in front. *Cæsar* likewise drew up his troops with great art, and, having advanced a little way from his camp, ordered his troops to halt, expecting the enemy would abandon their advantageous post and come to meet him. But, as they did not stir, *Cæsar* made as if he intended to fortify himself in that post, which induced the young general, who looked upon this as a sign of fear, to advance into the plain, and attack the enemy before they could secure themselves with any works.
- b *Pompey's* army was by far the most numerous; for it consisted of thirteen legions, six hundred horse, and an incredible number of auxiliaries, among whom were all the forces of *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, commanded by his two sons, both youths of great valour and bravery. *Cæsar* had eighty cohorts, three legions, viz. the third, the fifth, and the tenth, and a body of eight thousand horse. As the enemy drew near, *Cæsar* betrayed a great deal of uneasiness and concern, as if he were doubtful of the success, knowing he was to engage men no ways inferior in valour and experience to his own, and commanded by officers, who had on many occasions given signal proofs of their bravery and conduct. *Cneius*, the elder of the two brothers, was generally looked upon as an able commander, and *Labienus* esteemed scarce inferior to *Cæsar* himself. However, the dictator, desirous to put an end to the civil war, either by his own death or that of his rivals, gave the signal for the battle, and fell upon the enemy with his usual vigour and resolution. At the first onset, which was dreadful, the auxiliaries on both sides betook themselves to flight, leaving the *Romans* to decide their quarrel by themselves. Then the legionaries engaged with a fury hardly to be expressed; *Cæsar's* men being encouraged by the hopes of putting an end to all their labours by this battle, and those of *Pompey* exerting themselves out of necessity and despair, since most of them expected no quarter, as having been formerly pardoned when defeated under *Afranius* and *Petreibus*. Never was victory more obstinately disputed. *Cæsar's* men, who had been always used to conquer, found themselves so vigorously charged by the enemy's legionaries, that they began to give ground; and though they did not turn their backs, yet it was manifest that shame alone kept them in their posts. All authors agree, that *Cæsar* had never been in so great danger; and he himself, when he came back to his camp, told his friends, that he had often fought for victory, but this was the first time he had ever fought for life. Thinking himself abandoned by fortune, which had hitherto favoured him, he had some thoughts of stabbing himself with his own sword, and by a voluntary death preventing the disgrace of a defeat. But returning soon to himself, and concluding it would be more to his reputation to fall by the enemy's hand at the head of his troops, than, in a fit of despair, by his own, he dismounted from his horse, and snatching a buckler from one of his legionaries, he threw himself, like a man in despair, into the midst of the enemy; crying out to his men, *Are you not ashamed to deliver your general into the hands of boys?* At these words the soldiers of the tenth legion, animated by the example of their general, fell upon the enemy with fresh vigour, and made a dreadful havock of them. But, in spite of their utmost efforts, *Pompey's* men still kept their ground, and, though greatly fatigued, returned the charge with equal vigour. Then the *Cæsareans* began to despair of victory, and the dictator, running through the ranks of his disheartened legionaries, had much ado to keep them together. The battle had already lasted from the rising to the setting of the sun, without any considerable advantage on either side. At length a mere accident decided the dispute in favour of the dictator.
- f *Bogud*, a petty king of *Mauritania*, of whom we have spoke above, had joined *Cæsar* soon after his arrival in *Spain* with some squadrons of *Numidian* horse; but in the very beginning of the battle, being terrified at the shouting of the soldiers intermingled with groans and the clashing of their arms, he had abandoned his post, and retired with the auxiliaries under his command to a rising ground at a small distance from the enemy's camp. There he continued the whole day an idle spectator of the battle that was fought in the plain. But towards the evening, partly out of shame, and partly out of compassion on his friend *Cæsar*, he resolved to fall upon *Pompey's* camp, and accordingly flew thither with all the forces he had with him. *Labienus*, apprised of his design hastened after him, to the defence of the camp; which *Cæsar* observing, g cried to his legionaries, *Courage, fellow-soldiers, the victory at length is ours*; *Labienus* flies.

The battle of Munda.

Year after the flood 2959.

Before Christ.

40.

Of Rome

708.

Cæsar in great distress.

Cæsar gains
the day by a
stratagem,
and forces the
enemy's camp.

flies. This artifice had the desired effect : *Cæsar's* men, believing that *Labienus* was truly fled, made a last effort, and charged the wing he commanded so briskly, that after a most obstinate dispute they put them to flight. Though the enemy's left wing was thus intirely defeated, the right, where the elder *Pompey* commanded, still kept their ground for some time. *Pompey*, dismounting from his horse, fought on foot like a private man in the first line, till, most of his legionaries being killed, he was forced to save himself by flight from falling into the enemy's hands. Part of his troops fled back to their camp, and part took shelter in the city of *Munda*. The camp was immediately attacked and taken sword in hand ; and as for the city, *Cæsar* without loss of time drew a line of circumvallation round it. Such was the ever-memorable battle of *Munda*, which gave the finishing stroke to the *Roman* republic, and raised *Cæsar* to the highest pitch of power and glory, no one daring from this time dispute his authority. This victory was gained on the sixteenth of the kalends of *April*, that is, according to our way of counting, on the seventeenth day of *March*, when the *Dionysian* festival, or the *Liberalia*, were celebrated at *Rome* (T), the very day, as *Plutarch* observes, in which *Pompey the Great* four years before had set out for the war. In this action *Pompey* lost thirty thousand men, among whom were the famous *Labienus*, *Attius Varus*, and three thousand *Roman* knights. Seventeen officers of distinction were taken, and all the enemy's eagles and ensigns together with *Pompey's* fasces, which he had assumed as governor of *Spain*. On *Cæsar's* side only a thousand men were killed and five hundred wounded ^d.

Besieges
Munda.

THE battle being over, *Cæsar* in the first place completed his lines about *Munda*, using, instead of earth, the dead bodies of the enemy, which covered the whole plain, and raising them up in heaps, so as to equal the height of the walls. This sight filled *Cæsar* with horror, who thereupon committed the carrying on of the siege to *Fabius Maximus*, one of his lieutenants, and, having caused the bodies of *Attius Varus* and *Labienus* to be honourably interred, abandoned the plain of *Munda*, and marched towards *Corduba*, expecting to find there the heads of the contrary party, who had disappeared after the battle. But he was disappointed ; for the elder *Pompey* fled with a hundred and fifty horse from the field of battle towards his navy, which lay at *Carteia*, a city about a hundred and seventy miles distant from *Corduba*. The inhabitants opened their gates to him ; but were no sooner informed of the success of the battle at *Munda*, than they sent deputies to *Cæsar*, acquainting him, that they had secured *Pompey*. But, as a good number of the inhabitants still remained in *Pompey's* interest, the place was divided into two factions, which carried their animosities so far as to engage each other in the streets, and fill the city with blood and slaughter. In one of these tumultuary actions *Pompey* himself received several wounds ; but having nevertheless, after a warm dispute, made himself master of one of the gates, he escaped to his fleet, and, hoisting sail, put to sea with thirty galleys. But *Didius*, who commanded *Cæsar's* fleet at *Gades*, upon notice of his weighing anchor, immediately put to sea after him, having first taken on board a considerable body of horse as well as foot, in case there should be occasion to pursue the enemy by land. After four days sail he came up with their galleys, and surprising them, while both the soldiers and mariners were employed ashore in procuring necessary provisions, which they had not had time to take in at *Carteia*, he burnt several of them, took the rest, and by that means cut off the enemy's retreat by sea. *Pompey*, seeing himself thus unexpectedly deprived of his fleet, endeavoured to save himself by flight cross the mountains. But,

Which is de-
stroyed by Di-
dius, Cæsar's
admiral.

as

^d PLUT. in Cæs. APPIAN. bell. civil. 1. ii, Auth. comment. de bell. Hispaniæ.

(T) *Plutarch* tells us, that this battle was won on the *Dionysian* festival, τῇ τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτῇ, says that writer ; which passages, as madam *Dacier* rightly observes, most interpreters have grossly mistaken. The old *Latin* version, says she, has it thus : *hanc victoriam obtinuit saturnalibus*, this victory was gained on the festival of *Saturn*. The *Dionysia* and *Saturnalia* were two very different festivals. Others, who have translated it into the modern languages, have rendered it by the feast of the *Bacchanals*. How could *Cæsar* gain a victory on the day of a festival, which had been abolished a hundred and forty-one

years before, and suppressed throughout all *Italy* by an order of the senate, on account of its abominations, as we are informed by *Livy* (43) ? *Plutarch* by the *Dionysia* means that feast which is called by the *Romans* *Liberalia*, and stands in their kalendar against the 17th of *March*. *Liberalia*, says *Festus*, *Liberi Festa, quæ apud Græcos dicuntur Dionysia*. As *Liber* and *Dionysius* are two names of *Bacchus*, this is what has misled those interpreters, and made them believe, though very absurdly, that the feast, called *Liberalia*, was the same with the *Bacchanalia*. Thus far the learned madam *Dacier*.

(43) *Liv. l. xxxix.*

a as he had been dangerously wounded at *Carteia* in his shoulder and left leg, and besides had now the misfortune, as all things seemed to conspire against him, to put his ankle out of joint, which obliged him to be carried in a litter, the enemy's horse, who had been put on board for that particular service, soon came up with him. Upon their approach, the unfortunate *Roman* discovering a castle on a steep hill at a small distance, retired thither with the few troops that attended him. The *Cæsareans*, under the command of *Cesennius Lento*, immediately attacked the place, hoping to carry it by assault, but were repulsed by a shower of darts, and pursued in their retreat with great slaughter. Hereupon *Didius* began to besiege the castle in a regular manner, and to draw a line of circumvallation round it; which so terrified *Pompey's* men, that they resolved to quit the place and abandon their leader, who was not in a condition to follow them, to the mercy of the enemy. Accordingly they made a sally, but were for the most part cut off in their retreat, *Pompey* retired with the rest, but not being able to keep pace with them by reason of his wounds, he concealed himself in a cave, where he was betrayed by some of his own soldiers, and delivered up to the *Cæsareans*, who immediately put him to death. Thus perished the elder *Pompey*, after having exerted his utmost efforts to revenge the death of his father, and save his country from impending ruin. He had never before commanded in chief; but nevertheless, in this first essay as we may call it, performed such wonders, as forced *Cæsar* to own, that he had never encountered a more formidable enemy. As for the younger brother, some writers tell us that he was not present at the battle of *Munda*, but remained in *Corduba* to defend that important place in case of any misfortune; others say, that he retired to *Corduba* after the action. However that be, he was no sooner acquainted with the melancholy news of the defeat of his brother, than he divided what money he had among the cavalry who attended him, and giving out, that he was going to meet *Cæsar* and treat with him about an accommodation, he left the city, fled in disguise to *Celtiberia*; and, joining the banditti of that country, concealed himself so well, that *Cæsar* could never discover him.

Pompey flies to a castle.

Where he is besieged and killed.

The fate of the younger Pompey.

BUT, to return to *Cæsar*: The battle being over and the lines about *Munda* completed; he marched to *Corduba*, which was defended by a body of troops that had escaped the slaughter, under the command of one *Scapula*, a zealous republican. Upon *Cæsar's* approach, *Scapula* armed all the slaves and vagabonds, who were very numerous in that great city, and, leaving the thirteenth legion in the place, marched out at the head of that undisciplined multitude, and possessed himself of a bridge. As *Cæsar's* army drew near, the rabble insulted them, asking them, whether they designed to fly, as if they had been the army defeated. But *Cæsar*, not thinking it advisable to force the post, despised their bravadoes, and taking a long compass, passed the river without opposition, and appeared before *Corduba*. Hereupon *Scapula*, giving all up for lost, retired into the city, and calling together his friends, gave them a sumptuous entertainment; which being ended, he put on his best apparel, distributed what money he had among his attendants; and then ascending a funeral pile, which he had prepared, he ordered one of his catamites to dispatch him, while another put fire to the pile, which soon reduced the body to ashes. Upon *Scapula's* death the city was divided into two factions; some were for surrendering, others for standing a siege; but the former prevailing, deputies were sent to *Cæsar*, who got possession of one of the gates. Hereupon the thirteenth legion, which had been always greatly attached to *Pompey*, began to set fire to the houses, chusing rather to perish with the city, than fall into the hands of the conqueror. This occasioned a bloody battle between them and the *Cæsareans*; in which most of the legionaries, with about twelve thousand of the inhabitants were killed upon the spot. *Cæsar*, having thus made himself master of *Corduba*, at that time the capital of *Bætica*, marched from thence to *Hispalis*, now *Seville*. On his march he was met by *Cesennius*, who gave him an account of the tragical end of the elder *Pompey*, and at the same time presented to him the young *Roman's* head, which, some writers say, he exposed to public view, while the other tell us, that he caused it to be honourably interred. As he drew near *Hispalis*, he was met by deputies from the city, who acquainted him with the divisions that reigned in the place, and intreated him to send with them a detachment and an experienced commander, to keep the adverse party in awe. *Cæsar* readily complied with their request, and granted them *Caninius Rebilus* with some manipuli,

Cæsar marches to Corduba.

Makes great slaughter of the enemy, and possesses himself of the place.

^a Auth. bell. Hispan. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. SUET. in Julio. DIO. l. xlv.

^b Auth. bell. Hispan. c. 6.

^c APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii.

Hispalis re-
ceives a Cæ-
sarean gar-
rison.

Cæsar recov-
ers Hispalis.

The fleet of
Didius burnt,
and he killed.

Munda taken.

And Ursaon.

manipuli, who entered the town without opposition. But, in the mean time, *Pompey's* friends privately dispatched one *Philo*, a zealous assertor of their party, into *Lusitania*, where he was well known, to beg assistance of *Cæcilius Niger*, who still supported *Pompey's* interest there at the head of a considerable number of the natives. *Philo* soon returned with a numerous body of *Lusitanians*, and, being let into the city in the night, fell unexpectedly on the *Cæsareans*, and cut them all off to a man. Hereupon *Cæsar* immediately invested the town; but, in drawing the lines of circumvallation, left several open places for the *Lusitanians* to make their escape, lest despair should prompt them to set fire to the houses and demolish the walls. At the same time he placed squadrons of horse on all the roads that led from the city, ordering them to conceal themselves till the *Lusitanians* appeared, and then, falling upon them, give them no quarter. They held out a long time with great obstinacy and resolution; but at length made a sally, and got safe beyond *Cæsar's* lines through the passages that had been left open for that purpose. But while they thought themselves out of danger, they were all on a sudden attacked by the *Cæsarean* cavalry, and put to the sword, not one of them escaping the general slaughter. *Cæsar*, having thus recovered *Hispalis*, marched towards *Asta* (U), the inhabitants of which city sent ambassadors to meet him, and deliver him the keys of their town. There he received the melancholy news of the death of *Didius* his admiral, who had distinguished himself on all occasions in a very eminent manner. After he had destroyed *Pompey's* fleet, as we have related above, he caused his vessels to be hauled on shore to be refitted, and, in the meantime, retired to a neighbouring castle, where he was unexpectedly attacked by a body of *Lusitanians*, who had escaped from the battle of *Munda*. The *Roman* admiral defended the place with great bravery; but the *Lusitanians* having set fire to his ships, he made a sally, and marched in good order to the sea-side, hoping to repulse the enemy and preserve his navy. While his men were busy in extinguishing the flames, a body of *Lusitanians*, who had concealed themselves among the bushes, starting up, attacked him in the rear, and cut off his retreat to the castle, while two other numerous bodies fell upon him, the one in flank, the other in front. *Didius*, thus invested on all sides, behaved with signal bravery; but was, in spite of his utmost efforts, overpowered, and with most of his men cut in pieces. *Cæsar's* concern for the loss of so brave an officer was in great measure allayed, by the agreeable news he received at the same time of the surrender of *Munda*, after a long and close siege. When the besieged saw themselves reduced to the utmost extremity, they deserted in great numbers to *Cæsar*, by whom they were kindly received, and incorporated among his troops. But, before they came over, it was agreed between them and their friends in the city, that upon a certain signal the latter should make a vigorous sally, while the deserters did what execution they could in the camp. This plot being very seasonably discovered the night before it was to be put in execution, the private men were by *Fabius's* orders decimated, and all the officers executed without distinction. Soon after, the besieged made a sally with a design to force their way through the enemy's works; but most of them having lost their lives in the attempt, *Fabius* at length carried the place by assault. From *Munda* he marched straight to *Ursaon*, a place equally fortified by art and nature, laid siege to it, and obliged the inhabitants to receive the yoke, after they had for some time defended the place with incredible bravery. And now *Cæsar*, having reduced all the places which had declared for *Pompey*, and exacted immense contributions from the *Spaniards* under pretence of punishing their rebellion, retired to *Hispalis*; whence, to give new marks of his esteem for *Cicero*, he wrote a consolatory letter to him on occasion of the death of his beloved daughter *Tullia*, who died at *Rome* in childbed, while her husband *P. Cornelius Dolabella* was attending *Cæsar* in *Spain*. This letter, as appears from *Cicero's* works, was wrote the day before the kalends of *May*; and a few days after *Cæsar* left *Hispalis*, and marched with the best part of his army to *New Carthage*; where he was met by deputies from most cities of *Spain*, with whom he settled the affairs of the two *Spanish* provinces, and then embarked for *Rome*, having finished in seven months an expedition, which few generals would have completed in as many years ^h.

Cæsar

^h Auth. bell. Hispan. DIO. VELL. PATERCUL. ibid. CIC. ad Atticum, 1. xiii. epist. 20.

(U) *Asta*, which *Pliny* honours with the title of *Regia*, was about sixteen miles distance from *Gades*, according to *Antoninus's* itinerary, and situated on the ocean. This city is mentioned by *Pomponius Mela*, and also by *Ptolemy*. *Martin de Roa* is of opinion, that it stood where the present city of *Xeres della Frontera* stands; but others pretend to discover its ruins between *Xeres* and *Tribuxena*.

a *Cæsar* reached *Rome* in the beginning of *October*, and entered the city in triumph, *Cæsar returns to Rome.* which displeased the *Romans* beyond any thing he had yet done. They could not brook his triumphing over the calamities of his country, and his rejoicing for an advantage, which should rather to have deplored, and for which no better apology could be made, than that he was absolutely compelled to it. What made his triumph look still more distasteful was, that he had never before acquainted the senate by any letter or express of the victories he had obtained in the course of the civil wars; but seemed rather to be ashamed of the action, than to claim any glory that might arise to him from it. *Cæsar*, not contented with having triumphed himself, bestowed the same honour on two of his lieutenants, *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Q. Pedius*, but with b this difference, that the representations of the cities, rivers, &c. carried before *Cæsar*, were of ivory; whereas those that were made use of in the triumphs of his lieutenants were of common wood; which made a humorous *Greek*, by name *Chrysippus*, say, by way of raillery, that the statues carried before *Fabius* and *Pedius* were only the cases of those which *Cæsar* had displayed in his triumph¹. However, the *Romans*, taking the same side with fortune, began to heap new honours upon the conqueror, and those greater than any they had yet bestowed. *Cicero* indeed proposed in the senate the conferring of such honours on him, as were in some measure within the bounds of modesty; but others, striving who should deserve most, carried them so high, that c they made *Cæsar* odious even to the most indifferent and moderate sort of men. They made him dictator for life, subjected all magistrates, even the tribunes of the people, to his power, decreed, that he alone should levy troops, command armies, declare war, make peace, take charge of the public money, and that all inferior magistrates should oblige themselves by oath to observe whatever decrees he should think fit to enact. Among other titles, that of *imperator* was given him, not in that sense in which it had been formerly bestowed on generals after some signal victory, but as it d imported the greatest power and authority in the commonwealth. From him was derived the name of *imperator* or *emperor*, and likewise that of *Cæsar* to his successors; and this was the beginning of the imperial state of *Rome*, though it was not settled till some years after. His enemies are thought to have had some share in the extraordinary honours conferred on him, as well as his flatterers, since they took from thence an opportunity of calumniating him, and alienating from him the minds of such as were friends to the ancient form of government. On the other hand, *Cæsar* made it his whole study to gain the affections even of the most inveterate enemies. He not only e pardoned all those who had borne arms against him, but on several of them bestowed honours and offices; insomuch, that the senate and the people, to testify their gratitude to him for the mild use he made of his power, decreed a temple to *clemency*. As the people still retained an affection for *Pompey*, he ordered all the statues of that great man, which had been thrown down, to be set up again; upon which *Cicero* said, that by raising *Pompey's* statues he had fixed his own. To gain the confidence of the senate and the republican party, contrary to the advice of his best friends, he dismissed his f guards, saying, it was better to suffer death once, than to live always in fear of it. As he looked upon the affections of the people as his best and surest guard, he did all that lay in his power to oblige them, entertaining them frequently with public feasts and shews, and distributing corn among the poorer sort of people. To gratify his army, he sent out colonies to several places, of which the most remarkable were *Carthage* and *Corinth* (W). As for the nobility, he attached most of them to his interest by raising them to the chief offices in the state, and trusting them with the government of the many provinces that were then subject to *Rome*. In short, he ingratiated himself with all orders of men, by his gentle deportment and winning behaviour, so as to work in them a chearful and willing submission. Though he had been invested with the consular dignity for ten years, yet he named others to that eminent post in the republic, appointing *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *C. Trebonius* consuls for the remaining part of that year. Nay, he carried his pretended observance of the ancient customs and laws so far, that the consul *Fabius Maximus* happening to die suddenly on the very day before the expiration of his office, he named *Caninius Rebilus* to be consul for the remaining hours only, that is, till six in the evening, when the calends of *January* began. As the

His triumph offends the Romans.

Created dictator for life.

And imperator or emperor.

His clemency and obliging behaviour.

¹ Dio, l. xliii. APPIAN. QUINTILIAN. l. vi. c. 4. PLUT. in Cæs.

(W) It may be said, there was something singular both destroyed at the same time, so were they now in the fate of these two cities; for as they had been at the same time rebuilt and repopled,

Increases the
number of the
magistrates
and senators.

He offends the
senate.

And the peo-
ple.

the Romans were all hastening to pay their compliments, as was usual, to the new consul, *Let us make haste*, said Cicero, by way of raillery, *lest he be gone out of his office before we get to his house* (X). As the dictator had many friends to gratify, he increased the prætors to sixteen, and the quæstors to forty; he created six new ædiles, and increased the number of the other curule magistrates in proportion. But as there still remained many unrewarded, who had served him with great fidelity, he allotted them places in the senate, by which means the number of the senators rose from three hundred to nine hundred. This gave great offence to the conscript fathers, the more, because among those, whom the dictator raised to that high station, were many common soldiers, sons of freed-men, foreigners lately admitted to the Roman citizenship, Gauls, Spaniards, &c. Cæsar having thus debased the senate, began to look upon them with contempt, and consider them no otherwise than his vassals and creatures. Of this he gave not long after a signal instance. The senate, having passed a decree, conferring on him some extravagant honours, went in a body to present him with it, as he was sitting on the rostra administering justice. Though the consuls, prætors, and all the curule magistrates then in Rome attended the senate, yet the dictator received them with all the pride and haughtiness of a sovereign, without so much as condescending to rise to them. We are told by Plutarch, that he offered to stand up to the senate; but that Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, hindered him: *Remember*, said he, *you are Cæsar, and suffer them to pay you that respect which is due to your dignity*. However that be, his carriage offended, not only the conscript fathers, but the people too, the latter thinking the affront on the senate equally reflected on the whole republic. Cæsar, sensible of the false step he had taken, immediately retired home, and caused a report to be spread abroad by his emissaries, that his sitting had been caused by the distemper to which he was subject, viz. the falling sickness, which, he said, discomposed the senses of those who were affected with it, if they talked much standing. Not long after he gave a fresh occasion of resentment by affronting the tribunes. While Cæsar was one day sitting in a golden chair upon the rostra, to view the ceremony of the *lupercalia*, Marc Antony, who was then Cæsar's colleague in the consulship, after having run up and down the city naked, as was usual during that solemnity (Y), came into the forum, and falling down before Cæsar, presented him with a diadem, wreathed with laurel. Upon this a small shout was raised by some who had been placed near the dictator for that purpose; but when Cæsar refused it, he was applauded by the whole multitude. Antony offered the crown again, and, upon the dictator's second refusal, all, who were present, testified their satisfaction anew with loud acclamations. Then Cæsar, finding it would not take, rose up, and ordered the crown to be carried into the capitol, saying, that Jupiter alone was king of the Romans. The next morning Cæsar's statues were found with royal diadems on their heads; but Flavius and Marullus, two tribunes of the people, went presently, and not only pulled them off, but caused those to be apprehended and committed to prison, who the day before had applauded Antony, while he attempted to put the royal diadem on Cæsar's head. The people followed their tribunes with loud acclamations, comparing them to the famous Brutus, the founder of the republic. This Cæsar highly resented, displaced the two tribunes, and while he inveighed against them in a public speech, he abused and ridiculed on that occasion the people, calling them *bruti* and *Cumæi*, that is, *beasts* and *fools* (Z). A few days after

(X) There was no end of Cicero's witticisms on that occasion; *We have had a very vigilant consul*, said he; *for he has not shut his eyes during the whole time of his consulate*. Caninius was a consul of such strictness and severity, that not one among us dined, supped, or slept during his consulship. Caninius has indeed been consul, but we may well ask under what consul he has been consul, &c.

(Y) The *lupercalia* were, as we have observed elsewhere, at their first institution, peculiar to the shepherds, and of the same nature with the Arcadian *Lycæa*. The young patricians, and some of the magistrates, used to run that day up and down the city naked, striking all they met with leathern thongs by way of sport. Women of the first rank placed themselves in the way, and held out their hands to

the lash, out of an opinion, that it procured an easy labour to those who were with child, and made those conceive who were barren.

(Z) The *Cumæi*, as madam Dacier observes, were noted for their stupidity; *σώφισταί δ' εἰς ἀναιστίαν ἢ Κυνὴ* Cumæ is stupid to a proverb, says Strabo (44); and he gives us these reasons for it. The first, that they were three hundred years before they thought of laying a duty on merchandize imported into their harbours and before they found that they inhabited a maritime city. The second, that having mortgaged their porticoes for a certain sum of money, and failing to pay it at the time named in the contract, their creditors would not allow them to walk under them. But when the rains began to fall, those creditors, being touched with compassion,

caused

a after, as he was returning from *Alba* to *Rome*, some of his friends saluted him, as he entered the city, by the title of king; but he, finding the people disrelished it, seemed to resent it himself, and answered aloud, *My title is Cæsar, not king*. This affectation of being king gave the common people the first occasion to quarrel with him, and proved a specious pretence, for those who had been his secret enemies all along, to conspire against him. The zealous republicans, detesting his ambition, began to form private cabals, and consult among themselves about the proper measures for delivering *Rome* from the yoke she groaned under. The chief of the conspirators was *C. Cassius*, a sincere friend to his country, and at the same time an enemy to *Cæsar* on a private account, the dictator having a few months before bestowed the first and most honourable prætorship on *Brutus*, though he could not help owning, that *Cassius* had the best claim to it. *Cassius* therefore, partly out of zeal for the good of his country, and partly out of a spirit of revenge, formed first with himself the plan of the conspiracy, and then imparted it to a few, whom he knew to be secret enemies both to the tyrant and tyranny. As *Brutus* was highly esteemed both by the people and senate, *Cassius* looked upon him as the most proper person for carrying on the conspiracy. He was thought to be descended by his father's side from the famous *Junius Brutus*, who drove out the *Tarquins* (A), and by his mother's side from the *Servilii*, one of the most illustrious families of *Rome*; but what, in *Plutarch's* opinion, was more than all the rest, he was both nephew and son-in law to *Cato of Utica*. He was a most zealous republican, and fully convinced, that the common-wealth could be no longer maintained without the death of the dictator. But the honours and favours he had received at *Cæsar's* hands restrained him from using violent measures. He had not only been pardoned himself, and obtained the same grace for many of his friends, after the battle of *Pharsalia*; but was one in whom *Cæsar* had a particular confidence. He had at that time the most honourable prætorship, was named for the consulship four years after, and designed in all appearance by *Cæsar* for his successor. For being once accused as engaged in a conspiracy against him, *Cæsar* would not hearken to the accusation, saying, that *Brutus* was not so ambitious, but he could wait with patience till he was taken off by a natural death. *Cassius* therefore, who had already formed the design of assassinating *Cæsar*, being on one hand desirous of drawing into the plot a man of so great credit as *Brutus*; but on the other not daring to discourse the matter with him openly, laid in the night-time papers about his chair, where he used to sit as prætor and determine causes, with sentences to this import; *You are asleep, Brutus; you are no longer Brutus*; and under the statue of the famous *Junius Brutus* he wrote the following words; *Would to heaven thou wert alive, or some of thy descendants resembled thee*. *Cassius*, perceiving that these sentences made a deep impression on his mind, first employed his wife *Junia*, who was sister to *Brutus*, to revive in the breast of her brother those generous sentiments, which were peculiar to their family; and afterwards resolved at all adventures to discover to him his design, not doubting but he should be able to draw one into the plot, who, though he did not hate the tyrant, was a declared enemy to tyranny. Accordingly, as the senate was to meet a few days after in order to deliberate, as was said, about giving *Cæsar* the title of king, *Cassius* took this occasion to pay a visit to *Brutus*, and ask him whether he designed to be present in the senate on the calends of *March*, when *Cæsar's* friends were to propose the giving him the title of king. *Brutus* answered, that he designed to absent himself that day. *But suppose you are called thither*, replied *Cassius*. *Then*, said *Brutus*, *I should think it my duty to speak and use my utmost endeavours against such unwarrantable proceedings*,

A conspiracy formed against him.

Cassius endeavours to draw Brutus into the conspiracy.

caused it to be published, that the *Cumæans* might, if they pleased, take shelter under their own porticoes; which gave occasion to this raillery, *The Cumæans had not the sense to know that they had a right to stand under their own porticoes when it rained, till they were informed of it by the voice of the crier*.

(A) *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* and *Dion Cassius* assure us, that *Marcus Brutus* was not descended from the famous *Junius Brutus*. The *Junian* family was, according to them, divided into two branches, the one patrician, the other plebeian. The former ended in *Brutus* himself, after he had sacrificed his two sons to the safety of his country. The other flourished many ages after, and furnished *Rome* with many heroes, among the rest with *Marcus*

Brutus, of whom we are speaking in this place. As he bore the same name with the first consul, and was of the same family, the common people believed him to be descended from the first *Brutus*. *Plutarch* himself, upon the authority of *Posidonius* the philosopher, was of the same opinion, and will have *Brutus* to be sprung from a third son of *Junius Brutus*, who was but a child, when his two brothers were executed by their father's command. Some writers, the more to debase *Brutus* who acted a chief part in the conspiracy, pretend, that he was come of a mean family, which had been raised to honours and offices in the republic but a few years before.

Cassius's
speech to Bru-
tus.

Brutus takes
upon him the
chief manage-
ment of the
conspiracy.

Brutus endea-
vours in vain
to engage Sta-
tilius and Fa-
vonius.

Cæsar's vast
designs.

ings, nay, and to die rather than outlive the liberty of my country. *Ab!* replied Cassius, what generous Roman would suffer you to die for his liberty? You are not acquainted with yourself, Brutus, if you imagine, that those papers, which were thrown into your tribunal, came from any but the most illustrious and bravest men of Rome. From other prætors they demanded games, shew's gladiators, &c. but from you, whose very name is dreadful to tyrants, they expect the ruin and downfall of arbitrary power, being ready to expose themselves to the utmost dangers in expectation of your auspicious aid. These words made such a deep impression on Brutus, that, notwithstanding the many favours he had received at the dictator's hands, he entered into all Cassius's measures, and from that time took upon himself the whole management of the conspiracy. The name of Brutus soon engaged a great many illustrious citizens in the conspiracy, among whom were C. Trebonius, Servius Sulpicius Galba, the two Servilius Cascas, Publius Caius, Decimus Brutus Albinus, Tullius Cimber, and Lucius Minucius Bacilius. These had all served under Cæsar from the very beginning of the civil wars, and were looked upon by him as his most trusty friends. It was more easy to draw into the conspiracy those who had always shewn an utter aversion to Cæsar's usurpation. Among these were M. Junius Brutus, L. Cassius, brother to C. Cassius, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, P. Turullius, C. Attilius, L. Petronius, C. Cornelius Cinna, Cassius Parmensis, L. and C. Cæcilius, Rubrius Ruga, M. Spurius, P. Sextius Naso, Pontius Aquila, Antistius Labeo, and many others, to the number of sixty, whose names have not been transmitted to us. As for Cicero, though he was known to be at the bottom a zealous republican, yet as he was naturally timorous and greatly addicted to Cæsar, who had heaped innumerable favours upon him, Brutus, did not think it adviseable to trust him with the secret. The conspirators would fain have engaged the famous Statilius, who affected to imitate Cato, and would have laid violent hands on himself after the defeat of Pompey's party in Africa, had he not been prevented by Apollonides and Demetrius, as we have related above. Brutus in order to discover his true sentiments, asked him in a private conversation, which of the two evils was the greatest? To bear tamely the yoke of a tyrant, or to run the risque of a civil war by shaking it off? To this question Statilius answered without hesitation, that he had rather patiently suffer the oppressions of an arbitrary master, than the cruelties and disorders which generally attend civil dissensions. Brutus likewise endeavoured to engage in the conspiracy Favonius, a philosopher of great reputation, and, in order to sound him, proposed the same question to him, when Favonius declared, that, in his opinion, a civil war was worse than the most unjust tyranny. Upon this, Brutus gave over all thoughts of gaining Statilius and Favonius. In the mean time, Cæsar's enemies made it their whole business to stir up the common people against him, by spreading among the multitude a thousand false reports, viz. that he designed to fix the seat of his empire in Egypt or Phrygia, and to transport thither all the riches of Italy, abandoning Rome to the mercy of his creatures and favourites. Cæsar, in hearing these groundless reports, began to suspect, that some plot was privately carrying on against him; his friends believing that Marc Antony and Dolabella were concerned in it, advised him not to trust them, but to be upon his guard and watch them narrowly. Cæsar answered, that he was not afraid of those plump jolly fellows, but rather of pale lean men, such as Cassius and Brutus. However, as he too easily gave credit to his flatterers, among whom were some of the conspirators, telling him, that, after he had put an end to the civil war, the commonwealth was more concerned than himself in his preservation, he neglected the necessary precautions for his safety, and was more intent on making the due preparations for putting in execution the vast designs he had formed, than in guarding himself against the attempts of his domestic enemies. For he had resolved to make war upon the Parthians, and, after having revenged the death of Crassus and the Romans slain with him at the battle of Carrabæ, to pass through Hyrcania, thence to march by the Caspian sea to mount Caucasus, till he came into Scythia; then to over-run all the countries between Scythia and Germany, and Germany itself, whence he designed to return through Gaul into Italy, describing the spacious circle of his intended empire, and bounding it on every side by the sea. He had already ordered sixteen legions and ten thousand horse to march towards Brundisium, and was himself to follow them in a few days. But his friends, who were desirous to see him honoured with the title of king before he left Rome, gave out, that the books of the Sibyls declared, that the Parthians could never be overcome by the Romans, unless they fought under the conduct of a king. Aurelius Cotta, one of Cæsar's creatures, who had the sacred volumes in his keeping, was to make this report

- a report out of them to the senate, and to propose, that *Cæsar* should only be styled dictator in *Italy*; but that he should be acknowledged as king, and take upon him that title, with respect to all foreign nations subject to the *Roman* republic. The senate was appointed to meet for this purpose on the ides of *March*, and that day the conspirators fixed upon as the most proper for putting their design in execution, since *Cæsar* would not fail coming to the senate on such an occasion, and it was safer to fall upon him there, most of the senators being privately enemies to him, than in any other place, where the populace might divert the blow. All the ancient historians are full of prodigies and apparitions, which, in their opinion, were manifest presages of *Cæsar*'s tragical death. They tell us, that men were seen in the air all on fire, encountering each other; that a prodigious flame seemed to issue from the hand of a soldier's servant, insomuch, that those who saw it thought he must be burnt, but nevertheless he received no hurt; that as *Cæsar* was sacrificing, the victim was found without a heart; that *Spurina*, a famous augur, bid him beware of the ides of *March*, for that he was then threatened with some great danger. They add, that when the day was come, *Cæsar*, as he went to the senate, meeting the augur, said to him by way of raillery, *The ides of March are come. They are come*, answered calmly the augur, *but they are not past*. The night before the plot was put in execution, he supped with *M. Lepidus*; and the discourse turning upon the kind of death which seemed best, *Cæsar*, busy as he was in signing some letters, before any of the company had time to deliver his opinion, cried out, *Of all deaths a sudden one is the best*. After supper he retired to his own house, where both he and his wife *Calpurnia* passed the night in great care and uneasiness. He was scarce fallen asleep, when the doors and windows of the apartment where he lay flew open. Being startled at the noise and the light, which broke all on a sudden into his room, he sat up in his bed, when by the moonshine he perceived *Calpurnia* fast asleep, but heard her utter in her dream some inarticulate words mixed with groans. She dreamt at that time, that the pinnacle (B), which the senate had allowed to be raised on *Cæsar*'s house, by way of ornament and grandeur, was fallen down; and also fancied, that she was weeping over *Cæsar*, and holding him all covered over with wounds and blood in her arms. When it was day, she begged of *Cæsar* that he would not stir out, but adjourn the senate to another time; and that, if he slighted her dreams, he would be pleased to consult the gods by sacrifices, and other kinds of divination. He complied with her request; sacrifices were offered early in the morning; and, according to the report of the priests, all the victims proved inauspicious. *Cæsar* was not a man to be easily intimidated; he had braved death on a thousand occasions, and gained many victories, among the rest that of *Munda*, when the auspices threatened him with utter destruction. But, however, as he had never before discovered in *Calpurnia* any kind of superstition, he now began to look upon her fears and apprehensions as inspirations from heaven, and forebodings, which ought not always to be neglected. As *Marc Antony* was then with him, being come, according to his custom, early in the morning, to attend his levee, he had some thoughts of sending him with orders to the senate not to assemble that day. But as most of his troops were already embarked, and he himself was to leave *Rome* in four days, he could not come to any fixed resolution, but remained in suspense, till the senate began to assemble in the appointed place, which was a great hall built by *Pompey* near his theatre *.

The conspirators fix on the ides of March for putting their design in execution.

Several prodigies preceding *Cæsar*'s death.

Cæsar is alarmed.

The constancy and intrepidity of *Brutus*.

- While *Cæsar* was thus deliberating with himself, whether he should suffer the senate to assemble that day, or adjourn their meeting to another, *Brutus* was busy in administering justice in the forum, he being *prætor urbanus* for the present year. We are told, that he heard those who pleaded before him, pronounced sentence, and dispatched the causes, that were brought to his tribunal, with as much care, equity, and application, as if he had no other business in hand. Though he had taken with him, when he went out of his house, a dagger, and had it then concealed under his

* PLUT. in *Cæs.* & *Bruto.* APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii, DIO, l. xlv. SÆT. in *Julio*, &c.

(B) The pinnacle, as madam *Dacier* observes, was a sort of ornament usually placed on the top of temples. The *Greeks* called it *ἀκρόν ἀνάκτα*, and the *Latins* *fastigium*. Private persons were not allowed to raise such ornaments on the tops of their houses without the consent of the senate, who had the superintendency of every thing relating to the public. Thus, as a token of honour, the senate accorded to *Poplicola* to have the doors of his house open towards the street instead of opening inwards. The pinacles were commonly adorned with statues of the gods, figures of victory, and such other decorations as were suitable to the rank and quality of those to whom the privilege of erecting them was granted.

The courage of
Porcia, wife
to Brutus.

Brutus disco-
vers to her
the conspiracy.

Constancy and
resolution of
Brutus.

his robe, with a firm resolution of plunging it into *Cæsar's* breast before he returned home; yet he did not betray on his tribunal the least concern, but acquitted himself of his office with his usual calmness and tranquillity. One, whom he had condemned in a certain sum, refused to pay it, crying out, that he appealed to *Cæsar*; when *Brutus* casting his eyes on the conspirators, *Cæsar*, said he, *how powerful soever, shall not prevent me from seeing such sentences put in execution, as are agreeable to the laws of Rome.* However, several accidents intervened, which did not a little terrify *Brutus* and the other conspirators, and had almost defeated their best concerted measures. While *Brutus* was hearing causes in the forum with his usual attention and patience, news was brought him, that his wife *Porcia* lay at the point of death. She was the daughter of *Cato*, and the only person, not concerned in the conspiracy, to whom *Brutus* had revealed it. He strove as much as possible, when abroad, to keep his uneasiness of mind to himself; but at home, and especially in the night-time, he was not the same man, but sometimes all on a sudden started out of his bed, and at other times was so taken up with unquiet thoughts, and so perplexed in his mind, that *Porcia* concluded, he had some dangerous and difficult enterprise in agitation. As she was addicted to the study of philosophy, fond of her husband to a great degree, and full of courage and prudence, she resolved not to inquire into *Brutus's* secrets, till she had tried whether she had courage and resolution enough to conceal them even in the midst of torments. With this view she dismissed all her attendants, and taking a knife, gave herself a deep gash in the thigh, which threw her into a violent fever. *Brutus*, who was then at home, flew immediately to her apartment, when she in the height of her pain addressed him thus: "I am, O *Brutus*, the daughter of *Cato*,
" and was given to you in marriage, not to partake only in the common civilities of
" bed and board, but to bear a share in your good, as well as your evil, fortunes.
" When I look upon you, I find no reason to repent the match; but from me, what
" evidence of my love, what satisfaction can you receive, if I am not allowed to share
" with you in bearing your hidden griefs, nor admitted to any of your counsels, that
" require secrecy and trust? I am well apprised, that women are commonly thought
" to be of too weak a nature to be trusted with secrets; but certainly, *Brutus*, a
" virtuous birth and education, and frequent conversing with men of honour, are of
" some force to the forming of our manners, and the strengthening of our natural
" weakness. I am the daughter of *Cato* and the wife of *Brutus*, in which two great
" titles I did not place much confidence, till I tried myself, and found, that even
" against grief itself and pain I am invincible." Having thus spoke, she shewed him her wound, and related to him the trial she had made of her own constancy. *Brutus*, touched with this affecting speech, could not help discovering the whole plot to her without reserve; which when he had done, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and begged the assistance of the gods in his enterprise, that he might live to be a husband worthy of such a wife as *Porcia* (C). But with all her resolution, when the day came, on which the design was to be put in execution, she was extremely disturbed with the expectation of the event, and, not being able to bear the greatness of her cares, she could scarce keep within doors. At every little noise she heard, she started up, and, running into the street, asked those who came from the forum, what *Brutus* was doing? At length, after having expected a long time, being overcome by her fears and doubts, she fell into a swoon. Whereupon her women making a great outcry, many of the neighbours ran to *Brutus's* house to know what was the matter, and the report was soon spread abroad, that *Porcia* was dying, though she recovered in a little time, and came to herself again. This news pierced *Brutus's* heart; yet he was not so carried away by his private grief, as to neglect the public concern. He came down immediately from his tribunal, but, instead of going home, went to *Pompey's* porch, adjoining to the hall, where the senators were to assemble, and there waited with the other conspirators the coming of *Cæsar* to the senate. But, as he did not appear, though the day was far spent, being detained at home by his wife

(C) *Valerius Maximus* is the only author, who supposes, that *Porcia* was acquainted with her husband's design before she wounded herself. According to him, *Brutus* discovered to her the whole plot the night before it was to be put in execution. Whereupon *Porcia* the next morning gave herself a dangerous wound with a razor; at which *Brutus*

being greatly alarmed, *Porcia* told him, while he was expressing his concern in the most tender terms, that she had wounded herself to make a trial of her constancy and courage, being determined to lay violent hands on herself, in case the success of his enterprise did not answer his expectation.

a wife and the augurs, they were all under the greatest uneasiness, and ascribed his delay to the discovery of the plot. They were confirmed in their suspicion by several accidents, which were thrown in their way by mere chance. While they were thus waiting for *Cæsar*, a citizen, coming up to *Casca*, one of the conspirators, and taking him by the hand, *You concealed, said he, the secret from me, but Brutus has told me the whole.* At which words *Casca* being greatly alarmed, the other said smiling, *How came you, Casca, to be so rich on a sudden as to stand for the ædileship?* These words restored, we may say, *Casca* to life again; for he looked upon himself as lost, and, deceived by the ambiguity of the reproach, was upon the point of discovering the secret, in hopes of gaining his friend by that means. The senator *Popilius Lænas* gave room for new suspicions; for after having saluted *Brutus* and *Cassius* very obligingly, he accosted them, and whispered them softly in the ear; *My wishes are with you; may you accomplish what you design; but I advise you to make no delay, for the thing is now no secret.* Having thus spoke, he left them in the utmost consternation. *Decimus Brutus*, surnamed *Albinus*, one in whom *Cæsar* had such confidence, that he had made him his second heir, being no less alarmed at these words than the rest of the conspirators, resolved to go in person to *Cæsar*'s house, to inform himself there of what kept him so long from coming to the senate. Accordingly, with the approbation of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, he flew thither, and being immediately admitted into the dictator's apartment, he asked him with his usual familiarity, what kept him so long from appearing in the senate. *Cæsar*, who looked upon him as one of his best friends, imparted to him in confidence what his wife had dreamed the night before, and what the augurs had told him. Hereupon *Decimus*, fearing lest he should put off the senate to another day, and the business might in the mean time get wind, turned into ridicule both *Calpurnia*'s dreams and the divinations of the soothsayers, telling *Cæsar*, that he would be much to blame, if he gave the senate such just grounds to complain; *For they are, said he, met upon your own summons, and are ready to vote unanimously, that you should be declared king of all the provinces out of Italy, and be allowed to wear a diadem in any other place.* Now, if any one should be sent to tell them, that they must break up for the present, and meet again when *Calpurnia* shall chance to have better dreams, what will your enemies say? or who will with any patience bear your friends pretending to justify you, and maintaining, that this is not an instance of downright servitude on one side, and bare-faced tyranny on the other? But if you are so far prepossessed with groundless fears as really to think this an unlucky day, it will be more decent for you to go to the senate yourself, and adjourn it in person. Having thus spoke, he took *Cæsar* by the hand, and dragged him; in a manner, out of his house. He was not gone far from his door, when an unknown slave made towards him; but not being able to get near him by reason of the croud, he went into his house, and put himself into the hands of *Calpurnia*, begging her to secure him till *Cæsar* returned, because he had matters of the utmost importance to communicate to him. Soon after one *Artemidorus*, a native of the island of *Cnidus*, by profession a rhetorician, and intimately acquainted with most of the conspirators, put into *Cæsar*'s hand a paper, containing the heads of what he had to discover to him. *Artemidorus* had observed, that *Cæsar*, as he received any papers, immediately delivered them to some of his officers; who attended him; and therefore coming as near to him as he could, he cried out, *Read this, Cæsar, quickly; for it contains affairs of the greatest importance, and such as concern you nearly.* Some writers tell us, that *Artemidorus*, not being able to come near *Cæsar* by reason of the throng, gave this note to another, who presented it to him. However that be, *Cæsar* attempted several times to read it; but being diverted by the croud of those who came to speak to him, he kept it in his hand by itself, till he came into the senate. When he was got to the door of the great hall, where the conscript fathers were assembled, *Popilius Lænas*, who, but a little before, had wished *Brutus* and *Cassius* good success in their undertaking, coming up to him, discoursed a great while with him in private, *Cæsar* standing still all the time, and seeming to be very attentive. The conspirators, not being able to hear what he said, but guessing from what they were conscious of, that this conference was a discovery of their treason, were strangely dejected; and, looking upon one another, laid their hands on the daggers they had concealed under their robes, and were drawing them with a design to stab themselves, if the plot was discovered; but judging from *Lænas*'s looks and gestures, which they narrowly watched, and from the calmness and unconcern that appeared in *Cæsar*'s countenance, that the conspiracy was not the subject of their conference, they took courage, and

Several accidents disturb the conspirators.

Decimus Brutus prevails upon Cæsar to go to the senate.

Artemidorus delivers a paper to Cæsar, containing the discovery of the plot.

The conspirators alarmed.

The conspirators crowd round Cæsar in the senate-house.

And fall upon him.

The circumstances of his death.

He is killed.
Year of the
flood 2960.
Before Christ
39.
of Rome 709.

and were soon after delivered from all their fears. For *Lænas* in retiring was observed to kiss *Cæsar*'s hand, which was a plain indication that he had been petitioning, and not accusing. *Cæsar* having dismissed *Lænas*, entered the hall, where the senators were assembled. This was one of the many edifices which *Pompey* had raised for the use of the public; whence *Plutarch* concludes, that some deity guided the action, and brought *Cæsar* thither to revenge upon him the death of *Pompey*. Upon *Cæsar*'s entering the hall, the senate stood up in respect to him. Of the conspirators, some stood behind the chair, which was placed for the dictator in the middle of the hall; others went to meet him, pretending to join their prayers with those of *Metellus Cimber*, in behalf of his brother who was banished. In the mean time, *Trebonius* (D) drew *Marc Antony*, who was faithful to *Cæsar* and a man of great strength and resolution, towards the door, and entertained him in the porch with a long discourse contrived for that purpose. When the dictator was seated, the conspirators, crowding round him, renewed their supplications in favour of *Cimber*'s brother, and taking him by the hand, kissed it, in appearance, with great respect. But the dictator rejected their petition, and upon their urging him farther and growing very importunate, he first reprimanded them severely, and afterwards, starting up, pushed them from him. Hereupon *Cimber*, laying hold of the dictator's robe with both hands, pulled it off from his shoulders, which was the signal agreed on to fall upon him. In that instant *Servilius Casca*, who stood behind him, drawing his dagger, gave him the first wound in the neck, which was not mortal, nor dangerous, as coming from one, who at the beginning of such a bold action was probably very much disturbed; so that his strength as well as his courage might fail him. *Cæsar* immediately, turning about, seized *Casca* by the hand which held the dagger, both of them crying out at the same time, *Cæsar* in *Latin*, wicked *Casca*, what dost thou mean? and *Casca* calling to his brother in *Greek* to come and help him. Those who were not privy to the design were struck with such horror at the attempt, that they could neither fly, nor assist *Cæsar*, nay, nor utter a single word. But the conspirators, who came prepared, inclosed him on all sides with their naked daggers in their hands, so that which way soever he turned, he met with blows, and saw their daggers levelled at his face and eyes. *Cassius*, having first turned his face to a statue, which the republic had erected to *Pompey* in the hall, and silently implored the assistance of that hero, flew at *Cæsar* with the rage of a madman, and gave him a deep wound on the head, encouraging the others to follow his example and rid *Rome* of her tyrant. Hereupon they all pressed upon him; but, as each of them was eager to plunge his dagger in his body, and have the glory of dispatching him, they wounded one another, *Brutus* in particular received a wound on the hand from *Cassius*, and most of them were stained either with *Cæsar*'s blood or their own. The Hero, though thus baited on all sides, to use *Plutarch*'s expression, like a wild beast taken in a toil, fought and defended himself in the best manner he could, till, looking round about him to see if he could make his escape, he perceived *Brutus* with his dagger in his hand. This sight stung him to the heart, so that he struggled no more; but crying out, *What! my son, Brutus, and you too?* he covered his face with his robe, and quietly surrendered himself. Then the conspirators, pushing him either by chance, or, as some say, by design, to the pedestal, on which *Pompey*'s statue stood, which by that means was sprinkled with his blood, dispatched him there with twenty-five wounds, the senate looking on with horror and amazement, but not one of them daring to lend him the least assistance. We are told, that as he found himself fainting away and ready to drop down, he wrapt the skirts of his garment round his knees, that he might fall with more decency.

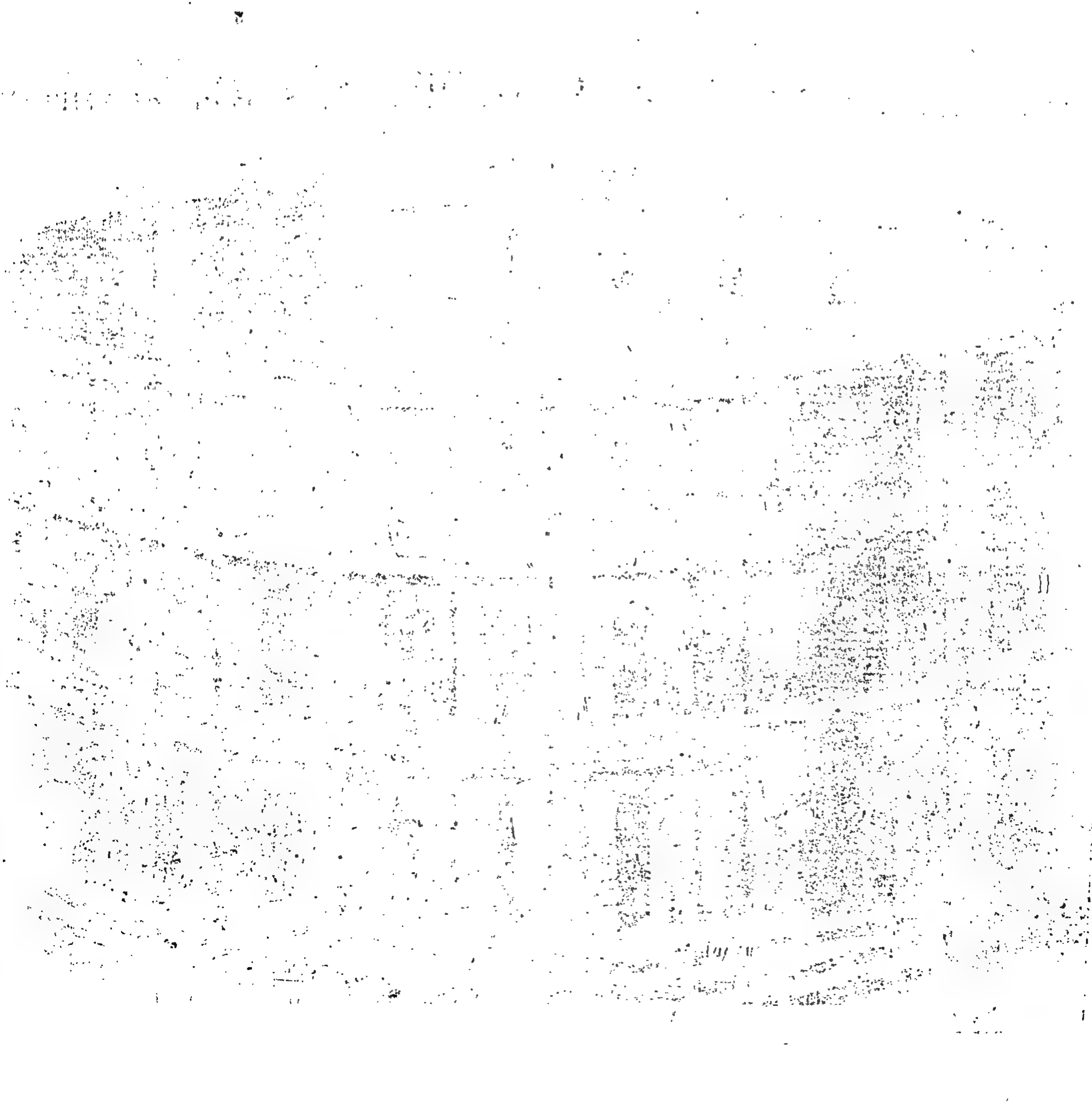
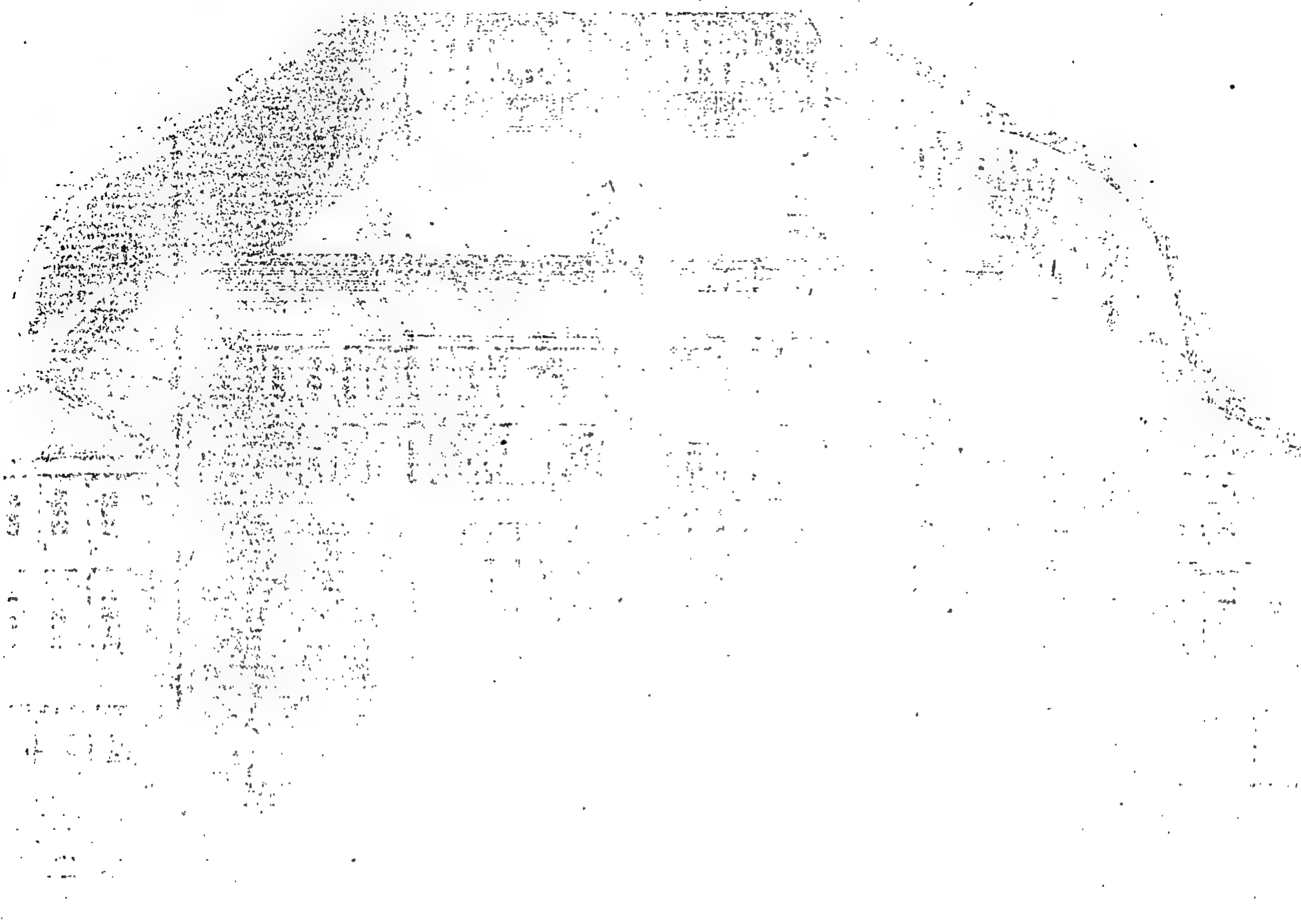
THUS

¹ PLUT. in Cæs. & Bruto. FLOR. l. iv. c. 2. SUET. in Julio. c. 81. 88. 91. APPIAN. l. ii. p. 522. CIC. l. ii. de divin.

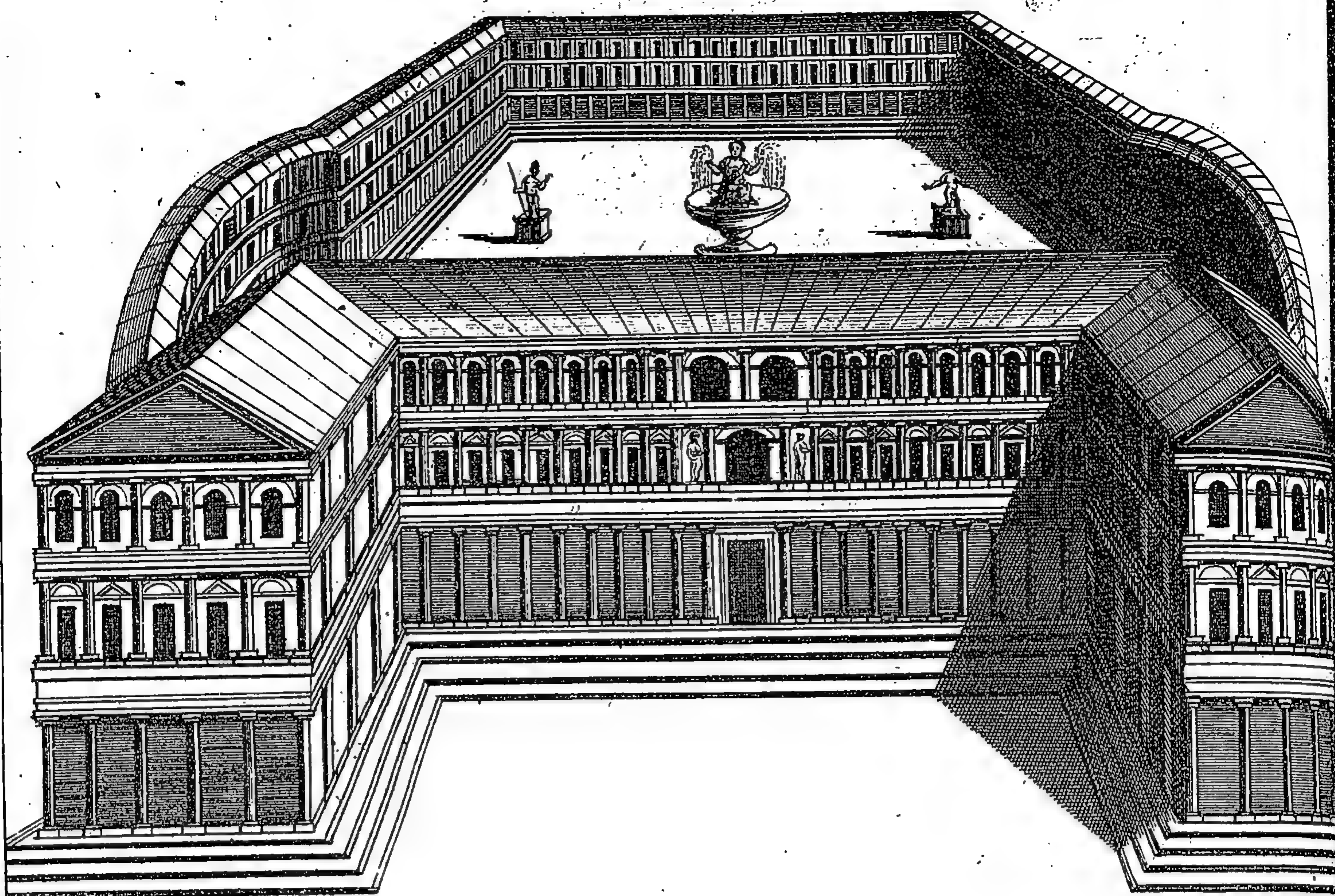
(D) *Plutarch* in the life of *Cæsar* tells us, that *Antony* was detained without by *Brutus Albinus*; and in the life of *Brutus*, that he was kept in talk by *C. Trebonius*. How could he be guilty of so manifest a contradiction in the relation of an action so considerable and notorious? He was certainly mistaken in the life of *Cæsar*, and in that of *Brutus* hits upon the truth; since all the historians, who mention this action, agree, that *Trebonius* entertained

Antony at the door. *Cicero*, who is more to be relied on than all the historians put together, says in express terms in his second *Philippic*, addressing his speech to *Antony* himself; *Cum interficeretur Cæsar, tum te a Trebonio vidimus sevocari*; and in the 13th. *Sceleratum Trebonium? quò scelere? nisi quod te idibus Martiis a debita tibi peste seduxit*; intimating, that *Antony* deserved the same doom with *Cæsar*.

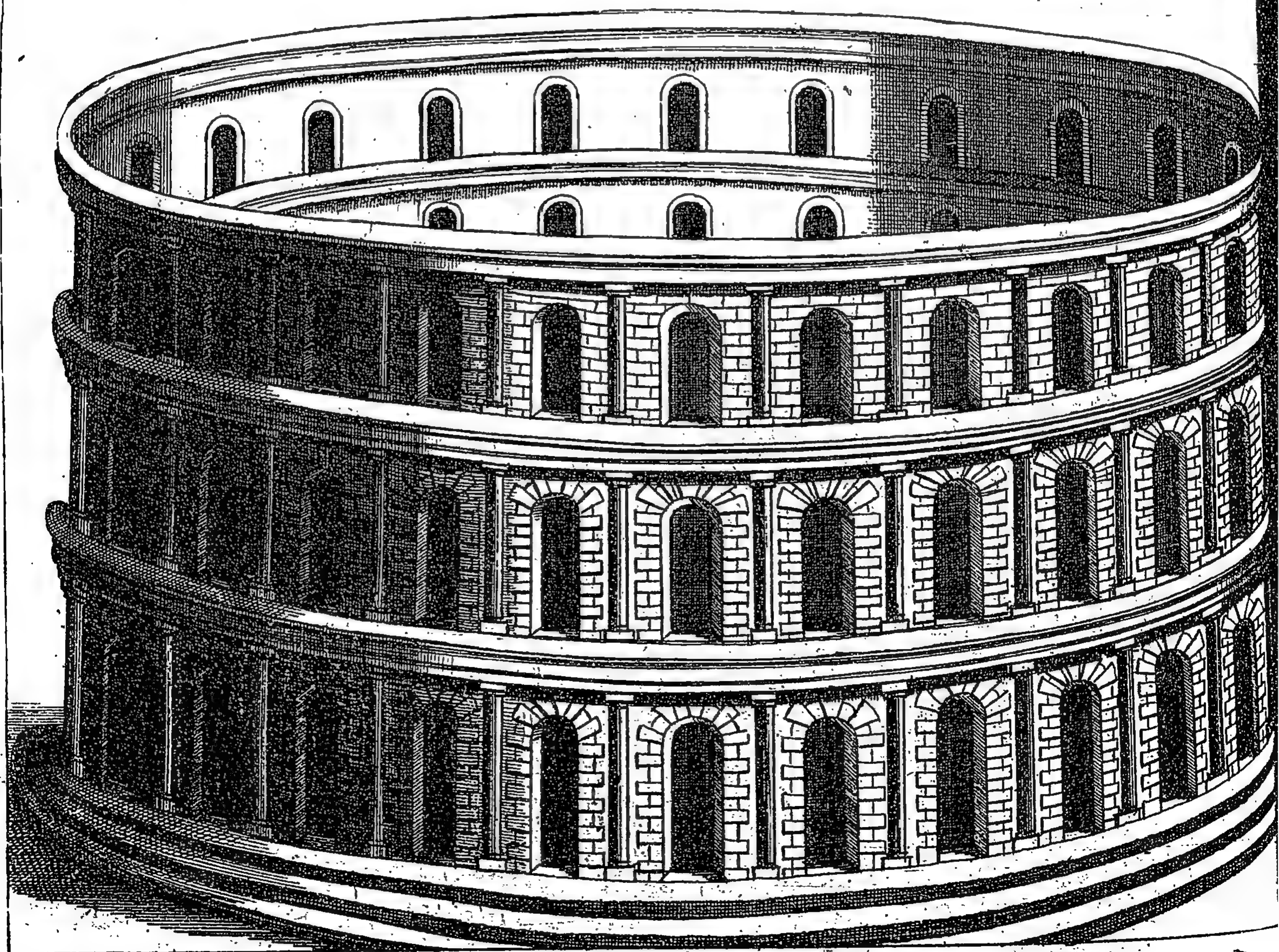
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THE PALACE OF JULIUS CÆSAR



The AMPHITHEATER of CLAUDIUS CÆSAR in the CAMPUS MARTIUS



^a THUS died in the fifty-sixth year of his age the greatest warrior that *Rome*, or perhaps the world, ever saw, after he had fought with success fifty pitched battles, taken by assault above a thousand towns, and slain, if *Pliny* is to be credited^m, eleven hundred ninety-two thousand men. He was, without doubt, a person of extraordinary parts and wonderful abilities, in all the arts both of war and civil government, and of equal diligence and application in the use of them. He was beloved and revered by the people, honoured and adored by his friends, and esteemed and admired even by his enemies. But as his ambition, which knew no bounds, prompted him to intrude his country, and usurp a despotic and arbitrary power over those who were as free as himself, he met in the end with that doom which all tyrants and usurpers deserve.

^b If the state had been deemed irretrievable and an usurper a necessary evil, *Rome* could not have had a better than *Cæsar*. But as *Brutus*, *Cicero*, and the best and ablest *Romans* judged otherwise, the dictator's power and dominion was downright usurpation, and consequently every *Roman* was warranted by all the laws of *Rome* to put him to death.

^m PLIN. l. vii. c. 25.

C H A P. XIV.

The history of Rome, from the death of Cæsar to the first consulate of Octavianus.

^c WHEN *Cæsar* was dispatched, *Brutus*, stepping forth into the middle of the senate house, offered to give an account to the conscript fathers of the motives of their undertaking, and to exhort them to approve an action, which had restored liberty to their country. But they all flew out of doors in the utmost consternation, and carried terror and confusion into all quarters of the city. So great was the throng at the door of the hall and in the porch, that some of the senators were stifled in the croud, and others dangerously wounded, by running blindly in that general distraction against the naked daggers of the conspirators. The news of *Cæsar*'s death being in a trice spread all over the city, the friends of the deceased retired in all haste to their houses, and there shut themselves up, without knowing what they had to hope or fear from so tragical an event. The artificers, shutting their shops, ran in that sudden surprize, some to see the body of the deceased, others up and down the streets to inform themselves of the circumstances of so bold an attempt. In the mean time, *Brutus* and the other conspirators marched in a body from the senate-house all over the city, with their daggers yet bloody in their hands, not like persons who thought of escapeing, but with an air of confidence and assurance. Some persons of distinction, who had not been privy to the conspiracy, joined them with their drawn swords, being desirous to share in the honour of the action, as if they had borne part in it. Of this number were *C. Octavius*, *P. Lentulus Spinther*, *Favonius*, *Patiscus*, *L. Staius Murcus*, who had served under *Cæsar* in quality of lieutenant against the sons of *Pompey* in *Spain*, *A. Aquinius*, and several others, who afterwards paid dear for their vanity, being cut off by *Antony* and young *Octavianus*. As they marched along, they proclaimed in the streets, that they had killed the king of *Rome* and the tyrant of their country. They were preceded by a herald, who carried on the point of a lance a cap, the symbol of liberty among the *Romans*. As they marched along, they called to the people to resume their antient liberty, and complimented such persons of rank as came in their way. When they arrived at the comitium, *Brutus*, holding up his bloody dagger, cried out, *Cicero, we have revenged the republic*. This he did, as some writers conjecture,

^d Rome in great consternation upon *Cæsar*'s death.

^e The conspirators invite the people to resume their antient liberty.

His death attended with great disturbances in the city:

Brutus harangues the people.

But returns with his followers to the capitol.

Dolabella takes upon him the consular dignity, and declares for Brutus.

conjecture, either to engage that famous orator in the common cause, or to make the people believe, that he, who had formerly guarded his country against the wicked attempts of *Catiline*, bore a part in delivering it from the tyranny of *Cæsar*. However that be, the people did not join them; but, alarmed at the death of the dictator, ran up and down the city, some bewailing the loss of one who had supported them with his largesses, and others laying hold of the present general distraction to plunder the houses of their fellow-citizens. They were no more those antient *Romans*, to whom liberty was more dear than life itself. They were become effeminate, debauched, and accustomed to live by the price of their votes, which they sold to the best bidder. *Brutus* therefore, with his followers, thought it adviseable to retire to the capitol, whither they were attended by a body of gladiators belonging to *Decimus Brutus Albinus*. The next day, as no-body was injured by the conspirators either in his goods or person, the senators and many of the people took courage, and went up to the conspirators in the capitol. *Brutus* made an harangue to them, very popular and adapted to the present state of affairs. When he had done speaking, they applauded his oration, and invited him with one voice to come down into the city. Hereupon the conspirators descended with confidence into the forum, *Brutus* being attended and guarded by many persons of the most eminent quality in *Rome*, while the other conspirators went promiscuously mingled with the crowd. He no sooner appeared on the rostra, than the rabble, though consisting of a confused mixture and all disposed to raise a tumult, were struck with reverence, and hearkened to him with silence and attention. He acquainted them in a very affecting harangue with the motives that had prompted them to put *Cæsar* to death, and solemnly protested, that neither he nor his companions had any thing else in view, but the delivering of *Rome* from a tyrannical yoke, and the restoring of their country to her former condition; but the populace, more afraid of poverty than subjection, expressed by their melancholy looks, that they were highly displeased at the action; and that they revered *Brutus*, but at the same time pitied *Cæsar*. Hereupon the conspirators thought fit to withdraw again to the capitol, where *Brutus*, who expected to be besieged, dismissed several persons of distinction, who had attended him thither, not thinking it just, that those who had no hand in the action should share in the danger^m.

As *Cæsar* had designed to set out in a few days on his intended expedition against the *Parthians*, he had resigned his consulship to *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, a young man of twenty-five years of age, who had married *Tullia* the daughter of *Cicero*. The new consul, out of respect to *Cæsar*, waited for his departure to enter upon his office; but he no sooner heard the news of his death, than he appeared with his lictors and fasces, without the consent either of the senate or people. As this was an open acknowledgement of the dictator's power, no one doubted but he would join his friends against *Brutus* and the other conspirators; but he, to the great surprize of all, after so unwarrantable a step, immediately went up to the capitol with all the pomp of a consul; and there, congratulating *Brutus* and his followers on the success of their glorious undertaking, declared, that he would support them to the utmost of his power. From the capitol he returned to the forum, where he made a harangue to the multitude, exhorting them to join the deliverers of their country; and, after having cast out many bitter reflections on *Cæsar*, and bestowed the highest elogiums on *Brutus*, he went so far as to propose a law, enacting, that for the future the *ides* of March should be celebrated with the same solemnity, as the day on which *Rome* was built. The day, said he, in which *Rome* recovered her liberty by the death of a tyrant, ought to be deemed by all true *Romans* as happy a day, as that in which the city was first built. To the latter she owes her being, to the former her liberty; and what is being itself without liberty? But the indigent populace, whom the dictator had supported with his liberal presents, were so far from being moved by his speech to approve of his death, that on the contrary they would have torn the consul in pieces, had he not, by a timely retreat, saved himself in the capitol. However, the menaces, which the multitude threw out on this occasion against the dictator's enemies, did not deter *L. Cornelius Cinna* from renouncing his party in a most solemn manner. *Cæsar* had married to his first wife *Cornelia* the sister of *Cinna*, and on that account had always favoured him in a particular manner. He had raised him this year to the prætorship, and promised him the consulate. But *Cinna* was in his heart a well-wisher to his country and

^a and an enemy to tyranny; and therefore, upon *Cæsar's* death, he not only sided openly with the conspirators, but going into the forum, with all the ensigns of his dignity, pronounced there an invective against his brother-in-law, styling him tyrant, usurper, oppressor of his country, &c. When he had done speaking, he stripped himself, in presence of the people, of all the ornaments of his dignity, crying out, *These I received of Cæsar, against the known laws of Rome; and now I resign them to the Roman people, who alone have a right to dispose of them.* But even this generous and disinterested proceeding was highly resented by the vile populace, and *Cinna* obliged to abscond, for fear of feeling the effects of their blind fury ⁿ.

The generous and disinterested behaviour of L. Cornelius Cinna.

^b IN the mean time, *Antony* and *Lepidus*, who were intirely addicted to *Cæsar*, and had concealed themselves for fear of being involved in his ruin, hearing how the people stood affected, appeared again in public. When the conspirators first consulted about the execution of their design, they were all, except *Brutus*, of opinion; that *Antony* should be cut off with *Cæsar*; for they looked upon him as a dangerous person, on account of his unbounded ambition and the powerful interest he had among the soldiery; but *Brutus*, whose intentions were upright and sincere, would by no means hearken to their advice, saying, That an action undertaken in defence of the laws and of justice ought be free even from all appearance of injustice. Besides, he gave them hopes, that a great change might be worked in *Antony*. I do not despair, said he, but such a lover of glory as *Antony*, stirred up with emulation of our great

Antony saved by Brutus.

^c attempt, will lay hold of this occasion to be joint restorer with us of the liberty of his country. Thus the generous *Brutus* saved *Antony's* life; but he, instead of answering the brave patriot's expectation, upon the first news of *Cæsar's* death, fled in the disguise of a slave, and concealed himself, till he was informed, that the populace were disposed to revenge his death. Then he appeared again with all the majesty and splendor of a consul, being this year *Cæsar's* colleague in that dignity; and managed matters with such address, that he paved the way for that triumvirate, which gave the finishing blow to the republic, and reduced *Rome* to a lasting monarchy. The first step he took was, to order *Lepidus* to march into the city a legion, which he commanded in the neighbourhood; and to incamp in the field of *Mars*. This alarmed ^d the conspirators in the capitol, who thereupon sent deputies to *Antony* and *Lepidus*, desiring them to consider the sad consequences of a division in so critical a conjuncture, and remonstrating, that no hatred to *Cæsar's* person had armed them against him, but only the love which every good citizen ought to have for his country; that the state was already so drained by civil wars, that any new disturbances must prove fatal to it; that they believed them too generous to let any particular views transport them to the prejudice of the public, &c. Both *Antony* and *Lepidus*, under pretence of revenging *Cæsar's* death, aimed at the sovereign power themselves, and sought it in the ruin of those brave men, who stood up in defence of their oppressed country; but, as *Decimus Brutus* was already set out from *Rome* to put himself at the head of an army

Lepidus is ordered by Antony to march a legion into the city.

^e of veterans in *Cisalpine Gaul*, which province had been allotted him by *Cæsar*, they both dissembled even their design of revenging *Cæsar's* death, and, to gain time, returned the following answer, That they were ready to sacrifice their private regards to the public good, and suffer the senate to be assembled, that they might govern themselves by the advice of so many illustrious and discerning persons as composed that venerable body. Accordingly *Antony*, as consul, appointed the senate to meet early the next morning in the temple of *Tellus*, near his own house, and, in the mean time, placed guards all over the city, to keep the unruly multitude from raising disturbances, and likewise ordered all *Cæsar's* money and papers to be conveyed to his house.

Antony assembles the senate,

^f Next morning by break of day, the conscript fathers assembled pursuant to their summons; and never did that august body meet on so important and nice an occasion. They came to decide, whether *Cæsar* had been an usurper, or a lawful magistrate; and whether those who had killed him deserved punishments, or rewards. As none of the conspirators appeared in the senate, not daring to expose themselves to the fury of the rabble, the debates were carried on with more calmness and temper than could have been expected in a matter of such consequence. Most of the conscript fathers were inclined to favour the conspirators; but nevertheless divided among themselves in their opinions. Some were for declaring them *the deliverers, the saviours of their country, and allotting them, as such, ample rewards.* Others were for approving

Different opinions of the conscript fathers.

ⁿ APPIAN. bell. civil. l. ii. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 58.

approving the action, without appointing any rewards to the authors of it, since no-^a body demanded them. Some thought it was sufficient to bury in oblivion what was past, without bestowing either praises or rewards on the authors of *Cæsar's* death. Some of *Cæsar's* friends declared boldly, that the action was odious and detestable; but that they were nevertheless ready to concur in such measures as should be judged necessary for the safety of those who had committed it, out of a due regard to so many illustrious families. After several different overtures, it was at length concluded by a great majority, that, before the conspirators were declared guilty or innocent, this question should be put, *Whether Cæsar was a tyrant, or a lawful magistrate?* since on the decision of this depended that of all other questions relating to the conspirators. *Antony*, foreseeing that this question would be decided to the disadvantage of his^b party, warded off the blow with an address and dexterity, which will seem incredible to those who judge of his abilities from what they read of him in *Cicero's* letters and speeches. *Antony's ad-
dress.* *Have you well weighed with yourselves, conscript fathers, said he, the consequences that must attend the decision of this question? If you declare the late dictator a tyrant, all his acts will be of course void and null; and who can conceive what confusion and disorders will hence ensue, not in this metropolis only, but in all the states and kingdoms subject to Rome? The republic will be without lawful magistrates, the provinces without governors, the armies without commanders, &c. since we have been all invested in our offices, commands, and governments by Cæsar. If we pronounce Cæsar a tyrant and usurper, we must lay down those honours, since we can no longer think them lawfully conferred upon us. If Cæsar is an usurper, his body must, pursuant to the ordinances of our ancestors, be ignominiously dragged through the streets and thrown into the Tiber. What disturbances and tumults will not this produce among the populace, who adore him as a god? You are going, conscript fathers, to plunge the republic, nay, the whole world, which is filled with Cæsar's glory, into a bloody war and eternal disorders.* *Antony's* words made a deep impression on the assembly, which was again divided into different opinions. Such as had not been nominated by *Cæsar* to any civil or military employments, still insisted on his being declared an usurper and tyrant; but all the present magistrates, and those whom *Cæsar* had appointed to succeed them (E), were for dropping the question relating to him, and only decreeing, that no-body should be prosecuted on account of his death. Among the latter was the consul *Dolabella*, who, as he had not yet attained the age required by the laws of *Rome* for the consular dignity, was well apprised, that, if he once parted with it, the people would not be easily induced to restore him, in defiance of the laws, to that post. However, several prætors were prevailed upon by the friends of the conspirators, that is, by the zealous republicans, to strip themselves of their robes and publicly resign the offices, to which *Cæsar*, by his authority alone, had raised them. The division, which reigned in the senate, was likely to have involved the republic anew in a civil war, when *Cicero*, by an excellent speech, which has been transmitted to us, not in the language in which he spoke it, but in *Greek*°, prevailed upon the conscript fathers to drop the question relating to *Cæsar*, viz. *Whether he was a tyrant, or no*; and to pass an act of oblivion for what was past. *An act of ob-
livion passed,
and Cæsar's
acts confirmed.* Accordingly a general amnesty was proclaimed, and at the same time it was decreed, contrary to the opinion of *Cicero* and the most zealous patriots, That not the least thing should be altered, which *Cæsar* had enacted during his government. This was, in a manner, declaring him at the same time both innocent and guilty, since it was inconsistent to confirm what he had done during his dictatorship, and at the same time decree, that those who had put him to death should not be prosecuted. *Cicero*, in one of his letters to *Atticus*, expresses himself on this subject thus; *The tyrant is no more; but the tyranny still subsists. We express great joy at his death, and at the same time confirm all his ordinances* P.

THIS

° DIO. I. xlv. P CIC. Philip. I. VELL. PATERC. I. II. C. 58. PLUT. in CIC. Brut. & Cæf. APPIAN. I. II. DIO, I. xlv.

(E) *Cæsar*, foreseeing that his intended expedition against the *Parthians*, a brave and warlike nation, would prevent him from returning to *Rome* for some time, had appointed consuls, as *Cicero* informs us, for the two following years, viz. *Aulus Hirtius* and *Caius Vibius Pansa* for the first year after his departure, and *Decimus Brutus* with *Lucius Munatius Plancus* for the second. According to

Dion Cassius, he had named consuls for the three following years; according to *Appian* for five, and according to *Suetonius* for many years. But the authority of *Cicero* ought to be of more weight than that of any historian, since he writes of such transactions as happened in his time, and in which he bore, generally speaking, no small share.

- a THIS act of oblivion brought matters to a more peaceable posture. *Antony* and *Lepidus* were still resolved to pursue their revenge on the conspirators, hoping to raise themselves by their destruction to the same post which *Cæsar* had held; but, as they were afraid of each other, and both of *Décimus Brutus*, governor of *Cisalpine Gaul*, they artfully concealed their ambitious designs, and caused the act of oblivion to be published in all the quarters of the city. As the conspirators still kept in their asylum, for fear of some sudden tumult, *Antony* and *Lepidus* sent their children to the capitol as hostages for their security; and then *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and their followers came down into the city. The same night, in token of a perfect reconciliation, *Antony* invited *Cassius* to supper, as *Lepidus* did *Brutus*. As *Antony* liked joking, he asked *Cassius*, *Whether he had a dagger concealed under his robe? Yes*, answered *Cassius*, who was naturally choleric and fullen, *and a sharp one too, for any who shall dare to aspire at the sovereign power*. This answer put a stop to any further jests. And now nobody doubted, but the republic would soon be restored to her former tranquillity. Even the populace began to look upon the conspirators as the deliverers of their country, and honour them with the title of *tyrannicides*. This tranquillity did no ways suit *Antony's* ambitious views. He therefore soon found means to put the whole city in an uproar, and to incense the multitude anew against those, whom they had deservedly begun to look upon as worthy of the greatest honours and rewards. *Cæsar*, on the ides of *September* of the preceding year, had made his will in his house at *Laricum*, and appointed his father-in-law *Calpurnius Piso* to see it executed. To him *Marc Antony* applied, and pressed him to produce the will, that it might be publicly read, being well apprised, that this would produce new disturbances, and have a great effect on the inconstant multitude. On the other hand, the dictator's enemies endeavoured to persuade *Piso* to suppress it; but he, being supported by *Antony*, openly declared, that nothing should divert him from discharging the trust *Cæsar* had reposed in him. The affair was at length brought before the senate, where it occasioned fresh disputes. *Antony* and *Piso* warmly insisted on having the will read, and the body of the deceased dictator honourably interred. Those, said *Piso*, who boast of having killed a tyrant, treat us themselves in a most tyrannical manner. They are willing, that whatever *Cæsar* has done in their behalf should be ratified, and at the same time demand, that his last dispositions be suppressed. As to *Cæsar's* funeral, you may order what you think fit; but as to his will, which he has deposited in my hands, I am resolved to read it before the whole people. The affair was long debated by both parties and with great warmth, *Cassius* violently opposing the proposal of *Antony* and *Piso*, which, if complied with, he foresaw, would revive the affections of the people and cause fresh troubles; but *Brutus* at length yielded, and it was decreed, That *Cæsar's* will should be opened, his funeral rites performed at the expence of the public, and he worshipped as a god. This was an unpardonable oversight in *Brutus*, and *Cassius* loudly complained of his too easy condescension and unseasonable humanity; and indeed with a great deal of reason: for the reading of the will, and the public honours decreed to the deceased, proved fatal, both to the avengers of the republic and the republic itself. The will being produced was read in the presence of the people; and there it was found, that he had appointed his three great-nephews his heirs, *C. Octavius*, *Lucius Pinarius*, and *Quintus Pedius*. To *Octavius*, the grandson of his sister *Julia*, he left three-fourths of his estate; and the remaining part to the other two. He also ordained, that young *Octavius*, his principal heir, should take his name, and be adopted into the *Julian* family; and that if any of his great-nephews should die or renounce his inheritance, *Décimus Brutus* and *M. Antony* should be substituted in their room. Several of the conspirators were appointed guardians to his children, in case he should have any; and *Décimus Brutus*, for whom he had a particular affection, was named to succeed *Octavius*, in case he should die without issue male, and to be adopted into the *Julian* family. By the same will he bequeathed to the *Roman* people his fine gardens beyond the *Tyber*, and to each individual citizen the sum of seventy-five *Attic* drachmas, or three hundred sesterces. These last tokens of *Cæsar's* good-will revived the affection of the people for him, and provoked them anew against *Brutus* and his followers, on whom they no longer bestowed the glorious name of *tyrannicides*, but that of *assassins*, threatening to treat them in the same manner as they had treated the dictator their common benefactor. *Brutus*, perceiving this change, mounted the rostra in quality of prætor, and, with the following speech, endeavoured to appease the

Brutus and his followers come down into the city.

Piso and Antony are for having Cæsar's will read.

Brutus yields them their request.

Cæsar's will.

Disturbances occasioned by the reading of it.

Brutus's speech to the people. "inraged populace. "Great pains have been taken, said he, to prejudice you against us as disturbers of the public tranquillity. We are accused at the same time of cruelty, ingratitude, and perfidiousness. It is pretended, that we have violated the oaths, which tied us to *Cæsar*. What oaths, immortal gods! Had *Cæsar* any lawful power to require them? Did he not extort them with his sword at our throats? Do you look upon forced engagements as really binding? Can forced oaths oblige us to submit to a tyrant? Has not *Cæsar* acted as such ever since *Pompey's* death? He has disposed of the great charges and principal employments, without your advice, or that of the senate. The public money, the revenues of the provinces, were conveyed into his coffers. All the orders in the republic were forced to submit to his laws and arbitrary will. There is not one *Roman* throughout the empire, whom he did not injure in the highest degree; for he robbed him of his liberty, which is the greatest blessing of mankind. When he seemed to be rendering his country the most important services by his successful undertakings, at that very time was he laying his schemes how to bring her into subjection. He made war on foreign enemies, only that he might know how to subdue and enslave his fellow-subjects. It is said, that he was meditating great things for the republic when he was cut off. He might indeed have gathered empty laurels for himself by more wars at the expence of the republic; but what advantage would have redounded to us from his victories? Every accession of power must, by raising his tyranny higher, have sunk us lower and strengthened our chains. Had he left us any hopes of his laying down one day the power he had usurped, we should have bore the yoke with patience; but the name of *perpetual dictator* threatened us with eternal slavery. He treated the very name of liberty and the republic with contempt. He ridiculed *Sylla* for resigning his usurped authority, and manifestly shewed, that he had nothing in his head or heart, but absolute rule, a diadem, the title of king, and controlling the world according to his lust. It is said, that his person was sacred and inviolable; but did not he the first violate that respect which is due to sacred persons? Did he not depose two of our tribunes, and even condemn them to banishment, for no other reason, but because they took from his statues the royal diadem?" Then turning to the old legionaries, who had for the most part, received lands of *Cæsar* by way of reward for their long services. "As for you, brave veterans, said he, when you first entered into the service, was it to *Cæsar*, or to the republic, you engaged your fidelity by the military oath? You have fought under *Cæsar*; but was it for him you fought? You have conquered; and your victories ought to be amply rewarded. We are resolved to allow you the rewards which *Cæsar* had promised you. The commonwealth will not suffer you to be losers by his death. Those who have already received inheritances, shall be confirmed in the possession of them; and such as have not yet been rewarded, shall be satisfied for their services out of the first money that comes into the public treasury. This I promise in the name of the republic; and my word shall be sacred and inviolable in every thing but the supporting of tyranny." This speech which was no *frivolous apology*, as some assertors of absolute power are pleased to call it, appeased both the people and soldiery; but *Antony* and *Piso* soon found means to inflame them anew with fury and sorrow, two gross passions, which do not reason, but feel. They caused the body of *Cæsar* (F) to be brought forth with a great deal of pomp, being carried on the shoulders of men, who were all in office and of the most illustrious families in *Rome*. They had raised a kind of stage in the forum over-against the rostra, and on the stage a small temple of gilt wood, after the model of that of *Venus*, *Cæsar's* pretended mother. In this temple was a bed of ivory, richly adorned with curtains of cloth of gold and of purple. On the bed was laid the body of the deceased, the robe in which he was killed being hung up by it. All *Rome* crowded to see the mangled body of their deceased hero, whose loss they bewailed anew with many sighs and tears. Those chiefly, who had served under him in most of his wars, were incon-

The body of
Cæsar brought
forth with
great pomp.

⁹ APPIAN. l. ii. DIO, l. xlv. * CARTOU and ROUILLE, Vol. XVII. p. 404.

(F) We are told by some historians, that the conspirators designed at first to throw the dead body of the dictator into the *Tyber*, in order to remove that object of compassion out of the sight of the populace; but being prevented from putting their design in execution by the tumult which happened in the senate, they left it in the senate-house, from whence it was privately conveyed in a litter to his house by three of his slaves, who took care to have it embalmed, not doubting, but the senate or people would, in due time, order it to be interred with all pomp and magnificence.

a in-
 still more, ascended the rostra (G), and took upon him to pronounce his funeral oration, inlarging on every topic which could move compassion. He enumerated the many victories he had gained, the innumerable conquests he had made, the various nations he had subdued, &c. Then he took notice of all the titles of honour which the republic had conferred upon him, his dictatorship, his being several times honoured with the consulate, the censorship, the dignity of pontifex maximus, and above all, with the glorious name of *the father of his country*. From thence he passed to his virtues, crying up his courage, his eloquence, his humanity, generosity, clemency even to his enemies, &c. After this, he repeated the oath which the people of Rome had taken to him, and by which they had sworn, that his person should be sacred and inviolable, and that they would defend him at the hazard of their own lives. *Antony*, perceiving the people to be infinitely affected with what he said in commendation of *Cæsar*, to stir them up yet further to compassion, or rather to madness, unfolded the bloody garment of *Cæsar*, shewed them in how many places it was pierced, and exposed to their view the number of his wounds. Hereupon *Antony*, seeing rage mixed with grief painted in every one's face, resumed his discourse, and turning to the capitol, *Great Jupiter*, said he, *and ye gods, protectors of the Roman empire, I call you to witness, that I was determined to revenge his death, and fulfil my obligations; but the decree of the conscript fathers has tied my hands. Am I guilty of sacrilege and perjury?* At these words the mob made great outcries, and nothing was heard but, *Vengeance, vengeance*. The senators were highly provoked against *Antony*, for thus firing the multitude with new fury; which he observing from their countenances and fearing to disoblige them, in order to reconcile to him that august body, and, in some degree, qualify what he had said, concluded thus: *Yes, the gods themselves absolve me from the obligation of my oath. What has been done ought to be forgot; since it is the crime of some evil demons, enemies to Rome, rather than of men; and nothing ought now to be thought of, but honouring the memory of the illustrious deceased, and placing him among the immortal gods*^c.

d *Antony* had scarce done speaking, when one of the spectators, flying, as seized with some fury, from the midst of the crowd and mounting the stage, laid hold of *Cæsar*'s robe, and displaying it again to the multitude, *There is the spoil of a hero*, he cried, *beloved of the gods and revered by the world even to adoration*. These words interrupted with frequent sighs, uttered with a mournful tone, and accompanied with great outcries and strange postures of sorrow, occasioned a general commotion. At the same time, appeared all on a sudden an image of *Cæsar* in wax, which moved by springs, and shewed the twenty-three wounds which he had received on his face and other parts of his body. This sight transported the populace even to madness: the forum resounded with sighs mixt with menaces and curses against the authors of his death, whom they styled *assassins, parricides, &c. worthy of the most cruel punishments*. Their fury was so great, that they would defer no longer the solemnities of the funeral; but tearing to pieces the benches and chairs of the magistrates, who held their courts in that place, and carrying away the counters and tables from the adjoining shops, raised with them a funeral pile, and, placing *Cæsar*'s body upon it, set it on fire; so that the body, the bed, and the temple were consumed in a moment. When the fire first began to flame out, the old soldiers, who had served under the deceased, threw into the flames all the military rewards which he had given them. Many women of distinction, to testify their grief and honour the memory of the deceased, threw into the fire their jewels, their childrens ornaments and robes, and whatever they had of value about them. The incensed multitude, whose blind fury knows no bounds, flocking in like madmen, in spite of the guards placed round the pile, snatched the flaming brands out of the fire, and ran to burn the houses of the conspirators; but they, having before-hand got together a great number of their friends

^c DIO. APPIAN. SUET. *ibid.*

(G) *Suetonius* is the only writer among the ancients, who tells us, that *Antony* pronounced no funeral oration. *The consul*, says that historian, *made no oration, as was usual, in commendation of the deceased. He only ordered a herald to read aloud the decree of the senate, placing Cæsar among the gods, and ordering divine honours to be paid him. Antony spoke*

only a few words in praise of the illustrious deceased. It is surprising, that Suetonius should be ignorant of so remarkable an incident, related at length by all other historians, and, what is more by Cicero, who, in his second Philippic, reproaches Antony with it in most bitter terms.

Various artifices used to stir up the multitude.

Cæsar's body burnt.

The fate of
one Cinna.

Brutus and his
followers re-
tire from
Rome.

Antony en-
deavours to
gain the se-
nate.

Punishes A-
matius and
other rioters.

Proposes the
recalling of
Sextus Pom-
peius.

friends and domestics, easily repulsed a disorderly mob, that had no other arms but their grief and fury. As they were returning from the conspirators houses, they met one *Cinna* (H), who had been always greatly attached to *Cæsar*'s party; but mistaking him for another of the same name, who was concerned in the conspiracy, fell upon him and tore him to pieces on the spot. *Brutus* and his party were so alarmed at these proceedings, that they thought it adviseable to retire from the city; and accordingly they privately withdrew to *Antium*, with a design to return again as soon as the fury of the people was abated, which, they hoped, would be soon, since the senate had espoused their cause. All the strangers in *Rome* mourned after the custom of their respective countries, especially the *Jews*, who watched several nights at the place where his body had been burnt (I). At last divine honours were given him, and an altar erected by the populace in the same place, which was ever after looked upon as sacred, his great nephew *Octavius* having caused a temple to be erected there, and a pillar of jasper twenty foot high, with this inscription, *To the father of his country*.^f

THE conspirators and the conscript fathers were equally offended at the artful speech of *Antony*. They complained, that, contrary to the decree of the senate and his own word, by which it was agreed to bury all that had passed in oblivion, he had so pathetically enlarged on the praises of *Cæsar*, with no other view but to stir up the rage of the people. *Antony* therefore, finding he had discovered himself too soon, and being well apprised, that it was in the power of the senate to cross his designs, resolved to regain their favour, or at least to blind them for a while, by inflicting severe punishments on the authors of the disturbances, which were daily raised in all the quarters of the city. One *Amatius*, passing himself upon the multitude for the grandson of *Marius*, and giving out that it was incumbent upon him to revenge the death of *Cæsar* his kinsman, committed every-where great disorders, being backed by a numerous mob, whom the reputation of his pretended grandfather drew after him. But *Antony*, to make his court to the senate, caused him to be seized, and put to death, without any further trial. As the people flocked daily in crowds to the altar, which they had erected to *Cæsar*, *Antony* caused it to be demolished. This provoked the mutineers, who thereupon assembled the next day in great numbers, in order to rebuild the altar; but *Dolabella*, with the consent of his colleague, fell upon them at the head of some legionaries, and cut several of them in pieces. Those who escaped the swords of the legionaries, were prosecuted by the two consuls, and punished with the utmost rigor, as disturbers of the public tranquillity. The slaves were all crucified, and such as were of free condition thrown down from the top of the *Tarpeian* rock. Such vigorous proceedings struck the unruly multitude with terror, and for a while restored the city to its former tranquillity. After this, *Antony*, having assembled the senate, assured the conscript fathers, that thenceforth his whole attention should be how to re-unite the people's minds, divided on this fatal occasion, and to prevent the calamities of a civil war. At the same time, to gain the fathers intirely, he proposed the recalling of *Sextus Pompeius*, son to *Pompey the Great*, who, ever since the

^f PLUT. APPIAN. DIO. SUET. ibtd.

(H) We are told, that *Cinna*, of whom mention is made here, had the night before an odd dream. He fancied that *Cæsar* invited him to supper, and that upon his refusing to comply with the invitation, the dictator pressed him very earnestly, and at length taking him by the hand, led him into a dark place. After this vision, he was seized with a fever; but nevertheless in the morning, hearing that *Cæsar*'s body was to be interred, and being ashamed not to be present at the solemnity, he went into the forum, out of respect to the memory of his friend, tho' his dream gave him no small apprehension. One of the rabble, whom *Antony*'s speech had stirred up and enraged, seeing him there, asked another, Who he was; and having learnt his name, told it to another. It was presently reported, that he was one of the conspirators, or what is most probable, that he was that *Cinna*, who had a little before, in a speech to the people, inveighed against *Cæsar*, and

this was enough for the furious multitude to tear him to pieces.

(I) No people received more signal favours at *Cæsar*'s hands than the *Jewish* nation. He restored *Hyrchanus*, the son of *Alexander* to the sovereignty of *Judæa*, and secured the crown to him and his family by a decree, which he caused to be engraved on tables of brass in *Greek* and *Latin*, and to be hung up in the capitol at *Rome*, and in the temples of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Askalon* in *Phœnice*: he remitted great part of the tributes, which the *Jews* paid annually to the republic; in acknowledgment of the assistance he had from the *Jewish* nation in the war of *Alexandria*: before he left that city, he confirmed all the privileges they enjoyed there, and ordered a pillar to be erected, whereon, by his command, all these privileges were engraved, and also his decree confirming them (45).

(45) *Joseph. antiq. l. xiv. c. 17.*

- a the battle of *Munda*, had concealed himself in *Celtiberia*. He was even of opinion, that the loss of his paternal estate, which had been confiscated by *Cæsar* and divided among his creatures, should be made good to him at the expence of the public; and that the supreme command of all the naval forces of the republic should be conferred upon him, in the same unlimited manner as his father had enjoyed it before him. This proposal was heard with surprize, and received with general applause. Some ascribed this change in *Antony* to his fear of the conspirators; others suspected, that he was desirous of engaging the senate in his favour against young *Octavius*, the dictator's heir, who was on his journey from *Greece* to *Rome*. All the senators, however, bestowed on him the greatest commendations, which were so much the sincerer, as
- b the restoration of young *Pompey* seemed to be an implicit condemnation of *Cæsar*'s memory. *Cicero* himself, deceived by this false appearance of zeal, highly commended *Antony*'s conduct, first in the senate, and afterwards in a letter he wrote to him, which the consul kept, and in due time made public by way of answer to the orator's bitter invectives.

THE conscript fathers were highly pleased with such a conduct in a consul and a friend of *Cæsar*; but the populace, extremely provoked at his thus changing sides, reproached him with ingratitude to the memory of his benefactor. *Antony* failed not to make himself a merit with the senate of this aversion. He even pretended to be afraid, lest the enraged multitude should make some attempt upon his life, and, as

c if he were not safe, demanded a guard of the senate to secure himself against the rabble, who, he said, threatened him with destruction. The conscript fathers could not well reject his request; since he had incurred the hatred of the people for the interest of the senate. They allowed him therefore a guard for the security of his person; but *Antony*, under this pretence, chose six thousand old legionaries, who had served with him under *Cæsar*, and passionately longed to revenge the death of their general. The senate was alarmed to see the consul walk the streets of *Rome* always attended with such a number of armed men. Even his friends remonstrated to him, that such an extraordinary attendance made him suspected and odious in a free state. *Antony* promised to disband them, as soon as he thought himself out of danger; and, in the mean time, to remove the suspicion they might entertain of his aspiring to succeed *Cæsar* in the dictatorship, he proposed a law abrogating that dignity for ever, and got it passed in the assembly of the people. This calmed for a while the fears of the conscript fathers: but *Antony* soon gave them fresh motives of jealousy; for having gained over to his interest *Cæsar*'s secretary, whom some call *Faberius*, others *Tabirius*, and by his means made himself master of all his papers, he appointed what officers he pleased, brought whom he thought fit into the senate, recalled some from exile, freed others out of prison, &c. and all this as ordered so by *Cæsar*, whose acts had been declared void by the senate. The *Romans*, by way of raillery, called those new magistrates and senators *Charonites*, because, if obliged to prove their patents, they must have had recourse to the registers of the dead, that is, of those who had passed the river *Styx* in *Charon*'s bark. They were also styled *Orcini*, an epithet given to such slaves as were enfranchised by their masters will made on their death-bed. *Antony*, having by this artifice introduced many of his own creatures into the senate, began to act with great independency, knowing he had nothing to fear either from the conscript fathers or the populace, since he had now a strong party in the senate, and was guarded by a numerous body of chosen troops against the insults and attempts of the multitude. Besides, the whole authority of the government was, we may say, in his hands. He was himself consul, one of his brothers, *Lucius Antonius*, was tribune of the people, and the other, *C. Antonius*, prætor; so that, without taking upon him the title either of king or dictator, it may be said, that he governed *Rome* with an absolute sway. As for *Lepidus*, *Antony* attached that powerful *Roman* to his interest, by procuring for him the dignity of pontifex maximus, vacant by the death of *Cæsar*, and betrothing his daughter *Antonia* to young *Lepidus* his son.

IN the mean time, some of the conspirators returned to *Rome*, while others continued at *Antium*. Among the latter was *M. Brutus*, who, upon intelligence that many of the old soldiers, who had served under *Cæsar*, of whom they had received lands, lay in wait for him, and by small parties had stolen into the city, would not expose himself to unnecessary dangers. However, in his absence, most magnificent shews were exhibited

^c APPIAN. l. iii. & viii. DIO, l. xlv. PLUT. in Bruto. CIC. in epist. passim, & in Philippicis,

Magnificent
sports exhi-
bited by Bru-
tus.

exhibited to the people at his expence, he being then prætor; for having bought up a great number of wild beasts of all sorts, he gave positive orders, that not one of them should be disposed of or saved; but that they should be all used in those shews. He even went in person as far as *Naples* to engage a considerable number of comedians, and wrote to *Cicero* and his other friends, begging them by no means to omit honouring his shews with their presence^a. *Cæsar* had, before his death, allotted provinces to the chief men among the conspirators, viz. *Macedon* to *M. Brutus*, *Syria* to *Cassius*, *Asia* to *Trebonius*, *Bithynia* to *Cimber*, and *Cisalpine Gaul* to *Decimus Brutus*. Some authors write, that these provinces were given them by the senate. However that be, they still continued in or near the capital, to watch *Antony's* steps, who now manifestly aspired, notwithstanding all his former protestations, at the sovereign power.

Octavius's
origin.

SUCH was the posture of affairs, when news was brought, that young *Octavius*, *Cæsar's* great-nephew and adopted son, was coming to take possession of his inheritance. He was the son of *Caius Octavius* of the senatorial order, who had been prætor of *Macedon*, and of *Accia*, daughter to *Julia Cæsar's* sister. The *Octavian* family was divided into two branches, viz. the *Cneii* and the *Caii*. The former were early distinguished at *Rome* with the first honours of the republic; but the latter, from whom *Cæsar's* adopted son was descended, were but simple knights at the time of the second *Punic* war. *Octavius's* great-grandfather served in *Sicily* in quality of legionary tribune, and his grandfather bore the first employments in *Velitræ*, his native city. His mother *Accia*, or *Atia*, was the daughter of *Julia* and *M. Accius Balbus*, whose family, as appears from several ancient inscriptions, had been, long before the birth of *Octavius*, one of the most conspicuous of *Aricia*, an ancient city of *Latium* (K). *Octavius* was born in the consulate of *Cicero* and *Caius Antonius*, that is, in the year of *Rome* 690. His father *Caius Octavius* dying when he was but four years old, his mother *Accia* married again, and took to her second husband *Lucius Marcius Philippus*, descended from those *Philippi*, who signalized themselves in the *Macedonian* wars. From his infancy he bore the surname of *Thurinus*, borrowed, as *Suetonius* conjectures, from his father, who drove the remains of *Catiline's* army from the neighbourhood of *Thurium*, a city of *Great Greece*, and was from thence styled *Thurinus*. *Accia* d

His education. his mother and *Philippus* his father-in-law took care to have him educated and instructed by the best masters then in *Rome*; and he is said to have so profited by their instructions, that at nine years old he harangued the people with wonderful intrepidity, and pronounced the funeral oration of his grandmother *Julia* when he was not quite twelve. All the writers of his age tell us, that from his infancy he gave glaring proofs of an exalted mind, capable of managing the most difficult enterprizes. His extraordinary parts, say they, joined to the majesty of his mein and comeliness of his person, influenced in his favour all who knew, or only beheld, him. Above the rest

^a PLUT. in Bruto.

(K) *Marc Antony* reproached *Octavius* with the meanness and obscurity of his ancestors. According to him, *Octavius's* great-grandfather, on the father's side, was a freed-man, and by profession a rope-maker in the territory of *Thurium*, and his grand father a banker. On the mother's side, *Antony* derived his pedigree from a perfumer, who afterwards turned baker in the city of *Aricia*. *Cassius Parmensis*, in a letter he wrote to *Octavius* before the battle of *Actium*, told him, that he owed his birth to a money-changer and a woman brought up in the mills of *Aricia*. But these calumnies are learnedly rejected by *Joseph Rocco Volpi*, an *Italian* jesuit, in his account of the antiquities of ancient *Latium*, where he proves from several ancient inscriptions, that the *Octavian* family, before their migration to *Rome*, which happened, according to him, in the reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*, had borne the first employments in the republic of *Velitræ*, now *Velletri*. As to the *Atian* family, he shews, that, for several ages before the birth of *Octavius*, it had been one of the most conspicuous of *Aricia*. *Virgil* indeed derives

the *Atian* family from *Atys*, the companion of *Iulus*, son to *Æneas*.

*Alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,
Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iulo* (46).

Many writers, and among the rest *F. Volpi*, are of opinion, that *Octavius* was brought up in the town of *Ulubra*, situated in the district of *Velitræ*; for *Suetonius* tells us, that he was educated in *avito suburbano prope Velitras*; and that, as soon as he spoke, he commanded the frogs that were croaking to be silent, and from that time, adds he, *negantur ibi coaxare*. From this passage they infer, that *Octavius* was brought up in a place near *Velitræ*, which abounded with frogs, and consequently at *Ulubra*, which was in the territory of *Velitræ*; and, as it was situated in the midst of the *Pomptine* marshes, must of course have been well stocked with frogs (47). Hence it is, that *Tully* calls the inhabitants of this town *frogs*, because, like frogs, they lived in the midst of marshes (48.)

(46) *Æneid*. l. v. ver. 569, 570. (47) *Suet. in Octav.* (48) *Cic. epist. fam. l. vii. ep. 18.*

a rest, *Julius Cæsar*, his great uncle, was so taken with his prudent conduct and a certain maturity of judgment, which young *Octavius* discovered from his tender years, that he cherished him, with all the tenderness of a father, and very early formed the design of adopting him, in case he had no children of his own. He designed to take him with him into *Spain*, when he went thither to make war on the sons of *Pompey*, that he might have an opportunity of instructing him in the military art; but his mother *Accia*, alarmed at a slight indisposition, with which he was seized when upon the point of departing, kept him in *Rome* till that war was near ended, the battle of *Munda* being fought before he reached *Spain*. He intended to carry him with him to the *Parthian* war, and with this view sent him before to *Apollonia*, on the other side of the *Adriatic*, to wait for him there, and in the mean time improve his talent for eloquence under the famous rhetorician *Apollodorus* of *Pergamus*. He had been six months in *Apollonia*, when he received the news of his uncle's tragical death, which most sensibly afflicted him. At first he knew not whether the whole senate was privy to his death, or whether he had fallen by a conspiracy of his private enemies; but, a few days after, he was informed that sixty senators of the most illustrious families in *Rome* had been in the plot; that even those who had no share in it, did, however, secretly favour the conspirators, whom they looked upon as the deliverers of their country; that this party was very powerful; that *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and the other friends of his great-uncle, under pretence of avenging his death, aimed at nothing else but to establish their own power; that the city was filled with troubles and commotions occasioned by the animosity of different parties. &c. At the same time he received letters from his mother and father-in-law, and his other friends and relations, advising him to forbear for the present declaring either his pretensions or resentment, since there could be no safety for him, but in an obscure and private life. Some of his friends went even so far as to advise him to renounce *Cæsar's* adoption, lest he should be involved in the same fate with his uncle. Others would fain have persuaded him to seek for shelter among the troops in *Macedon*, which had, for the most part, served under *Cæsar*, and were appointed to attend him in his expedition against the *Parthians*. But *Octavius*, rejecting the timorous counsels of his friends, resolved to pass over into *Italy* without delay, to inform himself on the spot of the situation of affairs. Accordingly he went on board a small vessel, and, passing the *Adriatic* sea, landed at *Lupia*, now known by the name of *La Rocca*, between *Brundisium* and *Hydruntum*. The former of these two cities was the usual place of landing for those who came from the east; but *Octavius* thought it advisable not to shew himself there, the place being full of soldiers, till he had, by means of some dexterous persons, sounded the dispositions of both the inhabitants and garison. The latter no sooner heard of the arrival of their late general's son, than they went out in a body to meet him, and introduced him in a kind of a triumph into the city. *Octavius* thanked them for their attachment and respect to the memory of his uncle, and, after having offered a solemn sacrifice to the gods, declared himself *Cæsar's* heir and son by adoption, calling himself no longer *Caius Octavius*, but *Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus* (L); and by the latter name we shall distinguish him, following therein most of the ancients, till he acquires that of *Augustus*, which was given him by the senate after the victory he gained over *Antony* at *Actium*. His thus taking the name of *Cæsar*, and declaring himself his heir, in so critical a conjuncture, was, no doubt, a bold step in a youth scarce eighteen years old; the more, because it was against the advice of all his friends and relations: but, from his first setting out, fortune seemed to espouse his cause; and indeed his rise seems to us more owing to fortune, that is, to seasonable conjunctures, and to the great reputation of his uncle, whose memory was adored by the soldiery and populace, than to any extraordinary parts of his own. All the writers of his time, whether historians or poets, men of great wit, but notorious flatterers, represent him as the greatest commander, the ablest statesman, and the most accomplished prince, the world ever saw; but whether he deserved the praises, which they so lavishly bestowed upon him, and for which they were amply rewarded, is a question which

The regard Cæsar had for him.

Is informed at Apollonia of his uncle's death.

Rejects the advice of his friends and relations, and sets out for Italy.

Declares himself Cæsar's heir.

(L) Adopted persons assumed all the three names of him who adopted them; but, as a mark of their proper descent, added at the end either their former *nomen* or *cognomen*; the first exactly the same as before, for instance, *Q. Servilius Cæpio Agalo Brutus*, the name of *M. Junius Brutus* when adopted by *Q.*

Servilius Cæpio Agalo. The other was added with some slight alteration, as in the case before us, *Octavius* calling himself, after his adoptive father, *C. Julius Cæsar*, and changing the *cognomen* *Octavius* into *Octavianus*, declaring himself thereby to be of the *Octavian* family.

How supplied
with arms,
money, &c.

Visits Cicero.

Agreement be-
tween Cicero
and Octavia-
nus.

which must be decided by facts. But to proceed : the garison of *Brundisium*, which was very numerous and consisted for the most part of brave veterans, whom *Cæsar* intended to lead against the *Parthians*, not only offered their service to *Octavianus*, but put him in possession of all the military stores and provisions, which *Cæsar* had prepared for his *Parthian* expedition and conveyed to *Brundisium*, in order to be transported from thence into the east. At the same time, *Octavianus* had the good luck to intercept the tributes, which were sent annually to *Rome* from the provinces on the other side of the sea, and likewise the provisions and money designed for the support and payment of the troops of the republic in *Macedon*. These *Octavianus* seized for his own use, which was, according to the laws of *Rome*, a capital crime, and would have been punished with death in less turbulent times ; but *Octavianus*, young as he was, had already resolved to make himself master of the republic, under the specious pretence of revenging his uncle's death. Being thus supplied at once with men, money, arms, and provisions, he set out from *Brundisium*, and took his rout through *Campania* to *Rome*. On the fourteenth of the calends of *May* he arrived at *Naples*, and the next day went to visit *Cicero* at his country-house in the neighbourhood of *Cumæ*, whither the orator had retired for fear of *Antony*, who now governed *Rome* with an absolute sway. Of this visit *Cicero* himself makes mention in one of his epistles to *Atticus*^w. *Octavianus* wanted a man of *Cicero*'s eloquence and authority to support his interest in the senate, and *Cicero* one of *Octavianus*'s credit among the troops to screen him against the attempts of *Antony*, with whom he had quarrelled. It was therefore agreed between them, that *Cicero* should assist *Octavianus* with his eloquence, both in the senate and with the people, and that *Octavianus*, on the other hand, should defend *Cicero* against all his enemies especially *M. Antony* (M). From *Cumæ* *Octavianus* pursued his journey to *Rome*, being joined, as he passed through *Campania*, by the most considerable of his uncle's friends, his relations, free-men, and even his slaves. The veterans likewise, to whom *Cæsar*, after the civil war, had given lands in *Italy*, hastened from all parts to offer their service to his adopted son. As he drew near *Rome*, most of the magistrates, the officers of the army, and the people came out in throngs to meet him. Of all the friends and creatures of the dictator, *Antony* alone neglected to pay him the least respect ; nay, he did not so much as deign to send any of his servants or attendants to compliment him in his name ; but of this young *Octavianus* took no notice, being unwilling, on so trifling an account, to disoblige one, with whom he had affairs of much greater moment to transact. His friends indeed could not forbear publicly condemning the pride and ingratitude of *Antony* ; but *Octavianus*, with a seeming good temper, excused him on account of his great age and the prerogatives of the consular dignity. *It behoves me, who am but a young man, and in a private station, said he, to wait the first on one who is my senior, and in the highest post of the republic.* Accordingly he resolved to make him a visit the next morning ; but, as he designed to have his adoption first ratified by the prætor, according to the *Roman* custom, he desires his friends to meet him early the next morning in the forum, with as many attendants as they could get together, in order to assist at that ceremony. His friends and relations, with numerous crowds of clients and attendants, accompanied him early in the morning, pursuant to his request, into the forum, where he proved before *Caius*, the brother

^w Cic ad Attic. l. xiv. ep. 10.

(M) We are told by *Plutarch*, that *Cicero* had long had a tender regard for young *Octavius*, which, if that writer is to be credited, was occasioned by the following dream : While *Pompey* and *Cæsar* were yet alive, says *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, in a dream, seemed to summon the sons of the senators into the capitol, as if *Jupiter* designed to declare one of them the sovereign of *Rome*. The citizens, hastening thither out of curiosity, surrounded the temple ; and the youths, sitting in their purple robes, kept a profound silence. On a sudden the doors opened, and the youths arising passed one by one before the god, who reviewed them all one after another, and dismissed them ; at which they seemed much displeased : but when it came to *Octavius*'s turn to be reviewed, *Jupiter*, stretching forth his hand, said aloud, *This, O Romans ! this young man, when he shall become*

master of Rome, shall put an end to all your cruel wars. The same author adds, that *Cicero*, by this vision had framed a perfect idea of the youth, and preserved it in his mind, tho' he did not know him. The next day, as he was going down into the *campus Martius*, he met the boys returning from their exercises, and the first he saw was young *Octavius*, just as he had appeared to him in his dream. Being greatly surprised at this, he asked him who he was ; and hearing he was the grandson of *Julia*, *Cæsar*'s sister, from that time he saluted him where-ever he met him, and shewed on all occasions a particular regard for him. But we do not find one word of this in all *Cicero*'s works ; and yet it is not to be presumed, that he would have concealed so significant a dream from his friend *Atticus*.

brother of *Antony*, at that time *prætor urbanus* or city prætor, his adoption, declared *Octavianus* with the usual ceremonies his acceptance of the same, and caused this his acceptance to be registered by the public scribes or notaries. From the forum *Octavianus* went straight to *Pompey's* gardens, where *Antony* then resided, he having appropriated them to himself upon that great man's death. The consul made him wait a great while at the gate, to let him know, by that affected disregard, how much he was above him, and what degree of authority he designed to maintain over him. At length he admitted him into his apartment, and received him with great politeness and civility. *Octavianus* spoke first. He began with returning thanks to *Antony* for his attachment to the memory of his father, and the panegyric he made at his funeral. Then he modestly complained of his having suffered a pardon to pass in favour of the conspirators, whom he might have punished with as much severity, and as arbitrarily, as he had done the impostor *Amatius*. He reminded him in a very handsome manner of *Cæsar's* friendship to him, and of the many good offices he had done him. He conjured him, by the memory of his friend and benefactor, to assist him in revenge- ing his death, at least not to oppose him in so laudable an undertaking. In the close of his speech he gave *Antony* to understand, that he was resolved to pay immediately the legacies which his father had left to the people and soldiery; and therefore desired him to deliver up to him, as *Cæsar's* chief heir, the money which he had caused to be conveyed from *Cæsar's* house to his own; But as that, said he, will hardly be sufficient to discharge all my obligations, I shall be highly obliged to you, if you will either lend me some of your own, or procure me some at interest from the *quæstors*, that I may pay off what shall remain due to those whom my father has remembered in his will. As for his moveables, I am willing you should keep them, as marks of his affection; but for the ready money I have present occasion, and therefore hope you will order it, without delay, to be delivered to me. *Antony*, amazed at the young man's boldness, and piqued at what he said in the close of his speech relating to his father's money, which, according to *Plutarch*, amounted to no less than four thousand talents, told him with an air of authority, That he was very much mistaken, if he fancied, that *Cæsar* had left him heir of the *Roman* empire, as well as of his name and fortune; that his death ought to have taught his adopted son, that the constitution of the commonwealth allowed neither of hereditary nor elective sovereigns; and that therefore he ought not to demand reasons of a *Roman* consul for what he had done in the government of the commonwealth. As for the obligations, which he pretended to owe him on account of the honours which he had procured for his father's memory, he willingly acquitted him of them all, since what he had done was without any regard to him, and only designed for the good of his country. However, added he, to me alone you are indebted for his name and his estate; for had *Cæsar* been treated like an usurper, which I alone prevented, there had been neither will, inheritance, nor adoption: but I secured to him the honours due to his memory, and by that means his name and estate to you, even at the hazard of my own life. 'Tis true, I have suffered some decrees to pass in the senate favourable to the conspirators; but I have been prompted thereunto by reasons, which one of your age is not capable of discerning. As to *Cæsar's* money, which you demand, it does not amount to so great a sum as you imagine; besides, as it belonged to the commonwealth, from which your father took it, it has been, in great part, shared among the magistrates since his death, who are to lay it out according to the exigencies of the state. As for what remains, I am ready to put it into your hands; but give me leave to advise you, young man, not to lay it out in largesses and gratifications: employ it rather in sending back to their respective colonies that shoal of followers, who attended you hither. The populace is a monster that will never be satisfied, and will always requite the good offices of their fellow-citizens with the basest ingratitude. As you are conversant in the *Grecian* history, you must know, that the favourites of the people are, generally speaking, short-lived, and that the popular affection is more inconstant than the waves of the ocean*.

Octavianus, highly offended at this speech, took his leave of *Antony*, repeating several times, as he went out of the door, the name of *Cæsar*. He was well apprised, that the consul kept his father's money and estate from him, with no other view but to disable him from purchasing the favour of the people. He therefore resolved to expose

* LIV. l. cxvii. APPIAN. l. iii p. 531, 533. DION, l. xlv. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 60. SUET. in Octavio. CIC. epist ad Attic. 10 & 13. l. xiv. OROS. l. vi. c. 10.

Antony's artifice.

Octavianus gains the favour of the people.

Falls out with Antony.

They are reconciled.

expose to public sale all the houses and lands that belonged to the dictator, declaring, that he had not accepted his inheritance, had it not been to prevent *Antony* from depriving so many families of the effects of *Cæsar's* bounty towards them; but the consul, to put a stop to the sale, prevailed upon some private citizens to claim the lands, as the estates of their ancestors, which the dictator had appropriated to himself during the civil war. At the same time the quæstors and other officers of the revenue, at the instigation of the consul, claimed part of those lands, as having been confiscated for the use of the public. Hereupon *Octavianus*, foreseeing the affair would be drawn out to a great length, instantly put up to sale his own patrimony, with the estates of his mother and father-in-law, who willingly parted with them to promote his designs, and assist him in purchasing the favour of the people. With the money accruing from these sales he paid part of his father's legacies; which affected generosity so charmed the populace, who expected more favours from him, that they all declared in his favour, and broke out into bitter invectives against *Antony*, for withholding from him his father's estate. A few days after, a new dispute arose between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, on occasion of the public shews, which *Crotonius* exhibited during his ædileship. The senate had decreed, as we have related above, in *Cæsar's* life-time, that at all public shews a gilt chair and a crown of gold should be placed for him even after his death, to make the memory of that great man immortal. Pursuant to this decree, *Octavianus* failed not to send the chair and crown; but the ædile, gained over by *Antony*, refused to admit them. Hereupon the affair being carried before the consul, *Antony* answered coldly, That he would refer it to the senate; And I, answered *Octavianus* haughtily, *will go and place my father's chair where it ought to stand, while you are consulting the conscript fathers.* *Antony*, provoked at the young man's boldness, threatened to send him to prison, if he offered to bring forth his father's chair and crown, either at the games of *Crotonius*, or at those which he himself was to exhibit in honour of the dictator before the temple of *Venus*. *Octavianus*, perceiving that this prohibition was ill received by the people, resolved to turn it to his advantage; and accordingly going into the forum, complained there to the multitude of the injury done to the memory of his father, addressing himself to *Antony*, as if he had been present: *Why should your hatred to me, said he, extend to Cæsar, who deserved so well of you? Why do you endeavour to prevent me from paying those honours to the memory of my father, which you yourself procured, and the senate decreed, for him? Sacrifice me, if you please, to your revenge; but do not thus revile the Manes of a great man, to whom you owe your present dignity. Suffer me at least, O Antony, to discharge those legacies, which he has left to his fellow-citizens; I freely abandon to your insatiable avarice all the rest. I shall think myself rich enough, if I can but do justice to his memory, by distributing among the people what he has left them by his will.* This discourse incensed the populace against *Antony*; every one detested his ingratitude; even his own guards, who had all served under *Cæsar*, threatened to abandon him, if he continued to persecute the son of their general. Hereupon *Antony*, finding it behoved him to dissemble, notwithstanding his passion against young *Octavianus*, answered, That he preserved a tender regard for the memory of *Cæsar*, and had also a great value for his son; but that as the young man, proud of the name of *Cæsar*, pretended to put himself upon the level with a consul, he thought himself obliged to make him sensible of the difference there was between a private citizen and the chief magistrate of the republic; but that he was ready to forget all that was past, provided *Octavianus* would, for the future, pay him that respect and deference, to which his office and age intitled him. This explanation was, at the request of the officers, followed by an interview, in which, after mutual protestations of friendship, they promised to assist each other in revenging *Cæsar's* death and persecuting the authors of it.

In this pretended reconciliation with *Octavianus*, *Antony* had his private views. As the consular year was near expiring, he hoped, by the interest of *Octavianus*, to procure for himself the province of *Cisalpine Gaul*, which had been given to *Decimus Brutus* by the dictator, and confirmed to him after his death by a decree of the senate. As he knew the importance of that government with respect to all *Italy*, he remonstrated to *Octavianus*, that since he was generously disposed to revenge the death of his father, he ought not to suffer one of his assassins to enjoy a command at the very gates of *Rome*. *Octavianus* fell into the snare, and promised to assist him with all his interest.

a interest. Hereupon the affair was brought before the senate, where it met with great opposition, the conscript fathers looking upon the cause of the conspirators as the same with that of liberty. Besides, they could not turn *Brutus* out of the province which *Cæsar* had allotted him, without reversing the decree by which they had confirmed all his acts. The proposal was therefore rejected by a great majority; nay, there were not wanting some, who, well apprised of *Antony*'s ambitious views, proposed declaring that province a free state, rather than trusting the government of it to one, who would make use of it as a place of arms, and from thence awe the capital; but as that province seemed very convenient for his designs, *Antony* had recourse to the people, whose tribunes he had bribed; and the undiscerning multitude, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the senate, granted him the government he desired. On this occasion *Octavianus* employed all his interest in favour of *Antony*, and it was chiefly by his intrigues and under-hand management, that the consul carried his point. The conscript fathers immediately dispatched a messenger to *Brutus*, acquainting him with what had passed, and advising him not to deliver up the province to *Antony*; but to fortify himself there, and keep out the consul, if necessary, by force of arms.

Antony obtains of the people the province of Cis-alpine Gaul.

THE friends of *Cæsar* triumphed on account of the reconciliation between *Octavianus* and *Antony*; but, as the interests of the two rivals were so widely opposite, each of them aspiring at the same power which *Cæsar* had enjoyed, it was impossible they should continue long united. *Antony*, thinking himself now master of *Italy*, began to thwart *Octavianus*'s measures and regard him less; nay, he commanded him, under severe penalties, to forbear bribing the populace with his largesses: and because *Octavianus*, by the great interest he had among the people, was likely to get *Flaminius*, one of his creatures, named to the tribunate, *Antony* employed all his credit and authority with the multitude to postpone the election. Thus the hatred and aversion of the two rivals were kindled anew. *Antony* never mentioned *Octavianus*, but with the epithets of *a rash, turbulent and seditious young man*; while *Octavianus*, on the other hand, left no stone unturned to stir up the resentment of the people against *Antony*. The senate was overjoyed at this division; but *Antony*'s guards and the late dictator's friends did not fail to remonstrate to him anew the dangerous consequences of their disagreement, and to exhort *Antony* to be reconciled again to the son of their general: *Both your safety and ours, said they, depends upon the undoing of the conspirators. If their party prevails, we must expect to be proscribed, as the ministers and accomplices of an usurper. Nothing can support our party but your union with young Octavianus. Assist him therefore in his generous design of revenging Cæsar's death. Let it not be said, that the dictator's best friend crosses his son, in the prosecution of those who have basely and treacherously murdered his father.* *Antony* was no less desirous of destroying the conspirators than his soldiers and officers: but he could not brook it should be owing to *Octavianus*. He was afraid, that, under pretence of revenging *Cæsar*'s death, he might seize on the sovereign power, after having ruined the republican party. This was the secret motive that prompted him to oppose *Octavianus*, whom he saw greatly beloved both by the soldiery and people. However, as it much concerned him not to disoblige the officers and legionaries, who had followed him since the dictator's death, he undertook to justify his conduct to them in the following harangue, which is related at length by *Appian*, and unravels all the mysteries of his wicked policy. After having given them an account of the disturbances that happened in the city upon the first news of *Cæsar*'s death, he goes on thus: "The general cry was, that the republic was restored, and the senate seemed disposed to decree a reward for the assassins, as the authors of liberty. If this had been effected, *Cæsar* had been declared a tyrant, and we all involved in the same sentence as his accomplices; but I alone stood up against all the conspirators, their relations, their friends, and, I may say, against the senate itself. Their adherents foreseeing, that, if *Cæsar* was not declared a tyrant, the conspirators might be punished, were very sanguine for having his memory branded with infamy. As both parties defended their opinions with obstinacy, I thought it adviseable to propose a general pardon for the conspirators, rather than a reward. The conscript fathers approved of my proposal, and, thinking the conspirators secure, were easily prevailed upon to drop the question relating to *Cæsar*. Thus I preserved the glory of his name intire, saved

A new breach between Antony and Octavianus.

Antony endeavours to justify his conduct.

*Is reconciled
anew to Oc-
tavianus.*

“ saved his estate and goods from being forfeited, and prevented that adoption from
“ being cancelled, which now makes *Octavianus* so daring. He enjoys the fruit of
“ my cares. To get his father’s will confirmed, I consented to a pardon in favour
“ of the conspirators; but you must not infer from thence, that my design was to secure
“ their lives: I only reprieved them. It was not my fault if they were not all tore to
“ pieces on the day of *Cæsar*’s obsequies. Under pretence of deploring *Cæsar*’s death, I
“ incensed the people against them, and obliged them to quit *Rome*. I have opposed all
“ the measures of the senate tending to their safety. I have obtained of the people, not-
“ withstanding the opposition of the conscript fathers, the province of *Cisalpine Gaul*,
“ whence, with your assistance, I design to drive *Decimus Brutus*. In short, I am de-
“ termined at all adventures to revenge your general’s death, and use my utmost endea-
“ vours to compass the total ruin of all who have had any hand in his murder. Such
“ has hitherto been my conduct, such are at present my designs, which I was unwilling
“ to conceal from you, who are to assist me in the execution of them.” This speech
satisfied his officers; yet they insisted on his being reconciled anew to *Octavianus*, with
whom, at their request, he had a second interview in the capitol, which ended in mu-
tual engagements and promises to assist each other, as the former had done; but not-
withstanding their pretended reconciliation, they parted just as sincere friends as they
were before. *Octavianus* was willing, that *Antony*, as his father’s creature, should as-
sist him in revenging *Cæsar*’s death; but would not put him at the head of a party,
which, after the defeat of the conspirators, would be master of the republic. On the
other hand, *Antony*, quite indifferent about the revenging of *Cæsar*’s death, only pre-
tended to be in earnest, to ingratiate himself with the soldiery and populace. The
sovereign power was what he aimed at, and whoever traversed him in the pursuit of it,
whether *Octavianus*, *Brutus*, or *Cassius*, was equally odious to him.

*The govern-
ment of Syria
conferred on
Dolabella,
and that of
Macedon and
Illyricum on
C. Antonius.*

AND now *Antony*, the more to attach his colleague *Cornelius Dolabella* to his interest,
and at the same time to weaken the party of the conspirators, persuaded him to de-
mand the government of *Syria*, which had been allotted by *Cæsar* to *Cassius*, and the
command of the army which the dictator had designed to lead against the *Parthians*.
The senate, highly offended at such an unseasonable demand, remonstrated to him,
that it was an insult both upon the memory of *Cæsar*, who had given that govern-
ment to *Cassius*, and upon them, who had, by a special decree, confirmed all his or-
dinances; but *Dolabella*, who was now wholly addicted to *Antony*, answered, That
Cassius had first transgressed the ordinances of *Cæsar*; and that a traitor, who had im-
bued his hands in the blood of his friend and benefactor, ought to not have any share
in his favours. As the senate continued inflexible, the affair was brought before the
people, who readily granted the government of *Syria* to *Dolabella*, in hopes of seeing
a speedy vengeance taken of the dictator’s enemies, without considering, that their
death would be immediately followed with the loss of their own liberty. *Antony*, take-
ing advantage of the present disposition of the people, prevailed upon them at the
same time to confer on his brother *Caius Antonius* the government of *Macedon* and *Il-
lyricum*, which had been given to *M. Brutus*. By these new promotions *Brutus* and
Cassius were deprived of their governments; but the senate, who placed all their
hopes in these brave patriots, and were equally jealous of *Octavianus* and *Antony*, pro-
cured other provinces for them, viz, *Cyrene* and *Crete* for *Cassius*, and *Bitthynia* for
Brutus ^a.

*A new breach
between An-
tony and Oc-
tavianus.*

As the reconciliation of *Antony* and *Octavianus* was forced and no-ways sincere,
their pretended friendship was but short-lived. A few days after they had mutually
engaged in the capitol to assist each other, *Antony* caused some of his guards to be put
under arrest, giving out, that they had been corrupted by *Octavianus* to murder him.
This point has never been well cleared up. Some writers are of opinion, that it was
only a fetch of *Antony*’s to estrange the minds of the people from his rival. Others
seem inclined to believe, that *Octavianus* had really formed such a design, and that
he was put upon it by the conscript fathers, with whom he was at that time upon
very good terms. *Cicero*, tho’ a friend to *Octavianus*, does not question the fact;
but endeavours to turn it to the glory of *Octavianus*, as if he ought to be highly com-
mended for attempting to deliver the republic from so cruel an enemy. There were
not wanting some among the zealous republicans, who imagined, that the whole was
agreed on before-hand between the heads of the two parties, that they might have a
plausible

^a DIO, l. xlv. LIV, l. cxvii. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 543—546.

a plausible pretence to raise troops for the accomplishment of their private designs; but their ensuing conduct sufficiently shewed, that each of them sought the others destruction, and aspired to remain alone at the head of the party, which was opposite to that of the conspirators. With this view they began now both to raise forces. *Antony* They both arm sent orders to his brother *Caius*, for whom he had procured the government of *Macedon*, to bring over into *Italy* four of the légions that were quartered in that province. He flattered himself, that *Lepidus*, who was now in *Spain* at the head of four legions, and *Plancus*, who commanded three more in *Transalpine Gaul*, would declare for him. On the other hand, *Octavianus*, fearing to be surpris'd and crush'd by his enemy, hastened into *Campania*, where he drew together ten thousand brave veterans, who had served under *Cæsar*, and had been rewarded by him for their service with lands in that part of *Italy*. To these the name of *Evocati* was first given, because after they had served their legal time, and received the rewards due to their valour, they were again invited into the army. He likewise found means to corrupt with large presents and gain over two of *Antony's* legions, the *Martial* and the fourth. Having thus raised an army of his own authority, without being invested either with a military title or any magistracy, which gave him right to head the forces of the republic, especially against a consul, he marched straight to *Rome*; but thought it adviseable to halt at the temple of *Mars*, about two miles from the city, till he obtained the consent of the people for his entry. *Canutius*, a tribune of the people, in an harangue to the multitude, assured them, that young *Octavianus* had no other view, in entering *Rome* with so numerous a guard, but to protect them and himself from the insults and dangerous attempts of the cruel and ambitious consul. The populace, always short in their foresight, believed their tribune, and suffered *Octavianus* to enter the city with all his forces. *Antony* was then at *Brundisium*, whither he had gone to appease a tumult, which some mutineers had raised among the *Macedonian* legions; but as he was hourly expected back, both with his own guards and the other legions which had remained faithful to him, no-body doubted, but a civil war would soon be kindled within the very walls of *Rome*. In this persuasion some sided with *Antony*, others with *Octavianus*; but the most discerning among the senators declared for neither, affecting to stand neuter, and, in the mean time, stirring up under-hand the heads of the two parties against each other, not without hopes of seeing them both undone by their mutual hatred^b. *Cicero*, out of the aversion he bore to *Antony*, sided with *Octavianus*, whom he had assisted with his advice ever since his first arrival in *Italy*, omitting no occasion to discredit his rival *Antony* both with the senate and people; as plainly appears from those inimitable declamations which have reached us, and are known by the name of *Philippics*, a name borrowed from the orations which *Demosthenes* wrote against *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. *M. Brutus*, who was still in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, wrote several letters to *Cicero*, wherein he complained of his conduct in very sharp terms, telling him, That, notwithstanding his boasted love of liberty, he was very sensible he could endure a tyrant; that it was manifest, from his courting *Octavianus*, that he did not intend liberty for his country, but a bountiful master for himself; but our forefathers, said *Brutus*, could not brook even an easy and gentle slavery. As for my own part, says he in one of his letters, I am not resolved whether I shall make war or peace; but as to one point I am fixed and settled, which is, never to be a slave. I wonder, that you, says he in writing to *Cicero*, should fear the danger of a civil war, and not be much more afraid of a dishonourable and infamous peace. All you can promise yourself from destroying the tyranny of *Antony* is, to make *Octavianus* the tyrant. Such were the sentiments of that noble and truly generous spirit^c!

f BUT to return to *Antony*: after he had appeased the tumult, which had been raised among his troops at *Brundisium* by the emissaries of *Octavianus*, and discharged such of the officers as he distrusted, he ordered his legions to march to *Ariminum*; but took himself his rout towards *Rome*, which he entered at the head of a thousand well-armed legionaries; but the very next day he left the city, and went to *Alba*, in hopes of regaining the two legions which had revolted from him, and were quartered in that city; but they shutting the gates against him, he hastened from thence to *Tibur*, where he had lodged great store of ammunition and provisions, with a design to drive *Decimus Brutus* out of *Cisalpine Gaul*. At *Tibur* he was joined by the tenth legion

^b APPIAN. DIO, VEL. PATERC. ibid. CIC. in epist. ad Attic. & famil. pass. ^c PLUT. in Bruto & CIC. VOL V.

Antony
marches his
troops to-
wards Ari-
minum.

Octavianus's
affected mo-
desty and pri-
vate views.

legion, lately arrived from *Macedon*, by several senators, and a great number of *Roman* knights, who came to offer him their service. Many veterans likewise, who had formerly served under him, flocked to him from all parts of *Italy*; so that he began his march towards *Ariminum* at the head of five legions, and a considerable body of *Roman* knights. *Octavianus* was in the mean time at *Alba*, with the two legions that had abandoned *Antony*, one of new-raised soldiers, and two of such veterans as had served under his father. From this place he wrote to the senate, complaining of the inconstancy of some members of that august body, who, after the most solemn protestations of friendship to him, had basely abandoned his party and joined that of his rival. At the same time, he offered to march with all his forces against *Antony*, as a common enemy. The senate commended the young general's zeal, but adjourned all deliberations on so weighty an affair, till the election of new consuls. But the soldiers pressed him to take upon him the title of proprætor, without waiting till the senate or consuls conferred it upon him, and in that quality to head them against *Antony*. *Octavianus* well knew that this would give great umbrage to the senate, whose favour he designed to court till he had got rid of *Antony*; and therefore he refused the title, with which his legionaries were willing to honour him. When his most intimate friends, whom he used to consult in all affairs of moment, remonstrated to him, that his troops would scruple to obey a citizen without any title or magistracy, he acquainted them with the reasons which induced him to refuse the title offered him by the army. The senate, said he, has declared for me, not out of friendship to me, but because they are afraid of *Antony*: their design is to make use of me to destroy him, and afterwards to destroy me by the hands of those who have assassinated my father; but this is not a proper time to let them understand, that I have penetrated so far into the mysteries of their policy, which I should certainly do, if I accepted of those honours which the army offers me: this they would look upon as an incroachment upon their authority, and hate me as much as they do *Antony*. Let us therefore dissemble for a while; my pretended respect and submission to them will engage them to confer on me a dignity which, they know, my soldiers are disposed to give me in spite of them. And indeed the conscript fathers, deceived by his seeming modesty, conferred on him that very title which he had lately refused; nay, at the motion of *Cicero*, desirous of having in him a powerful and hearty protector against *Antony*, they ordered a statue to be erected to him, gave him a place in the senate, and enabled him to hold the consulate ten years sooner than was allowed by law. Thus was the timorous orator securing a protector to himself at the expence of the public safety^d.

Antony in-
vades the pro-
vince of Cis-
alpine Gaul,
and lays siege
to Mutina.

In the mean time, *Antony* from his camp at *Ariminum* dispatched a messenger to *Decimus Brutus*, acquainting him with the decree of the people, which deprived him of the government of *Cisalpine Gaul*, and conferred it on himself. To the decree of the people *Brutus* opposed that of the senate, confirming all the acts of *Cæsar*. After several messages and deputations, *Antony* at length threatened to have him declared an enemy to the republic, if within a limited time he did not resign to him the government of a province, which had been allotted to him by the *Roman* people. *Brutus*, without being in the least frightened by his threats, returned answer, that he had been appointed governor of *Cisalpine Gaul* by a decree of the senate, and would not quit his province, till those who had placed him in it thought fit to recall him. Hereupon the consul, breaking into the province at the head of a numerous army, made himself master of several cities, and even laid siege to *Mutina*, now *Modena*, whither *Brutus* had retired with a troop of gladiators and three legions, two of which he had formerly commanded under *Cæsar*. The siege of *Mutina* was looked upon by the senate as a declaration of war; but they postponed all deliberations on so important a subject, till the new consuls entered upon their office. These were *Caius Vibius Pansa* and *Aulus Hirtius*, who had both served under *Cæsar*, and were great friends to *Cicero*. *Hirtius* was the author of that relation of the *Alexandrian* and *African* wars, which is annexed to *Cæsar*'s commentaries. They no sooner entered upon their office, than they assembled the senate, and, after having set forth in a very pathetic speech the evils with which the republic was threatened, they proposed the two following questions to the consideration of the conscript fathers, viz. what rewards the two legions deserved, that had abandoned *Antony* to side with *Octavianus*, and what expedients

^d APPIAN. DIO, PLUT. *ibid.* & CIC. *passim.* in *epist.* & *Philippic.* 1, & 2.

expedients they judged proper to be taken in order to bring *Antony* to renounce his pretensions to the province of *Cisalpine Gaul*? It was unanimously resolved, that the two legions should be rewarded, and the consuls were impowered to confer on them what rewards they thought proper. As for *Antony*, some were of opinion, that a deputation should be sent to him, intreating him in the name of the senate to raise the siege of *Mutina* and abandon that province. But *Cicero*, in a speech, which has reached us, viz. his fifth *Philippic*, shewed, it was beneath the dignity of the *Roman* people to treat with a revolted citizen, and that negotiations would only give him time to strengthen himself in the province he had usurped; he was therefore of opinion, and promoted his opinion with great warmth and eloquence, that war should be forthwith proclaimed against him, as a common enemy. His speech was filled with most bitter invectives against *Antony* and the highest commendations of *Octavianus*; which seems to confirm the truth of what *M. Brutus* wrote to his friend *Atticus*, viz. that *Cicero* did not, in siding with young *Cæsar*, intend to deliver his country from tyranny, but to procure a bountiful master to himself. Others are of opinion, that *Cicero*, deceived by the affected modesty and feigned protestations of the young politician, really believed, that he had nothing else in view but to guard himself and the republic against the ambitious attempts of *Antony*. However that be, after warm debates, which lasted three days, *Cicero*, who bore great sway in the senate, prevailed upon the conscript fathers to pass a decree, commanding *Antony* to raise the siege of *Mutina* without delay, to quit the province of *Cisalpine Gaul*, and marching his troops over the *Rubicon*, which parted *Gaul* from *Italy*, to wait on the banks of that river for further commands from the senate. All this he was ordered under pain of being declared an enemy to his country. But *Antony*, who had a numerous army under his command, and could not persuade himself, that *Octavianus* would imploy his forces against him in favour of one of the conspirators, paid no manner of respect either to the deputies of the senate, who were sent to acquaint him with the decree, or to the decree itself. Hereupon, at the motion of *Cicero*, *Antony* was declared an enemy to his country, and the two consuls were ordered to raise troops and hasten to the relief of *Brutus*, who was closely besieged, and already reduced to great straits in *Mutina*. At the same time, *Octavianus* was commanded by the senate to join his forces to those of the consuls; and to act in concert with them against the common enemy. He was invested with a power equal to that of the consuls, and it was decreed, that the veterans, who served under him, should be rewarded with lands as soon as the war was ended, and be exempted for ever from the service.

Antony ordered by the senate to raise the siege of Mutina.

He is at the motion of Cicero declared an enemy to his country.

WHILE the two consuls were busy in raising troops, news was brought to *Rome* of the death of *Caius Trebonius*, who by a decree of the senate had been sent into *Asia* in quality of proconsul. The manner of his death is thus related by *Cicero*. *Dolabella* having obtained, as we have related above, by means of *Antony*, the government of *Syria*, hastened thither; but on his arrival found *Trebonius* in possession of several cities, which he had seized as lieutenant to *Brutus*, who had been first appointed governor of that province. As *Dolabella* was not in a condition to dispossess him by force of the places he held, he invited him to an interview, in which it was agreed that they should abstain from all manner of hostilities, and live in perfect amity and friendship; for *Dolabella* pretended now, as he had done formerly, to be in his heart a friend and well-wisher to *Brutus* and his followers. The credulous republican, relying on the promises of *Dolabella*, continued quietly at *Smyrna* as in the most peaceable times; but his treacherous rival, taking advantage of his security and indolence, surprized the city in the dead of the night, and having taken *Trebonius* himself prisoner, delivered him up to a *Roman* exile, by name *Samarius*; who, after having made him suffer by *Dolabella's* orders, for two days together, the most exquisite torments which rage and cruelty could invent, caused his head to be cut off, and his body to be dragged through all the streets of *Smyrna*, and then thrown into the sea. His head was carried on the point of a spear all over the city, and afterwards set up over-against the tribunal, where he used to administer justice. From thence it was taken down by the soldiers, who being incensed against *Trebonius*, as privy to the death of their general, abused the poor remains of his body in the grossest manner.

C. Trebonius treacherously murdered by Dolabella in Syria.

* *Cic. Philippic. 5. & epist. ad Brutum 15. Liv. l. cxviii. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 81. Suet. in Octavio. Plut. in Antonio. Appian. l. iii. p. 359. 360. Dio. l. xlv. p. 310.*

ner (N)^f. Thus was *Trebonius*, the first of all the conspirators, inhumanly sacrificed to the manes of *Cæsar*. He was one of the dictator's chief favourites, had been raised by him to the consulate for the three last months of the year 708, and had been two years before trusted with the government of *Hither Spain*, whither he was sent to stop the progress of the sons of *Pompey*. He served the dictator with great fidelity, till he began openly to aspire at the sovereign power; and then, the love of his country getting the better of all private obligations, he joined *Brutus*, and shared with him the glory of delivering, at least for some time, his fellow-subjects from slavery. When the news of his death, and soon after the remains of his mangled body, were brought to Rome, the senate, highly provoked at the cruelty and tyranny of *Dolabella*, declared him, at the motion of *Cicero*, a rebel and enemy to his country. At the same time, they passed a decree enacting, that *Brutus* should have the government of *Macedon* and *Illyricum*, and the command of the forces in those provinces, till such time as the republic recovered her ancient majesty; that he might make use of the fleet, which *Apuleius* had, by *Cæsar*'s orders, got ready, together with all the provisions, military stores, and money, to the amount of seven thousand talents, which *Cæsar* had lodged in the city of *Demetrias*, and designed for his *Parthian* expedition; that *Cassius* should take upon him the government of *Syria*, and the charge of making war upon *Dolabella* and revenging the death of *Trebonius*; and, lastly, that all governors and commanders of forces belonging to the republic should receive orders from these two generals^g.

Dolabella declared a rebel and enemy to his country.

Antony endeavours to gain over Hirtius and Octavianus.

Antony, being informed by his emissaries of such an extraordinary step taken by the senate, laid hold of this opportunity to raise suspicions and jealousies in the minds of the consul *Hirtius* and young *Octavianus* against the conscript fathers. He writ a letter to them in common, putting them in mind of the many favours they had received at the dictator's hands, upbraiding them with ingratitude for basely betraying the cause of their benefactor to embrace that of his murderers, and laying open to them the secret designs of the senate, which were to make them the instruments of each others ruin. These remonstrances made a deep impression on *Octavianus*, and inclined him to a reconciliation with his rival. But, as his own interest was the sole rule of his conduct, and he apprehended, that if he joined *Antony*, that general would pretend to be acknowledged the head of the party, he still pursued his former measures, which were to court the favour of the senate, till such time as he had got rid of so powerful and formidable a rival. Pursuant to this scheme, he not only pretended to be quite unacquainted with the private views of the conscript fathers, but, to give proof of his deference to the consuls, readily surrendered to *Hirtius* the legions of *Mars* and the fourth, which had quitted *Antony*'s party, and which the consul, by a secret order from the senate, required him to deliver up to himself. After this he joined the remainder of his forces to those of *Hirtius*, and marched with him into *Cisalpine Gaul* to the relief of *Decimus Brutus*, while *Pansa*, the other consul, continued in *Italy* to raise more troops there. *Hirtius* and *Octavianus* took *Bononia* and several other cities which *Antony* had seized, and then, advancing to the neighbourhood of *Mutina*, incamped at a small distance from *Antony*'s lines, with a design to cut off his communication with the neighbouring country, and by that means oblige him, for want of provisions, to raise the siege. In the mean time, *P. Ventidius*, a soldier of

Hirtius and Octavianus march to the relief of Decimus Brutus.

^f Cic. Philippica 11. ^g Cic. ad familiar. l. xii. epist. 7. & Philippic 11. 'STRABO. l. xiv. p. 646. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 69. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 542. & l. iv. p. 624. DIO. l. xlvii. p. 344.

(N) *Appian*, *Dion Cassius*, and *Velleius Paterculus* relate this affair in a different manner. They tell us, that *Trebonius*, who had been sent into *Syria* by *Brutus* as his lieutenant, refused to admit *Dolabella*, though consul, into the cities of *Smyrna* and *Pergamus*; but nevertheless, out of respect to the consular dignity, supplied his army with provisions, and sent word to the *Ephesians*, that they might open their gates to him. While the consul was marching towards *Ephesus* at the head of his army, *Trebonius* detached a small body of troops after him to observe his motions. As he quietly pursued his rout to *Ephesus* without committing any hostilities, the greatest part of *Trebonius*'s troops returned to *Smyrna*.

Then *Dolabella*, turning back unexpectedly upon those who remained, cut them all to a man in pieces, and advancing by the favour of the night to *Smyrna* without being perceived, surprised the city, and put all those to the sword who offered to oppose him. A party of his soldiers, breaking into the house where *Trebonius* lodged, seized him in bed. The proconsul earnestly intreated the centurion, who commanded the party, to carry him to *Dolabella*. *We will carry you to the consul*, answered the centurion, who was one of *Cæsar*'s old soldiers: *But your head must remain here*. Accordingly he immediately cut off his head, which was kicked about by the incensed soldiery in a most contemptuous manner (49)

(49) *Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69. Appian. l. iii. p. 542 543. Dio. l. xlvii. p. 344.*

a of fortune, who had served under *Cæsar* and was a particular friend to *Antony*, quitting *Rome*, were *Cicero* governed with an absolute sway, visited all the colonies which *Cæsar* had lately established in *Italy*; and, as he was well known for his valour, and greatly beloved by the soldiery, he raised in a short time two legions, consisting wholly of veterans, with a design to march them to the relief of *Antony*. But first, he caused several of them to enter *Rome* privately with orders to seize upon *Cicero*, who was daily inveighing against *Antony*, and wholly taken up in raising money, at the expence of *Antony's* friends, to pay the troops of *Octavianus* and the consuls. But the orator, having timely notice of his design, abandoned the city, with several other senators, and concealed himself in the country. Hereupon *Ventidius*, finding his design had got vent, marched in all haste towards *Mutina*; but all the passes being seized by *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, he was obliged to retire into *Picenum*, where he raised another legion, keeping his troops in a readiness to march on the first opportunity that offered of serving his friend and party ^b.

In the mean time, *Pansa*, having raised four legions in *Rome*, left the city, and, taking his rout towards *Cisalpine Gaul*, arrived at *Bononia*. As the country between that city and *Mutina* was full of woods and marshes, *Hirtius* and *Octavianus* upon the news of his approach detached the legion of *Mars*, which consisted wholly of veterans, with their guards, or prætorian cohorts, under the command of *Carfuleius*, to cover his march. On the other hand, *Antony* sent out in the night-time his two best legions, the second and thirty-third, with orders to conceal themselves among the rushes of a large morass, which lay on each side of the *Æmilian* way, through which the consul *Pansa* was to march. *Carfuleius* joined the consular army with his detachment before they reached the morass, and was marching in the van at the head of the legion of *Mars* and the guards of *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, when upon entering the causeway, which led across the marsh, he observed some armed men lying among the rushes. However, he advanced boldly on the causeway with the legion of *Mars*; but was not gone far before he saw himself invested by *Antony's* two legions, who, starting up from among the reeds and rushes, fell upon him with incredible fury. At the same time, *Antony* appeared in person at the head of his cavalry in the neighbouring plain. The consul *Pansa*, at the head of two of his legions, flew to the assistance of the legion of *Mars*, which was engaged with two of *Antony's* legions; but those brave veterans, refusing to admit the consul's raw and undisciplined levies into their ranks, for fear they should rather incumber than relieve them, the consul passing the morass, marched in good order into the plain, to prevent *Antony* from lending any assistance to his legions and guards on the causeway, where both parties fought with a fury hardly to be expressed. *Antony's* two legions were bent on revenging themselves on the *Martial* legion for having abandoned their party; and on the other side the *Martial* legion was resolved to maintain that honour and reputation which they had gained in many battles under *Cæsar*. Thus the engagement became a particular quarrel between the soldiers; and never did troops fight with more rage and emulation. As their numbers were pretty equal, *Antony's* two legions being supported by his guards, and the *Martial* legion by the guards of *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, the battle lasted from morning to night without any considerable advantage on either side. *Octavianus's* guards were almost to a man cut in pieces, but those of *Hirtius*, after having made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, obliged *Antony's* second legion to give ground, which they did in good order. The *Martial* legion and *Antony's* thirty-third fought the whole day, driving each other in their turns from the causeway into the morass, till *Carfuleius* drew off his men to relieve the consul *Pansa*, who was engaged with *Antony* in the plain and hemmed in by his cavalry. But, as *Carfuleius's* legionaries were greatly fatigued after so long and obstinate an engagement, before they reached the plain, the consul was mortally wounded and his troops put to flight. *Torquatus*, quæstor of the consular army, had, during the battle, formed a kind of camp, to serve as an asylum for his party, in case of any misfortune. Thither the consul's legions retired, carrying with them their general, who was run through the body with a javelin. *Antony* pursued them, not doubting but he should easily force their intrenchments, which were not yet completed. But the consular legions, though wholly consisting of raw soldiers, who had been just defeated in the plain, made so vigorous a resistance, that *Antony*, fearing *Hirtius* might come upon him in the mean time

^b APPIAN. DIO, VELL. PATERCUL. ibid. Cic. Philippic, 11.

But is defeated by his colleague Hirtius.

time, thought it advisable to content himself with the advantage he had gained, and return to his camp before *Mutina*. But while his troops were marching back in disorder, as often happens after a victory, *Hirtius* unexpectedly appeared at the head of twenty chosen cohorts, and, falling upon them before they could form their ranks, cut many of them in pieces. However, those brave veterans, tired as they were, made a vigorous resistance, and, being encouraged by the example of their general, who distinguished himself on this occasion in a most eminent manner, stood their ground a great while; but were at length entirely defeated, and forced to save themselves by flight cross the marshes on each side of the *Æmilian* way. *Hirtius*, who in this action discharged the duty both of an experienced general and a valiant soldier, would not suffer his men to pursue the fugitives for fear of some ambuscade, it being already dark, and the country full of woods and marshes. As for *Antony*, he passed a melancholy night with part of his forces in a small village called *Forum Gallorum*, at present *Castel Franco*, whence he returned greatly dejected by day-break to his camp before *Mutina*. His cavalry rallied in the dark, and, taking up their wounded behind them, reached their camp by midnight, being quite spent with the fatigue of two battles, and a march of sixty furlongs through woods and marshes. As for *Octavianus*, some writers tell us, that he was at the first battle; nay, *Antony* afterwards upbraided him with having fled, in a cowardly manner, before him, after having quitted his horse and thrown away his arms, that he might with more ease save himself, cross the woods and marshes, where, according to him, he lay concealed two days, being both ashamed and afraid to shew himself. Others say, that he remained in his camp in the neighbourhood of *Mutina*, and there repulsed with great bravery a strong detachment from *Antony's* camp, which attempted to force his intrenchments. They add, that for so gallant an action, which was, we may say, his first essay in the art of war, he was honoured by the senate with the title of *Imperator*, as were likewise the two consuls for their courageous behaviour in the two battles. The loss on both sides was pretty equal; in the first battle *Octavianus's* guards, with a great number of *Pansa's* legionaries, were cut in pieces; but in the second *Hirtius* lost only a small number of men, whereas the slaughter of the enemy was very great^d.

The battle of Mutina.

The consul Hirtius is killed.

AFTER the battle both armies returned to their respective camps in the neighbourhood of *Mutina*. *Antony* resolved only to defend his lines, and in the mean time carry on the siege with all possible vigor. On the other hand, *Hirtius* and *Octavianus*, fearing the place, if not relieved, might soon be obliged to capitulate, were for venturing another engagement. But as *Antony* kept close within his lines, the two generals resolved to make a bold push, in order to throw some succours into the invested city. Accordingly, leaving a sufficient number of forces to guard their camp, they marched with the rest close up to *Antony's* lines, with a design to force them where they appeared weakest. *Antony* immediately sent out all his cavalry against them; but his horse being put to the rout, after a sharp engagement, by the enemy's legionaries, who had possessed themselves of an eminence, he caused two legions to advance, which were so vigorously attacked by *Hirtius*, that they soon began to give ground and retire in disorder to their intrenchments. The consul pursued his advantage, and, suffering himself to be carried away by his courage and ardour, entered the lines pell-mell with the fugitives, and penetrated, in spite of all opposition, as far as the general's quarters, where he received a blow, which laid him dead on the ground. And now, by the death of one of the consuls and the absence of the other, who had been conveyed to *Bononia* after the first battle, in which he was mortally wounded, *Octavianus* was left commander in chief of the whole army. He is said by some writers to have given on this occasion signal proofs of an extraordinary courage, and to have conducted the action with all the prudence of an old and experienced commander. For at the head of some brave legionaries he rescued the body of the dead consul out of the enemy's hands, and one of his standard-bearers being killed, he carried the eagle himself, fighting like a private man in the first line. But, as he observed the consular troops somewhat discouraged by the death of their leader, he retired in good order out of the enemy's camp into the neighbouring plain, where the action being renewed, he gained a complete victory, and obliged the enemy to seek for shelter behind their intrenchments. Some ascribe the whole glory of this action to *Decimus Brutus*, who, sallying out of the city, and falling

^d CIC. Philippic. 14. SUT. in Octavio. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 16. DIO, APPIAN. ibid.

a falling upon the enemy's rear while they were engaged with *Octavianus*, forced them to give ground and retreat in the utmost confusion to their camp (O). However that be, *Antony*, weakened by these losses and fearing the event of a third battle, raised the siege the next day; and, not being in a condition to keep the field before a victorious army, retired towards the *Alps*, and took the road to *Transalpine Gaul*, with a design to join *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, who were in those large provinces at the head of considerable armies ^k.

Antony obliged to raise the siege of Mutina.

Decimus Brutus, being thus delivered from a long and troublesome siege, was for some time at a loss how to behave with *Octavianus*, who, he knew, bore him an irreconcilable hatred, notwithstanding the assistance he had lent him against *Antony*.
b At length, by the advice of his friends, he dispatched a messenger to him, inviting him to an interview on the banks of the *Scultemnis*, now the *Panaro*. *Octavianus* received the messenger with great coldness, but agreed to his proposal; which *Brutus* no sooner understood, than he caused the bridges on the river, which parted the two armies, to be broke down, and by a second message required, that the conference might be held in the presence of their troops, and with the river between them. These were not unseasonable precautions, it being well known, that *Octavianus* had vowed the destruction of all those who had been any ways concerned in the death of his father; for this was the pretence he made use of, on all occasions, to destroy such as were true friends to their country and enemies to tyranny. *Octavianus* having
c agreed to these conditions, both he and *Brutus* appeared on the opposite banks of the river; when the latter thanked him in a very obliging manner for the assistance he had lent him, and acknowledged himself indebted to him for the liberty he enjoyed. To this polite discourse *Octavianus* answered with great furliness, that *Brutus* owed him no obligations, since he had relieved *Mutina*, not for his sake, but to chastise the insolence of *Antony*, who nevertheless might one day become his friend, whereas he should ever maintain a mortal enmity to *Brutus*, and all those who had embrued their hands in the blood of his father. *Brutus*, piqued at this haughty and threatening answer, replied smartly, that since *Antony* was already sufficiently humbled, he had no further business in the province of *Cisalpine Gaul*, which had been confirmed to him by a decree of the senate, forbidding any other general to enter it without his leave. *Octavianus* was highly offended at the boldness of *Brutus*; but, being well apprised that he was supported by the senate, he thought it adviseable to stifle his resentment for the present, and quitting the neighbourhood of *Mutina* to return to *Bononia*, where he found the consul *Vibius Pansa* lying at the point of death. He no sooner heard of the arrival of *Octavianus*, than he sent for him, and, tenderly embracing him, spoke to him in the following manner: *I always loved your father more than myself, and when he was slain, would have ventured my own life to save his, had I been armed. I never laid aside the desire, nor the hopes, of revenging one day his death, though some prudential reasons, to which even you have submitted, have tied my hands, and kept me in the party of the senate. But now my death, just at hand, deprives me of that comfort. However, before I expire, I will at least acquit myself towards the son of what I was indebted to the father. Know then, that the senate both hates and suspects you. Nothing has pleased them more than to see you fall out with Antony, and they flatter themselves with the hopes of finding you become the instruments of each other's ruin. If they have declared for you, it was only because they thought you the weakest, and the man they could the more easily overcome. This they have declared more than once to Hirtius and to me. The friendship therefore, with which Cæsar once honoured me, obliges me to give you such advice, as I myself would follow on the like occasion. Agree with Antony; for you have no other means of saving your life and advancing your fortune. My design was not, as the senate believed, to destroy Antony, but to compel him by force of arms to be reconciled with you, and afterwards to join our armies, and in conjunction pursue the murderers*
of

An interview between Decimus Brutus and Octavianus.

Pansa's last advice to Octavianus.

^k APPIAN. DIO, ibid. PLUT. in Antonio.

(O) The battle of *Mutina* was fought on the seventeenth of the calends of *May*, as is plain from a letter, which *Galba*, who was in the battle, wrote to *Cicero* (50). From the third day after this victory, those seem to reckon the beginning of *Augustus's* reign, who will have him to have governed the Roman empire forty-six years four months and one day (51).

(50) *Cic. l. x. ad familiar. epist. 30.* (51) *Vide Usher. ad Ann. Mundi 4679. Theophyl. Antiochen. in Autolycho, & Clement. Alexandrin. l. x. Stromat.*

Pansa dies of
his wounds.

The bodies of
the two con-
suls carried to
Rome, and
interred with
great pomp.

The senate by
honouring
Brutus disgust
Octavianus.

Who resolves
to be reconcil-
ed with An-
tony.

of our common benefactor. I return to you your two legions, and would willingly surrender up to you the rest of the army, but they do not intirely depend upon me. The commanders are most of them the spies of the senate, who have private orders to observe your conduct. Suffer me therefore to put them into the hands of Torquatus. The words of the dying consul made a deep impresson on the mind of Octavianus, and produced at length the famous triumvirate. Pansa died presently after, having first delivered up his army to Torquatus one of his lieutenants ¹ (P).

IN the mean time, the senate, upon the news of the advantages gained over Antony by the generals of the republic, decreed, at the motion of Cicero, fifty days supplications to return thanks to the gods for the success of the campaign. By the same decree large sums were ordered to be paid immediately out of the public treasury, to such of the victorious legionaries as remained alive, and to the widows and heirs of those who had died in the battle, or since of their wounds; which had never been done before on account of any victory. The bodies of the two consuls were, by an order from the senate, conveyed to Rome, and with the utmost magnificence interred in the *Campus Martius* at the expence of the public; an honour which had been hitherto granted to none but the most eminent personages of the republic. The bodies of three other officers of distinction, viz. of *Caius Peduceus*, *Decimus Carfulcius*, and *Pontius Aquila*, were conveyed to Rome with those of the consuls, and interred with great pomp in the burying-places of their respective families, most of the senators attending their obsequies ^m.

AND now the conscript fathers, conceiving Antony to be utterly undone, began to slight Octavianus, for whom they believed they should have no further occasion. He demanded a triumph, which was refused to him and granted to *Decimus Brutus*, though Octavianus, it must be owned, had at least as just a claim to that honour as Brutus. Cicero indeed was for granting an ovation, but could not, with all his eloquence, prevail upon the senate to allow him even that mark of distinction. On the other hand, they heaped all sorts of honours on *Decimus*. They ordered Torquatus to deliver up to him the troops which the consul Pansa had commanded: they appointed him commander in chief of all the forces in *Cisalpine Gaul*, charging him, without so much as mentioning Octavianus, to pursue Antony, and treat him as a public enemy. All the temples of Rome were opened, and public prayers appointed for the success of his arms: as the siege of *Mutina* had been raised on his birth-day, the senate decreed, that it should be for ever deemed a lucky day, and as such marked in the *fasti*. At the same time, the conscript fathers, as if they had taken pleasure in mortifying Octavianus, passed a decree, enacting, that a statue should be raised at the public expence to the memory of *Pontius Aquila*, one of the conspirators who had been killed in the battle of *Mutina*; and that all the charges he had been at, and the losses he had sustained during the war, should be made good to his heirs out of the public treasure. So many marks of distinction heaped upon the conspirators, left Octavianus no room to doubt of the disposition of the senate toward him. From that moment he resolved to follow the last advice of Pansa, and to be reconciled to Antony. With this view he sent back to him a great number of officers, who had been taken prisoners in the last battle, and among the rest *Decius*, one of Antony's most intimate friends, after having signified to him in ambiguous words his intention. *Ventidius*, as we have observed above, had raised three legions for Antony, and was attempting to join him after the battle of *Mutina*. Octavianus overtook and surprised him with a superior force, and might easily have defeated him; but he suffered him to escape, after having had a private conference with him, wherein he charged him to tell Antony in his name, that he was ignorant of his true interest, and acted

¹ APPIAN. bell. civil. l. iii.

^m BRUTUS ad Cic. epist. 6. DIO, l. xlv. Suet. in Octavio.

(P) Octavianus was suspected of having murdered both the consuls; *Hirtius* with his own hand in the heat of the battle, and Pansa after it, by causing poison to be poured into his wound by *Glyco* his physician. It is certain *Glyco* was seized, and even condemned to the torture, but saved by the credit of his master Octavianus. *Decimus Brutus* indeed wrote to Cicero in behalf of the physician, whom he seems to have thought incapable of so black a crime. But notwithstanding Brutus's declaration, who was known to be a humane and good-natured

man, the report was credited by many in Rome. As for the consul *Hirtius*, *Aquilius Niger* wrote, that Octavianus killed him undesignedly in the hurry of the battle. We will not warrant the truth of these reports; but neither can we look upon them as calumnies altogether groundless, as some modern writers call them, broached by enthusiastic republicans to blacken the reputation of so great a man. But of the treachery, ingratitude, and horrid cruelties of this great man, we shall have many, too many, instances in the sequel of this history.

a acted directly contrary to it. At the same time he opened himself without reserve to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, all old officers of the dictator, and with whom he had always maintained a secret correspondence. He wrote to them, that the senate, intirely addicted to the assassins of his father, were resolved to destroy him; that they ought not to expect a more favourable treatment; that their common enemies studied only how to divide them, in order to crush them the more easily one after another; that for their own safety they ought to unite their forces, and join in maintaining the party, and revenging the death, of their late general, &c. He added some complaints of *Antony*; but in so artful a manner, that it was easily seen he was no ways averse to a reconciliationⁿ.

b IN the mean time, *Antony*, pressed by *Brutus*, endeavoured to gain the *Alps* with a design to pass those mountains, and join *Lepidus*, who commanded seven legions in *Transalpine Gaul*, and who, he imagined, would stand his friend in consideration of the many kind offices he had done him, during his late consulship and in the dictator's life-time. *Brutus*, having thus driven him out of *Italy*, wrote to the senate, that he had dispersed his army, and that *Antony* himself was sculking somewhere among the *Alps*, where he could not avoid falling into his hands. The senate, overjoyed at this news, cried out, that the republic had at length recovered its ancient liberty, and appointed, as if *Antony* had been actually taken, ten commissioners to try him. They talked of nothing less than repealing all the laws which had been enacted by him during his consulship, and even including in this repeal all the ordinances of the dictator, in order to resettle the commonwealth on its ancient foundation. At the motion of *Cicero* a decree immediately passed, confiscating all *Antony's* effects, and those of his friends and adherents, with grievous menaces against such as should dare to conceal any part of his effects. While *Cicero*, at the head of the senate, was thus venting his rage upon *Antony*, that general was struggling among the *Alps* with all the hardships and miseries that can be imagined. *Brutus*, having obliged him to quit *Italy*, he attempted to pass those mountains, without his baggage and the necessary provisions for so long and painful a march. His men were forced to feed first upon the flesh of their horses, and afterwards on such wild fruits and roots as they could find in that mountainous and inhospitable country, and which no man had ever tasted before; nay they were at last so pinched with hunger, that they devoured the very bark of trees. *Plutarch* tell us, that in this extremity, *Antony*, though accustomed to luxury and ease, was a most illustrious example of patience to the whole army, and that in misfortune he could not be easily distinguished from a virtuous man. He suffered all hardships imaginable with the constancy of a hero, and fell into a behaviour, which no one could have expected from a man wholly addicted to his pleasures. But after all, he must have perished with his whole army, if *Culeo*, one of *Lepidus's* lieutenants, who guarded the passes, had performed his duty. But the venal commander suffered himself to be bribed by *Antony*, and for a sum of money granted him a free passage. *Antony* no sooner entered *Gaul*, than he wrote to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, reminding them of their ancient friendship, and exhorting them to join him against the murderers of *Cæsar*, their common enemies. *Lepidus* was greatly surprised at his arrival, and quite at a loss how to behave in so critical a conjuncture. He was a man of an illustrious family, but of slender parts, of a narrow mind, and at the same time of an unbounded ambition. He was afraid, that if he joined *Antony*, who was greatly beloved by the troops, he might get the ascendant over him, and scarce leave him the rank of a lieutenant in his own army; and upon this consideration alone he rejected *Antony's* proposals, and wrote him word, that, since the senate had declared him an enemy to his country, he could not join him without drawing upon himself a decree of the same nature; but he assured him at the same time, that whatever orders he received from the senate, he would carefully avoid coming to an engagement, or any ways molesting him. *Asinius Pollio* on the contrary no sooner received *Antony's* letter, than he assured him, that he should find him always ready to concur with him in all his measures; for he had been one of *Cæsar's* particular friends, and bore an irreconcilable hatred to all those who had been concerned in his death. As for *Plancus*, he kept a secret intelligence with both parties, and carefully avoided declaring himself openly for either side, till he saw which was most likely to prevail. In the mean time, *Antony* marched straight up to *Lepidus's* army, and marked out his camp near his,

Antony is driven out of Italy by Decimus Brutus.

He and his army reduced to great straits in passing the Alps.

Lepidus refuses to join him.

but

ⁿ Cic. ad Attic. l. i, epist. 15. & ad familiar. l. x. epist. 20. DIO, l. xlvii, APPIAN. l. iii.
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Antony in-
camps near
Lepidus.

Enters Lepi-
dus's camp in
a mourning
habit, and
moves the pity
of the soldiers.

By whom he
is received
into the camp,
and declared
general.

Antony is
joined by Pol-
lio and Plan-
cus.

but without fortifying it, as if they had been of the same party and interest. He sent out immediately some of his officers to him, putting him in mind of their ancient friendship, and conjuring him by *Cæsar's* memory to concur with him in revenging the death of their common benefactor. But *Marcus Juventius Laterensis*, one of *Lepidus's* most intimate friends, and in his heart a zealous republican, did all that lay in his power to dissuade him from joining *Antony*. To conceal his attachment to the party of the conspirators, he artfully represented to *Lepidus*; that, having seven legions under his command, he was one of the most powerful generals of the republic, and would be of great weight, what side soever he chose; but that, if he joined *Antony*, he would be obliged to submit to the authority of so haughty and imperious a commander, and would make but a very poor figure. By this means the zealous patriot strove to prevent a conjunction, which he was well apprised would prove fatal to his country. But *Antony*, who saw his ruin unavoidable, if *Lepidus* should be at length prevailed upon to act in concert with *Decimus Brutus*, resolved to push his fortune and venture all. His hair was long and disordered, nor had he shaved his beard since his late defeat. In this condition and with a mourning mantle flung over him, he went boldly into the camp of *Lepidus*, and there began to harangue the soldiers, who had all served with him under *Cæsar*. They were all greatly moved at his habit, and more at his speech; which *Lepidus* observing, ordered the trumpets to sound, that he might be heard no longer. This raised in the soldiery a great sense of compassion; insomuch, that they secretly sent *Clodius* and *Lælius* disguised in women's cloaths, advising *Antony* to attack *Lepidus's* camp, and assuring him, that the greater part were disposed to receive him with open arms, and even to dispatch *Lepidus*, if he would give them orders for so doing. *Antony* would by no means suffer any violence to be offered to *Lepidus*; but early the next morning he marched at the head of his troops, founded a river (Q), which lay between the two camps, and was the first who flung himself into the water to gain the opposite side. The soldiers of *Lepidus* no sooner saw him than they ran in crowds to receive him, and began to beat down the works, and level the ramparts to make way for him. *Antony* entered the camp amidst the loud acclamations of the soldiery, and marched straight to the general's quarters, whom he found asleep in his tent. We may easily conceive the surprise of *Lepidus* at the sight of *Antony*, no longer in the attire of a suppliant, but surrounded by his guards, and attended both by his own officers and those of *Lepidus*. He leaped out of his bed in the utmost consternation, and throwing himself at *Antony's* feet, offered him the command of the army. *Antony*, though now absolute master both of his person and army, treated him with great civility, tenderly embraced him, giving him the name of father, and even left him the title and all the badges of a general, though he alone performed the functions of that office. The brave *Juventius Laterensis* was so touched with the misfortunes which he foresaw this fatal conjunction would bring upon his country, that, while the generals were embracing each other, he killed himself in the height of his grief with his own sword. This union happened on the fourth of the calends of *June*, as is plain from *Cicero's* epistles. *Afinius Pollio*, who was incamped at a small distance from *Lepidus*, followed his example and joined *Antony*. *Munatius Plancus*, who had been hitherto wavering and doubtful which Side to take, thought it now high time to declare himself; and accordingly, leaving his camp at the conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Saone*, where he had been trusted by the senate with the charge of founding a colony (R), he led all the troops under his command to *Antony*, who was much about the same time joined by *Ventidius* at the head of three legions. So that he, who a little before had fled before *Brutus*, and abandoned Italy,

• APPIAN. l. iii. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 63. a CIC. ad fam. epist. 29. PLANCUS. ad CIC. l. x.

(Q) This river, which is called by the ancients *Argenteus*, and by the moderns *Argens*, rises near *S. Maximin* in *Provence*, and falls into the *Mediterranean* at a small distance from *Frejus*.

(R) The city of *Lyons* is commonly thought to have been founded by him. *Dion Cassius* tells us in express terms, that the proconsul *L. Munatius Plancus* stooped at a place called *Lugdunum*, and founded in

that neighbourhood a colony which he called *Lugdunum*. The ancient city was founded, according to some writers, in the year of *Rome* 364 by two brothers, named *Momorus* and *Atepomarus*, chiefs of the *Gaulish* nation, and contemporaries with the famous *Brennus*. In process of time *Lugdunum* and *Lugdunum* became one and the same city (52).

(52) Vid. *Plut. de fluxu.*

^a *Italy*, found himself now in a condition to return thither with twenty-three legions and above ten thousand horse.

WHILE these things were transacting in *Gaul*, *Octavianus* continued still at *Bononia* with the fourth legion, that of *Mars*, and some others, which had remained with him after the battle of *Mutina*. As the senate had committed the whole management of the war against *Antony* to *Decimus Brutus*, he concluded from thence, that the conscript fathers intended to reduce him to the state of a private citizen. To ward off this blow, he resolved to stand for the consulate, which office was become vacant by the death of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*. But as he was well apprised of the difficulties he should meet with in the pursuit of that dignity from the senators, who were for the most part intirely addicted to the party of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, he artfully applied himself to *Cicero*, with whose vanity and ambition he was well acquainted. He wrote a letter to him, discovering his design to him as to a bosom friend, and telling him, to flatter his ambition, that he was very desirous of having him for his colleague in the consulate; in order to be instructed by so great a master in the rules and maxims that are requisite for the government of the commonwealth; that for his part, he only desired the name of consul, to make him some amends for the loss of a triumph which he thought due to him, but that all the power and authority should be left to him; so that he might manage affairs as he pleased. *Cicero*, old as he was, suffered himself to be made the dupe of a child as he used to call him; and, to the great surprize of all, proposed in the senate the raising of *Octavianus* to the consular dignity, as the only means of preventing him from being reconciled with *Antony*. He added, that, as *Octavianus* was yet very young, the conscript fathers ought to appoint him such a colleague, as by his age and prudence might be capable of having an eye on his conduct, and be, as it were, a governor to him. At these words the senators, plainly perceiving that he pointed out himself as the most proper person to be chosen for *Octavianus*'s colleague, could not help laughing out aloud; and it was no small mortification to *Cicero* to see his vanity at the same time both exposed and disappointed; for all the relations and adherents of the conspirators cried out with one voice, that to put *Cæsar*'s son at the head of the republic was utterly destroying it ^a.

^d *Octavianus*, finding he could obtain nothing of the senate even by *Cicero*'s means, resolved to put off no longer his reconciliation with *Antony*; and accordingly wrote a letter to him, inviting him back into *Italy*, and exhorting him to forget all private injuries, and concur with him in humbling their common enemies. *Antony*, overjoyed to find *Octavianus* so earnest for a reconciliation, readily consented to it, and, without further delay, began his march towards *Italy* to confer there with *Octavianus*. He led with him seventeen legions and a thousand horse; having left six legions in *Gaul* under the command of *Varius*, one of his bottle companions, who on that account was nick-named *Cotylon*, which signifies a bottle.

^e IN the mean time, the news of the conjunction of *Antony* and *Lepidus* reaching *Rome*, filled the city with consternation. The senate immediately assembled, and passed a decree, declaring *Lepidus* an enemy to his country; and likewise the legions of his army, who should not abandon him and return to their duty before the calends of *September*. This decree was enacted the day before the calends of *July*, as appears from one of *Cicero*'s letters to *C. Cassius* ¹. The statue of *Lepidus* was, by order of the senate, thrown down, and that of the brave *Juventius Laterensis* raised in its room. As the senate was quite ignorant of the reconciliation between *Octavianus* and *Antony*, and the private treaty, which by this time was concluded between them and *Lepidus*, they had resource to *Octavianus*, and committed to him, in conjunction with *Decimus Brutus* the management of the war against *Antony* and *Lepidus*. ^f *Octavianus*, who was well acquainted with all the arts of tricking and deceit, returned the senate thanks in the most humble terms, for the honour they had been pleased to confer upon him; and began, without delay, to raise troops, and make the necessary preparations for a new war. When he saw himself again at the head of an army, he threw off the mask, and assembling his soldiers, told them, that the only thing the senate had in view was, to destroy all his fathers friends, by sowing divisions among them, and arming them against each other; but that he, well apprised of their wicked designs, had entered into a confederacy with *Antony* and *Lepidus*, who were on their march into *Italy* at the head of seventeen legions; that this was the only means of

Octavianus makes use of Cicero's ambition to get the consulate

But is disappointed.

Octavianus is reconciled with Antony.

Lepidus declared an enemy to his country.

The management of the war against him and Antony committed to Octavianus and D. Brutus.

^a APPIAN. DIO. *ibid.*

¹ CIC. l. 12. ad familiar. epist. 10.

*His speech to
his soldiers.*

*Octavianus's
soldiers de-
mand the con-
sulate for
their general.*

*Octavianus
marches to-
wards Rome.*

*Resolutions
taken by the
senate.*

procuring safety for themselves, and for so many brave men who had espoused their cause : *Do you believe, said he, that those who have murdered my father, will spare my life or yours, if their party should prevail ? and prevail they must, if we are divided among ourselves. What security can you have for those houses, lands, and inheritances, which my father allotted you, if those men got into power, who approve of his death and are for annulling all his ordinances ? You know I am not ambitious ; for you have seen me refuse the prætorship, which you yourselves offered me. But now I must intreat you, not for my own sake, but for yours, to concur with your votes and interest in raising me to the consulate. I shall be in a condition, when vested with that dignity, to secure to you the possession of those inheritances, which my father bestowed upon you, and at the same time to revenge his death, with the destruction of those who endeavour to destroy us.* The soldiers received this proposal with great joy, and immediately appointed deputies to go to Rome, and demand the consulship for their general in the name of the legions. The senate received the deputies with great civility, but refused to comply with their request, alledging *Octavianus's* youth, who had not yet attained the age which the laws required in a consul. But the deputies, who had been well instructed beforehand, brought several instances of persons who had been raised to the consular dignity without any regard to their age, viz. of *Rullus*, of *Decius*, of *Corvinus*, of the two *Scipios*, of *Pompey*, and of *Dolabella*, who had been but very lately honoured with the consulate, though much of the same age with *Octavianus*. These precedents were of no weight with the conscript fathers : others, 'tis true, had enjoyed that honour before the lawful age ; but most of them were persons of unblemished characters, and avowed defenders of the public liberty ; whereas they had reason to believe, that *Octavianus* would make use of his power to oppress his country. As for *Dolabella*, he had been raised to the fasces by *Cæsar* without the consent of the senate. The fathers therefore, without casting any reflections on *Octavianus* or declaring their real motives, under divers other pretences, endeavoured to elude the request of the legionaries ; when one of those armed ambassadors, by name *Cornelius*, laying his hand on his sword, *If you will not make him consul, said he, this shall.* Having thus spoke, he left the senate with his companions, and they all returned to give their general an account of the bad success of their negotiation. The soldiers, provoked at this refusal, pressed *Octavianus* to lead them to Rome, saying, that he, as heir to *Cæsar*, had a right to dispose of the consulate as he pleased. The ambitious youth heard this with pleasure, and, taking advantage of the present disposition of the soldiery, marched immediately towards Rome with eight legions. He passed the *Rubicon*, as his father had done, when he began the first civil war, and, dividing his army into two bodies, he advanced with one by long marches towards the capital, in order to surprize his enemies, and ordered the other to follow him leisurely. The unexpected news of *Octavianus's* approach filled the city with dread and confusion. Several senators, among the rest the cowardly *Cicero*, abandoning the city, withdrew into the country. Those who remained, assembled in haste, and came to the following resolutions ; viz. that the money, which the senate had promised to the two legions, the fourth and that of *Mars*, should be immediately sent them ; that the same sum should be promised in the name of the republic to the other legions under the command of *Octavianus*, and that he, though absent, should be allowed to stand for the consulate. Deputies were immediately dispatched to acquaint him with these resolutions. They were scarce gone, when the conscript fathers, reflecting coolly on their behaviour, began to be ashamed of their pusillanimity in thus submitting to a boy, and giving way to the insolence of the soldiery. At the same time two legions, which had been in *Africa*, arrived at the gates of Rome. These the senate looked upon as a supply sent them by the gods, and taking courage, resolved, with them and a legion which *Vibius Pansa* had sent back to guard the city, to put themselves in a posture of defence. Two prætors, viz. *Quintus Gallius Luperus* and *Marcus Cornutus*, had governed the city, and supplied the room of consuls ever since the death of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*. The former favoured in his heart the party of *Octavianus*, and therefore continued inactive ; but the latter, who was a zealous republican and an avowed friend to *Brutus* and his followers, left nothing untried to encourage the conscript fathers, and inspire them with resolutions becoming the rank they held in the republic. He ordered all the citizens, who were fit to bear arms, to appear on the ramparts, placed guards in all the avenues to the city, and detached a good number of cohorts to garison the *Janiculum*, whither the public money had been conveyed. In the mean time, *Octavianus* drew near,

a near, and posting himself on the *Quirinal*, then without the walls, he sent from thence emissaries into the city, assuring the people, that both their lives and estates were safe. Hereupon they flocked out in crouds to see their friends and relations, who served under *Octavianus*, carrying them refreshments, and freely conversing with them. Many of the senators themselves and of the chief nobility, mixed with the people, went out to pay their compliments to the young general, who, finding the people generally inclined to favour him, entered the city the next day amidst the loud acclamations of the multitude, being attended by a chosen body of legionaries. He was met by his mother and sisters, who had concealed themselves among the vestals, and accompanied by them and a numberless croud to his house, whither all the nobility flocked to make their court to him. *Cicero*, who had returned to the city upon the arrival of the two *African* legions, was one of the last who came to pay him his devoirs. *Octavianus* received him coldly, and when the orator congratulated him on his return to the city, *You are the last of my enemies*, answered *Octavianus* with an ill-natured sneer, *who have honoured me with a visit*. He well knew, that *Cicero* was intirely in the interest of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and besides, he had been told by some of his emissaries, that the orator, in the speech which he made to the conscript fathers, when he demanded the consulship for him, had used a very odd and equivocal expression; *Egregius iste juvenis*, said he, *laudandus, honorandus, & tollendus est*, that is, *The brave youth ought to be praised and honoured*; but as to the last word, it signifies equally to be advanced, and to be cut off. The next day, the three legions that were in the city went out to join *Octavianus*, who thereupon ordered his troops to march into the city and incamp in the field of *Mars*. From thence he sent a detachment to seize on the *Janiculum* and the public money lodged there, out of which he immediately paid two thousand five hundred drachmas to each soldier under his command. The prætor *Quintus Gallius* summoned the people to meet in the *campus Martius* in order to proceed to the election of new consuls. But his colleague *Marcus Cornutus*, foreseeing the evil consequences that must inevitably attend the promotion of *Octavianus*, gave up the republic for lost, and, scorning to submit to the yoke of his fellow-citizen, laid violent hands on himself. A memorable instance of the old *Roman* spirit, which in the virtuous ages of *Rome* would have been celebrated with the highest encomiums, but is scarce taken notice of by the slavish writers, who flourished under *Augustus* and his successors. On the day appointed for the election, *Octavianus* withdrew from the city, that the comitia might have, at least, some appearance of liberty. When the people met, they unanimously declared *Octavianus* first consul, and appointed *Quintus Pædus*, one of his relations, and a legate of the dictator for his colleague. Upon the news of his election he returned to the city, where, as he was sacrificing according to custom, six, as some say twelve, vulturs are said to have been seen, the same number that appeared to the founder of *Rome*. Hence he concluded, that he should one day be invested with the same power and authority as *Romulus*. This year is reckoned by most of the antient historians and modern chronologers the first of the long reign of *Octavianus*, known afterwards by the name of *Augustus*. However, his authority was not yet either full or peaceable, but for some time divided with *Antony* and *Lepidus*, and warmly disputed by the republican party both in the east and west. *Livy* says, that *Octavianus* was but nineteen years old, when he was created consul^f: but *Suetonius* writes more freely, that he usurped the consulship in the twentieth year of his age^g. *Plutarch* tells us, out of *Octavianus*'s own commentaries, that he was scarce twenty years old, when he was honoured with the consular dignity^h. He was declared consul, says *Velleius Paterculus*^w, the day before he was twenty years old, on the tenth of the calends of *October*. But *Velleius* was certainly mistaken, for there wanted a whole month and five days to the completing of the twentieth year of *Octavianus*'s age; neither did he obtain the consulship in the month of *September*, in which he was born, but in that of *Sextilis*, which was thence called *Augustus*, as is manifest both from *Suetonius*^x and the decree of the senate, which is to be seen in *Macrobius*^y. *Dion* observes, that on the nineteenth of *August* he was made consul the first time, and that he died on the same day^z; and *Tacitus* tells us, that the superstitious multitude after *Augustus*'s death admired the strange events of his fortune, *That the last day of his life and the first of his reign were the same*, &c.^a And thus far of the disturbances which

Octavianus is received at Rome with loud acclamations.

Is joined by the legions in the city.

Octavianus chosen consul. Year of the flood 2971. Before Christ 38. Of Rome 710

^f LIV. l. cxix.

^g SUET. in Octavio, c. 16.

^h PLUT. in Bruto.

^w VELL. PATERCUL.

^x SUET. ibid. c. 31.

^y MACROB. l. i. Saturnal. c. 12.

^z DIO, l. lvi. p. 590.

^a TACIT.

l. i. annal. c. 9.

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which happened in the west from the death of the dictator to the first consulate of *Octavianus*. We shall now briefly relate what passed in the east, during the same period of time; for there likewise a war was kindled, and those vast provinces involved in the same fate with *Italy* and *Gaul*.

What happened in the east, from the death of *Cæsar* to the consulate of *Octavianus*.

Brutus passes over into Greece.

How received at Athens.

To return therefore to *Brutus* and *Cassius*; these two chiefs of the republican party, having left *Rome* to escape the fury of the populace, whom *Antony's* artful speech and the sight of *Cæsar's* dead body had stirred up against them, retired first to *Antium*, with a design to return to the city, and there discharge the functions of their office, for they were both prætors, as soon as the rage of the unsettled multitude was abated. But *Antony* raising daily new disturbances, they wrote to their friends, that since it was not safe for them to resume the functions of their office in the city, they were determined to spend the rest of the year in *Italy* as private citizens; which the senate, who favoured them underhand, no sooner understood, than they committed to them the care of supplying the city with corn, which *Brutus* was appointed to send out of *Asia*, and *Cassius* out of *Sicily*^b. The design of the conscript fathers in charging them with such a commission was, to give them an opportunity of assembling fleets, and privately engaging the governors of those provinces in their cause, which all good citizens looked upon as that of the republic. But, in the mean time, *Octavianus* arriving from *Apollonia* at *Rome*, the city began to be divided into two factions, some siding with him, and others with *Antony*, and the legionaries, without any regard to their country, publicly selling themselves to the highest bidder. Hereupon *Brutus* and *Cassius*, despairing of being able to do their countrymen any service in *Italy*, resolved to pass over into *Greece*, and from thence into the eastern provinces, where they hoped to gain over the many legions that were dispersed about those countries. Accordingly, *Brutus*, crossing *Lucania*, came to *Elea*, a maritime city, in order to imbarque there and sail for *Athens*. From *Elea* he thought it adviseable to send back to *Rome* his beloved *Porcia*, who had accompanied him thither. That illustrious matron, though overwhelmed with grief at the thoughts of parting from so tender a husband, yet concealed her affliction with a constancy worthy of the greatest heroes, till it was accidentally betrayed, in spite of her many resolutions, by a picture which she happened to observe in the House where they lodged. It represented *Hector*, parting from *Andromache* to go and engage the *Greeks*, and giving his young son *Ashtanax* into her arms, while she fixed her eyes upon him with an earnest and affectionate look. The resemblance this piece bore to her own case, and the remembrance of the misfortunes which befel *Hector*, made her burst out into tears. She often went to the place where the picture hung, gazing at it, and weeping before it (S), when she reflected on the dangers to which her husband, like a second *Hector*, was going to expose himself. *Brutus* was extremely troubled, and not without reason; yet he did not suffer himself to be so carried away by his private grief, as to neglect the public concerns. After having tenderly embraced his dear *Porcia* and recommended her to the protection of the gods, he went on board a small vessel, and set sail for *Athens*, while she, bathed in tears, took her rout towards *Rome*. At *Athens* *Brutus* was received with loud acclamations and all possible demonstrations of kindness and esteem. The *Athenians* still retained those noble sentiments of honour, virtue, and liberty, for which their forefathers had been so renowned; and therefore could not help admiring a man, who had so generously sacrificed his private interest to the public welfare. They compared him and his faithful companion *Cassius*, who joined him a few days after his arrival at *Athens*, to *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, two brave *Athenians*,

^b APPIAN. l. iii. p. 530. CIC. ad Atticum, l. xv. epist. 9, 11, 12.

(S) *Plutarch* tells us, that on this occasion *Acilius*, one of *Brutus's* friends, repeated out of *Homer* the following verses, spoken by *Andromache*:

Yet, while my *Hector* still survives, I see
My father, mother, brethren, all in thee. *Pope*.

To which *Brutus* replied with a smile; But I must not answer *Porcia* as *Hector* did *Andromache*:

For though the natural weakness of her body hinders her from acting what only the strength of man can perform, yet she has a mind as valiant and as active for the good of her country as the best of us. This *Plutarch* borrowed, as he tells us, from the memoirs of *Brutus*, written by *Bibulus* the son of *Porcia* (53). For *Porcia*, when *Brutus* married her, was the widow of *M. Calpurnius Bibulus*, by whom she had a son named also *Bibulus*.

— Hasten to thy task at home.

There guide the spindle, and direct the loom. *Idem*.

(53) *Plut- in Bruto*.

^a *Athenians*, who, by the death of the tyrant *Hipparchus*, had delivered their country from slavery. Their ancestors, to perpetuate the memory of so glorious an action, had, near five hundred years before the times we are now writing of, by a public decree, erected statues to those two deliverers of their country: and the present *Athenians*, thinking the enterprize of *Brutus* and *Cassius* equally glorious; in imitation of their ancestors, by a public decree ordered statues to be erected to them over-against those of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. How different were the sentiments of the *Athenians* from those of the greater part of our modern writers! Notwithstanding these public demonstrations of honour and esteem, *Brutus* seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of public business, that he might be wholly at leisure for the study of philosophy. He lived privately with one who had been formerly his guest, and constantly attended the lectures of *Theomnestus* the *Academic* and *Cratippus* the *Peripatetic*, as if he intended to pass the remainder of his life in quiet and retirement. But all the while; being unsuspected, he was secretly making preparations for war; in order to which he made it his chief business to gain the affections of the young *Roman* noblemen, who were attending their studies at *Athens*. Among these was *Marcus Tullius*, *Cicero's* son, of whom he used to say, *That, whether sleeping or waking, he could not help admiring a young man of so great spirit, and such an enemy to tyrants*. As *Brutus*, during his stay at *Athens*, began to want money, young *Marcus* generously supplied him with as much as he could spare; for in one of his letters to *Tiro*, wherein he speaks of those who boarded with him, *I have hired, says he, a place hard by me for Brutus, and, as much as my poverty allows me, relieve his want. I intended to declaim in Greek before Cassius, but before Brutus I will perform my exercise in Latin, &c.* ^c *Cassius* by this time, it seems, had left *Greece* to go into *Syria*, whither we shall soon follow him. As for *Brutus*, he continued some time longer in *Athens*, whence he sent one *Herostrates*, whom he had gained over to his interest, into *Macedon*, to sound the *Roman* troops quartered in that province. *Herostrates* discharged his trust with no less fidelity than address; for he either found the *Macedonian* troops ready to side with *Brutus*, or dexterously prevailed upon them to do so. Hereupon *Brutus*, pulling off the mask, began to act openly and raise troops in all the cities of *Greece*, whither many *Romans* had retired, being dissatisfied with the present situation of affairs at home. He wanted money; but his want was soon supplied by a very lucky accident. For being informed that the quaestor *Vetus Antistius*, his particular friend, who had been charged with the care of conveying to *Rome* the tributes of *Asia*, was in his course to touch at *Carystus*, a city of *Eubœa*; he went thither to meet him, and easily persuaded him to deliver up to him great part of the treasure (T). *Brutus* on his birthday make a splendid entertainment for the quaestor, at which, while the company were drinking merrily to the victory of *Brutus* and liberty of *Rome*, *Brutus*, calling for a larger bowl and holding it in his hand, pronounced aloud this verse, which was spoken to *Hector* by *Patroclus* at the point of his death:

Fate and Apollo against me conspire (U).

It was no sooner known, that *Brutus* was raising forces, than all the remains of *Pompey's* army, who, ever since the defeat of their general, had wandered about *Thessaly*, readily and joyfully joined him. With these he obliged *Cinna*, who was leading five hundred horse to *Dolabella* in *Asia*, to deliver up that body to him.

Young

^c Cic. 1. xvi. ad famil. epist. 21.

(T) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Antistius*, out of the money he was carrying to *Italy*, gave *Brutus* πεντήκοντα μυριάδας, five hundred *myriads*, which the *Latin* interpreter rendered twenty thousand sesterces: and this sum *Brutus* himself acknowledges in an epistle, wherein he commends him to *Cicero*, as *Antistius* was going to *Rome* to stand for the prætorship (54). *Pomponius Atticus* likewise sent him a present of C M. sesterces, when he left *Italy*, and ordered three hundred more to be remitted to him in *Epirus* (55).

(U) *Plutarch* pretends, that *Brutus* quoted this

verse on a sudden without any premeditation, or any preceding circumstance to prompt him to it. But this is highly improbable, as madam *Dacier* well observes. According to her, *Brutus* spoke this verse in the person of *Cæsar*, signifying thereby, that in putting *Cæsar* to death, he had only lent a helping hand to fate and *Apollo*, and that his death was purely owing to the gods and his destiny. Some historians, quoted by *Plutarch*, tell us, that the word *Brutus* gave his men at the battle of *Philippi* was *Apollo*; whence they conclude, that the line quoted on this occasion was a presage of that overthrow (56).

(54) Cic. lib. ad Brutum. epist. 11.

(55) Corn. Nep. in vita Pomp. Attic.

(56) Plut. ibid.

Seizes on the
magazines of
arms at De-
metrias.

Is joined by
the troops in
Macedon.

And by Ga-
binius's three
legions.

Brutus ap-
pointed go-
vernor of
Greece, Ma-
cedon, and
Illyricum.

Young *Cicero* gained over to him an intire legion, which *Piso* designed to convey^a over to *Mark Antony* in *Italy*. And now *Brutus's* army being greatly increased, the prudent leader imbarqued with a strong detachment for *Demetrias*, a town of *Thessaly*, which we have often mentioned in the history of *Greece*, and there seized a prodigious quantity of arms, which had been formerly amassed in that city by *Cæsar* for his *Parthian* expedition, and were now designed for *Antony*. *Macedon* was then governed by *Hortensius*, the son of the famous orator, who was *Cicero's* rival in eloquence. As he was a sincere friend to his country, he declared, without the least hesitation, for *Brutus*; and before the arrival of *Caius Antonius*, who was appointed to succeed him and already on his march, he resigned to that chief of the republican party both his province and his troops; nay, he raised new forces for him in all the countries under his jurisdiction, and appeared as sanguine in the great cause of liberty as *Brutus* himself. And now, *Brutus* being at the head of a powerful army and master of *Greece* and *Macedon*, all the petty kings and princes round about flocked to join him, and offer him their service. Among the rest a queen of *Thrace*, by name *Polemocratia*, whose husband had been lately murdered by his rebellious subjects, had recourse to him, and, delivering up to him all her treasures, put herself and her son under his protection. *Brutus* received her with that humanity which was peculiar to him, and sent her to *Cyzicum* in *Asia Minor*, to live there far from danger, till a favourable opportunity offered of restoring her to her kingdom^d.

IN the mean time, news being brought, that *Caius*, the brother of *Antony*, having^c crossed the *Adriatic*, was advancing to join *Gabinus*, or, as others call him, *Vatinius*, who commanded three legions in *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia*, *Brutus* resolved to be beforehand with him. Accordingly, he moved forwards in all haste with the few troops he had then with him. His march, though through rugged places and a deep snow, was so expeditious, that he left those who were to bring his provisions a great way behind. When he got near to *Dyrrachium*, he was seized with a distemper, which the *Greeks* call *Bulimia*, that is, a violent hunger (W). As he grew very faint for want of food, and none in the army could supply him with any, his attendants were forced to have recourse to the enemy, and, advancing to the very gates of the city, acquainted the centinels, who were there upon duty, with the sad state of *Brutus*, and begged them to relieve him. They were touched with compassion, and immediately flew to his relief with plenty of provisions. *Brutus* on this occasion won so much upon the affections of those legionaries by his obliging behaviour, that they all joined him to a man, *Gabinus* himself not excepted, whom *Cicero* commended on that score, laying aside the hatred he had formerly bore him. *Caius Antonius*, receiving intelligence of what had happened at *Dyrrachium*, advanced with all possible expedition to *Apollonia*, and summoned all the soldiers, who were quartered near that city, to join him there. But finding they went all over to *Brutus*, and suspecting that the garison of *Apollonia* were inclined to the same party, he abandoned that city, and hastened to *Butrotus*, now *Butrinto*, on the *Ionian* sea. *Brutus* pursued^e him close, and on his march cut in pieces three of the seven cohorts that attended him. Upon this success *Brutus* wrote to the senate, acquainting the conscript fathers with what he had done in *Greece* and *Macedon*. His letter was read in the senate by the consul *Pansa*, who was still in *Rome*, and his generous concern for the welfare of his country set forth by *Cicero* in his tenth *Philippic*; at whose motion a decree passed, appointing *Brutus* to govern *Macedon*, *Illyricum*, and all *Greece*, in quality of proconsul^f. By the same decree both he and *Cassius* were empowered to make use of the public money, and to raise what sums they pleased in the provinces subject to *Rome*. The kings and cities of the east, in alliance with the *Roman* people, were at the same time ordered to lend them all the assistance they could^f.

IN the mean time, young *Cicero*, whom *Brutus* had detached with his light-armed foot in pursuit of *Caius Antonius*, coming up with him near *Byllis*, or *Bullis*, a city of *Illyricum* on the *Adriatic*, attacked him, and give him a total overthrow. *Caius* fled with

^a CIC. l. v. ix. x. & xii. epist. famil. & Philippic 11. PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. ix. p. 668, & seq. DIO, l. xlvii. p. 339, & seq. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 62, & seq. ^e CIC. Philippic. 10. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 567. & l. iv. p. 622, 632, 633. ^f Idem ibid. & VELL. PATERC. l. ii.

(W) The word *Bulimia* is compounded of the two Greek words, Βῆς, an ox, and λιμός, hunger, and signifies an ox-like hunger, an insatiable appetite, which proceeds from a too sharp ferment in the stomach.

a with his troops to a neighbouring marsh, where he was surrounded by *Brutus*, without any possible means of making his escape. *Brutus* might with great ease have cut him off with all his troops; but he would not suffer his men to fall upon them, saying, that in a little time they would be all of his side; which accordingly happened, for they went all to a man over to *Brutus*, and even delivered up to him their general; so that *Brutus* had now eight legions under his command, a numerous body of horse, and a great many archers and slingers, with several companies of *Macedonians*, whom he daily exercised after the *Roman* manner^g. As for *Caius Antonius*, *Brutus* treated him with the utmost civility, and even suffered him to enjoy the title of proconsul, and all the badges of that dignity, though several senators, and particularly *Cicero*, solicited him by letters to rid the republic of so dangerous an enemy. But finding at length that he abused his good-nature, and made use of the liberty, which, through an excess of kindness, was allowed him, to corrupt the officers and raise seditions among the soldiers, he confined him on board a ship, and there kept him close prisoner. Several soldiers, whom he had privately seduced, abandoning *Brutus*, retired to *Apollonia*, whence, repenting of the step they had taken, they sent him word, that if he would come thither, they would return to their duty. *Brutus* answered, that *this was not customary among the Romans, but that it became those, who had offended; to come to their general and beg forgiveness of their crimes*; which they did, and were received with great kindness by their humane and good-natured general^h.

Caius Antonius defeated and taken prisoner.

Is treated with great civility by Brutus.

c ABOUT this time *Brutus* received a letter from the famous *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, in which was inclosed, it seems, the copy of one written by *Cicero* to *Octavianus* after the battle of *Mutina*; wherein he first congratulated him on his late victory, and then told him, that *it was desired and expected of him, that he would suffer those citizens to lead a quiet and peaceable life, whom all good men and the people of Rome loved and esteemed*, meaning *Brutus* and his followers. As this was tacitly acknowledging an authority in *Octavianus* above the laws, *Brutus* highly resented it, and expressed his resentment in the letters he wrote to *Atticus* and *Cicero* himself. *I had rather not live*, says he, writing to *Cicero*, *than owe my life to him. I do not believe, that the Roman people have provoked the wrath of all the gods to such a degree, that Octavianus must be intreated for the safety of one private citizen, much less for that of the deliverers of the world*ⁱ. *Cicero* had, it seems, on what occasion we know not, reproached *Cæsar* with the murder of *Cæsar*, and was employing all his interest in favour of *Octavianus*. This drew several letters in very sharp terms from *Brutus*, which are still extant among *Cicero*'s epistles, and will be lasting monuments of the honour, virtue, and truly noble spirit of that brave patriot, in spite of the many ill-natured reflections with which the flatterers of *Augustus*, and, since his time, the abettors of absolute power have endeavoured to blacken his character.

Brutus's letters to Cicero.

e *Brutus*, being now at the head of a powerful army, and master of all *Greece*, *Illyricum*, *Macedon* and *Thrace*, resolved to pass into *Asia* and there join *Cassius*, whose progress in those eastern provinces, from the time he parted with *Brutus* in *Athens* to the consulate of *Octavianus*, we are now to relate. We have observed above, that *P. Cornelius Dolabella*, by the interest of *Marc Antony*, obtained of the people, in spite of the senate, the government of *Syria*. This *Cassius* no sooner understood, than he left *Athens*, and sailed first into *Asia*, which province was then governed by *Trebonius*, one of the conspirators, in quality of proconsul. It had been allotted to him a few days after *Cæsar*'s death, and he, upon the arrival of *Octavianus* at *Rome*, had quitted the city and retired to his government, as is manifest from several of *Cicero*'s epistles^k. *Cassius* was well received by *Trebonius*, and also by *P. Lentulus*, who had been sent with him in quality of proquæstor extraordinary, his ordinary quæstor being *L. Patiscus*. This we gather from *Cicero*'s epistles^l, which some writers seem not to have consulted, or to have misunderstood. These supplied *Cassius* with money; and he was soon after joined by a body of horse, which *Dolabella* had sent into *Asia*, with orders to pursue their march into *Syria*, and there wait for him. *Lentulus*, in one of his letters to *Cicero*, ascribes to himself the glory of having brought over these troops to *Cassius*'s party^m. It was no sooner known in *Asia* and *Cilicia*, that *Cassius* was raising forces, than the *Romans*, who were dispersed about those provinces, flocked to him from all quarters; so that seeing himself at the head of a considerable army, he

Cassius passes over into Asia.

Is joined by a body of horse, and by the Romans dispersed about Asia and Cilicia.

^g PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 632, 633. ^h PLUT. in Bruto. ⁱ CIC. ad Brutum, epist. 16.

^k CIC. ad Attic. l. xiv. epist. 10. & l. xiii. ad familiar. epist. 73. collata cum epist. 43, 45. ^l Vide

Cic. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 14, 15.

^m CIC. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 14.

And also by
Statius Mur-
cus, Cæci-
lius Bassus
and Marcius
Crispus.

Makes himself
master of all
Syria.

Obliges Allie-
nus with his
four legions to
take party
with him.

Dolabella
retires to
Laodicea.

he left *Asia*, we mean *Asia* properly so called, and marched into *Syria*, with a design^a to seize on that province, before the arrival of *Dolabella*. He was scarce gone when *Dolabella* landed on the *Asiatic* coast, laid waste the country, made himself master of *Tarsus*, where *Cassius* had left a garison, and murdered in a most cruel and treacherous manner the proconsul *Trebonius*, as we have related above. *Cassius*, on his arrival in *Syria*, found *Statius Murcus*, and *Marcius Crispus* carrying on the siege of *Apamea* against *Q. Cæcilius Bassus*, as we have related above. These two leaders immediately joined him with all their forces, and *Bassus's* soldiers forced him to do the same; whereupon the city being delivered up to *Cassius*, an end was put to the siege, and the army of that general, by this new addition, increased to the number of eight legions. From this time he took upon him the title of proconsul, as appears from his letters^b to *Cicero*ⁿ; though *Cicero*, in his letters to him, does not acknowledge that title, as not yet granted him by the senate^o. Both *Murcus* and *Crispus* heartily embraced *Cassius's* party; the former was by him appointed governor of *Syria*, and also admiral of his fleet; but *Bassus*, not caring to engage in this war, was permitted quietly to retire^p. *Cassius*, being thus strengthened, soon made himself master of all *Syria*, which he did the more easily on account of the great reputation he had formerly acquired in that province, by defending it against the *Parthians* after the overthrow of *Cassius* at *Carrhæ*, as we have related at length in the history of the *Parthians*^q. From *Syria* he passed into *Phœnice* and *Judæa*, and secured to himself those countries^r. While he lay there, he was informed, that *Allienus*, one of *Dolabella's* lieutenants, was marching through *Palestine* with four legions, which *Cæsar* had left in *Egypt* after the *Alexandrian* war. Upon this advice he went to meet them, and coming upon them unawares, obliged both *Allienus* and his legions to side with him, which, with those he had before, made up the number of twelve legions. Of these forces he gave a particular account to *Cicero*, in a letter dated the nones of *March* from his camp at *Tarichæa* in *Galilee*^s. For the maintaining of so numerous a body of men, he was forced to lay the country under heavy contributions; and *Judæa* being taxed at seven hundred talents, *Antipater* took speedy care for the answering of this sum, committing it to the charge of his two sons, *Phasael* and *Herod*, and to *Malichus* and some others, ordering them to raise the sum forthwith, and assigning to each of them their proper districts for this purpose. *Herod*, having brought in his quota the first, gained by that means the favour of *Cassius*. But *Gophna*, *Emmaus*, *Lydda*, *Thamna*, and some other cities of *Judæa*, being backward in raising their quotas, *Cassius* caused the inhabitants to be sold for slaves to the best bidder, for the more speedy payment of the sum required. He was provoked to such a degree against *Malichus*, who was very dilatory in this matter, that he would have put him to death, had not *Hyrchanus* appeased him with a present of a hundred talents, which he sent him by *Antipater*^t. In the mean time, *Dolabella*, after a long stay in *Asia*, where he burdened the cities with new taxes and oppressed the inhabitants in a most cruel and tyrannical manner^u, passed first into *Cilicia*, and thence into *Syria*, with two legions, whither his fleet, composed of vessels hired of the *Lycians*, *Pamphylians*, and *Cilicians*, sailed soon after under the command of *L. Figulus*^w. Upon his arrival in *Syria*, he attempted to enter *Antioch*, as governor of that province; but being repulsed by the inhabitants and the garison, which *Cassius* had left there, with the loss of about a hundred of his men, he abandoned the enterprize, and retired in the night towards *Laodicea*. During his march, most of the troops he had raised in *Asia* abandoned him, some of them returning to *Antioch*, where they joined *Cassius's* men, and others retiring over mount *Amanus* into *Cilicia*^x. As the inhabitants of *Laodicea* were entirely devoted to *Cæsar's* party, they received *Dolabella* with open arms, and put him in possession of their city; which *Cassius* no sooner heard, than he hastened thither, leaving *Herod* governor of *Cælo-Syria*, with a strong detachment from his army to keep that province in awe^y. Upon his arrival, he found *Dolabella* incamped under the walls of the city, nay, as we learn from a letter of *Cassius Parmensis*, and not of *Cassius Longinus*, as we conjecture, to *Cicero*, he had beat down part of the walls, and joined

ⁿ CIC. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 11, 12. ^o Idem ibid. epist. 7, 8, 9, 10. ^p DIO, l. xlvii. p. 343. & CIC. l. xii. ad famil. epist. 11, 12. ^q Vide Vol. IV. p. 306. ^r JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiv. c. 18. & de bell. Judaico, l. i. c. 9. ^s CIC. l. xii. ad famil. epist. 11, 12. ^t JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiv. c. 18. & de bell. Judaico, l. i. c. 9. ^u CIC. ad Brut. epist. 3, 4. & l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 15. ^w APPIAN. l. iv. p. 624. ^x P. LENTUL. ad CIC. l. ad familiar. epist. 15. ^y JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiv. c. 19.

^a joined his camp to the town². As *Laodicea* was placed on a peninsula, *Cassius*, to prevent *Dolabella* from making his escape by land, carried on a wall two furlongs in length cross the isthmus, with materials brought from the neighbouring villages and sepulchers. At the same time he dispatched messengers to the *Phœnicians*, *Lycians*, and *Rhodians* for ships, with a design to block up the harbour. But the *Sidonians* alone complied with his summons, and sent him what vessels they had already equipped in their harbour. They were scarce arrived, when *Dolabella's* fleet under the command of *L. Figulus* appeared off *Laodicea*. *Cassius*, though his fleet was far inferior in number to the enemy's, yet would by all means venture an engagement, in which both parties fought with incredible bravery. But at length *Cassius's* fleet was over-^{Cassius's fleet} powered, and five of his ships taken with all the mariners on board. Hereupon *Cassius* ^{defeated} dispatched messengers anew to those who had slighted his first summons, and besides to *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, and to *Serapion*, who commanded her forces in *Cyprus*. The *Tyrians*, *Aradians*, and also *Serapion*, without the knowledge of his mistress, obeyed the second summons, and sent what ships they could assemble. But *Cleopatra* herself, who had been greatly favoured by *Cæsar*, and consequently bore an irreconcilable hatred to all those who were concerned in his death, refused to lend them any assistance, under pretence, that *Egypt* was then afflicted with a plague and famine. The *Rhodians* and *Lycians* declared, that they designed to maintain a strict neutrality, though it was well known, that *Dolabella's* fleet consisted mostly of *Lycian* and *Rhodian* vessels. Of this *Lentulus*, who was præquæstor extraordinary of *Asia*, complained in his letters both to the senate and to *Cicero*; for *Dolabella* had been declared an enemy to the people of *Rome*, and the republic had lately renewed her alliance with the *Rhodians*³. However *Statius Murcus*, the admiral of *Cassius's* fleet, having got together a considerable number of ships of war in *Phœnice* and on the coasts of *Asia*, ventured two other engagements, in the first whereof they parted upon equal terms; but in the second *Dolabella's* fleet was entirely defeated. Then *Murcus* blocked up the port with his victorious fleet; so that no provisions could be conveyed into the besieged city either by sea or land, the wall, which *Cassius* had begun to cross the isthmus, being now completed. The place being thus reduced to the utmost extremity, *Dolabella* attempted several times to sally out at the head of the garison, but was constantly driven back into the city, which was at length, without his knowledge, delivered up to the enemy by one *Quintius*, a chief officer of his army. *Dolabella*, seeing the enemy in possession of the city, and fearing *Cassius* would retaliate upon him his cruel treatment of the unfortunate *Trebonius*, ordered one of his guards to cut off his head; which he did accordingly, and then killed himself with the same sword. The example of *Dolabella* was followed by *M. Octavius* his lieutenant, and *Q. Marfus*, another of his chief officers. *Cassius* ordered their bodies to be decently interred, though they had refused that honour to the poor remains of *Trebonius*, which they threw into the sea, after having insulted them in the grossest manner. But *Cassius*, at the sight of *Dolabella's* head, seemed to have forgot the vengeance he owed to the manes of his friend. As for the soldiers, who served under the deceased general, though they had been declared enemies to the republic as well as himself, *Cassius* generously forgave them, and, having obliged them to take the military oath to him, incorporated them among his legionaries^b. *Appian* tells us, that *Cassius* plundered both the temples and treasury of *Laodicea*, that he laid heavy taxes on the inhabitants, and put all the nobility to the sword; so that the city was reduced to a most miserable condition^c. What *Appian* says has not been a little exaggerated by the authors of the *Roman* history now publishing at *Paris*: for they tell us, that the streets in an instant were covered with dead bodies; that the blood ran in streams; that neither temples nor palaces were spared; that those, whom the conqueror thought fit to pardon, were forced to pay such exorbitant sums that death seemed less painful to them than life^d. These reverend writers, men indeed of great learning, but avowed champions of arbitrary power, omit no opportunity of throwing what dirt they can upon those who stood up in defence of their liberties. They constantly follow those authors, whose accounts are the least favourable to them, without taking notice of what others, less partial and biassed, have wrote on the same subject. In the present case, *Dion Cassius* disagreeing

Where he is
besieged by
Cassius.

Cassius's fleet
defeated

Dolabella's
fleet intirely
defeated, and
Laodicea
taken.

The death of
Dolabella.

^a CIC. l. xii. ad familiar. epist. 13

² CIC. ad familiar. l. xii. epist. 14, 15,

^b APPIAN. l. iv.

p. 625. & seq. DIO. l. xlvii. p. 345. & seq. LIV. l. xii. STRABO. l. xvi. p. 752. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii.

^c 69. OROS. l. vi. c. 19.

^c APPIAN. ibid. p. 625, 626.

^d CATROU and ROVILLE, tom. 17.

p. 584.

greeting, as he often does, with *Appian*, after having told us, that *Cassius* gave quarter^a and impunity to *Dolabella's* troops, adds, *neither punished he the inhabitants of Laodicea, otherwise than by obliging them to pay a sum of money*^c. No mention here of *streams of blood, of streets covered with dead bodies, of exorbitant taxes which made death itself desirable*.

The govern-
ment of Syria
confirmed to
Cassius.

AND now *Cassius*, after the reduction of *Laodicea*, become master of all *Syria*, acquainted the conscript fathers with the success of his arms; who thereupon confirmed to him the government of those vast provinces, as they did to *Brutus* that of *Greece, Macedon, and Illyricum*, ordering all the states and cities, in alliance with or subject to *Rome*, to obey their orders and assist them to the utmost of their power^f. Thus *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who had fled from *Rome*, as *Plutarch* observes^g, like despicable exiles, without money or arms, without ships, soldiers, or one single city to rely on, were now masters of large provinces, had above twenty legions under their command, and were in a condition to keep in awe and withstand the united forces of *Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus*. Thus was the *Roman* state, taken in its utmost extent, divided between two opposite parties, *the Cæsareans*, that is, those who were for introducing absolute government and arbitrary power; and *the republicans*, that is, zealous defenders of their liberties and the ancient customs and laws of the republic. The latter prevailed in the east; and the former in the west: where they were obeyed by all the nations between the ocean and the straits of *Messana*, or the most southern borders of *Italy*. As for *Sicily*, it was held at this time by *Sextus Pompeius*, the younger son of *Pompey the Great*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of this history. Such was the situation of affairs at the beginning of *Octavianus's* first consulate. What happened in *Italy* and the several provinces subject to the distracted and expiring republic, from his consulate to the death of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, shall be the subject of the following chapter.

^a DIO. l. xlvii. p. 345. ^f VELL. PATERCUL. ibid. c. 62. APPIAN. l. iii. p. 567, 568. ^g PLUT. in Bruto

CHAP. XV.

The history of Rome, from the first consulate of Octavianus to the death of Cassius and Brutus.

Octavianus
causes Brutus
and Cassius to
be condemned.

THE first step *Octavianus* took, after he had entered upon his consulate, was, to get his adoption confirmed in a general assembly of the people. In the next place, he prevailed upon the senate to revoke their decree, declaring *Dolabella*, whose death was not yet known at *Rome*, an enemy to his country^h. Soon after his colleague *Q. Pædus*, at his instigation, proposed a law for impeaching, trying, and condemning all those who had been any ways concerned in the death of *Cæsar*. Pursuant to this law which passed without opposition, *L. Cornificius* took upon him to accuse *Brutus*, and the famous *M. Vispanius Agrippa* (X) appeared against *Cassius*. The conspirators

^h APPIAN. l. iii. p. 586. DIO. l. xlvii. p. 321, 322.

(X) *Marcus Vispanius Agrippa* was, according to *Suetonius* (37), of a mean descent, but of an equestrian family according to *Cornelius Nepos* (38). The former writer tells us, that the emperor *Caligula*, ashamed to acknowledge *Agrippa* for his grandfather, gave out, that his mother *Agrippina* was not the daughter

of *Agrippa*, but the fruit of an incestuous commerce, between *Julia* the wife of *Agrippa* and her father *Augustus*; chusing out of a foolish and shameful vanity, to owe his birth rather to an incest, than a lawful marriage (39). *Agrippa* was brought up from his infancy with *Octavianus*, and served him to the last

(37) *Suet. in Caligula.*

(38) *Cornel. Nep. in vita Attici.*

(39) *Idem ibid.*

a spirators were all summoned to take their trials; and we are told, that when the herald pronounced the name of *Brutus*, both the people and senate expressed their concern for so worthy a citizen with sighs and tears. Among the many judges, who were chosen for the decision of so important a cause, *Silicius Coronas* was the only person who had courage enough to declare in their favour, which cost him his life; for though *Octavianus* thought it then adviseable to dissemble his resentment, and pretended even to be reconciled to *Silicius*, yet he soon after sacrificed him to his revenge. Notwithstanding the opposition of that generous citizen, the conspirators were all condemned, without being heard, to perpetual banishment, and their estates confiscated. But as *Brutus* and *Cassius* were at the head of twenty legions, *Octavianus* rightly judged, that it would not be easy for him to destroy them, without the assistance of *Antony* and *Lepidus*. He therefore dispatched trusty messengers to these two chiefs, desiring them to march with all possible expedition into *Italy*, that they might, with their united forces, fall upon *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and drive them out of the provinces which they had seized. Hereupon they both set out without delay, and passing the *Alps*, at the head of seventeen legions, entered *Cisalpine Gaul*. The senate, alarmed at their approach, and still strangers to the private managements between them and *Octavianus*, ordered the latter to march out against them, and make war upon them as public enemies. *Octavianus* with great joy embraced this opportunity of putting the last hand to the treaty, which had been begun some time since between him and his rival. But, before he left *Rome*, he gave private instructions to *Quintus Pædus* his colleague and creature, to insinuate, as of his own motion, to the senate, that it was for the advantage of the commonwealth to repeal their decree against *Antony* and *Lepidus*, and not drive such men to despair, especially *Antony*, who was as great a commander, and no less to be dreaded than *Sylla* and *Marius*. This proposal was no-ways agreeable to the senate; but nevertheless, as they suspected *Octavianus* to be at the bottom of the whole, they wrote to him for his advice in so nice a point. The crafty general readily consented to the repealing of the decree, as we may well imagine; but, to deceive the senate, told them in his letter, that his consent had been in a manner extorted by the earnest intreaties of his soldiers. However, the conscript fathers began now plainly to see, that *Octavianus*'s design was to gain over *Antony* to his party, and to act in concert with him against the defenders of the public liberty. But they were no longer in a condition to withstand him, and therefore solemnly disannulled all the decrees against *Antony* and his adherents. In acknowledgment of this good turn, *Antony* marched immediately against *Decimus Brutus*, who was incamped in the neighbourhood of *Mutina* with ten legions, four whereof consisted of veterans, but who were in a very bad condition on account of the distempers and fatigues they had suffered during the late siege; the six others were newly raised, and quite unacquainted with military discipline. So that *Brutus*, not finding himself in a condition to oppose the united and superior forces of *Antony* and *Lepidus*, resolved to quit *Cisalpine Gaul*, and by the way of *Aquileia* pass into *Illyricum*, and from thence into *Macedon*, where *M. Brutus* commanded. But, finding all the passes seized on that side by *Octavianus*'s troops, he took his rout towards the *Alps* with a design to pass the *Rhine*, where that river divides *Transalpine Gaul* from *Germany*, and through the latter country pursue his march into *Macedon*. But the apprehension of the fatigues and dangers of so long a journey had such an effect on the minds of the new-raised troops, that they all abandoned *Brutus* and went over to *Antony*. Their example was soon followed by the other four legions; so that *Brutus*'s army was soon reduced to a few squadrons of *Gaulish* horse; and to such of these also, as betrayed any unwillingness to follow him, *Brutus* not only gave leave to return home, but generously supplied them with money to defray the charges of their journey. Thus guarded only by three hundred horse, he marched as far as the *Rhine*, the sight of which rapid river so frightened the few *Gauls* he had with him, that they stole away one after another, except

Invites Antony and Lepidus into Italy.

The decree against Antony and Lepidus revoked.

The misfortunes and death of D. Brutus.

¹ LIV. l. cxx. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 69. SUET. in Nerone, c. 3. DIO, l. xlv. p. 322. PLUT in Bruto.

last with the utmost fidelity. We shall have occasion to make frequent mention of him in the sequel of this history. *Velleius Paterculus*, a scandalous flatterer of the *Cæsars*, tells us, that his uncle *Capito* joined *Agrippa* in accusing *Brutus* (40).

(40) *Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 69*

except ten, who seemed determined never to forsake him. In this extremity he laid aside all thoughts of entering *Germany*, and dressing himself after the *Gaulish* manner, as he spoke the language like a native, he resolved in that disguise to return through *Gaul* into *Italy*, not without hopes of reaching at length *Macedon* undiscovered. But he had not gone far, before he had the misfortune to be taken by a band of freebooters, who conducted him, at his request, to the lord of that district, by name *Camillus*, or, as others call him, *Camelius*, who had received a thousand favours at his hands in the dictator's life-time. But the ungrateful wretch, after having received him in a friendly manner, dispatched a messenger to *Antony*, acquainting him, that he had *Brutus* in his power, and was ready to dispose of him as he pleased. *Antony* was touched with compassion at the misfortunes of a man so considerable for his birth and the great offices he had borne. But nevertheless, as it was for the interest of his party that he should be cut off, he wrote word to *Camillus* to dispatch him and send him his head; which the treacherous *Gaul* did accordingly, without any regard to the sacred laws of hospitality. *Dion Cassius*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Seneca* tell us, that *Brutus* behaved on this occasion in a manner very unbecoming a man of his rank and station, and that he earnestly begged for his life, even after *Helvius Blasia*, his intimate friend and inseparable companion, had killed himself in his presence, to animate him by his example^k. *Cicero* on the contrary, who was intimately acquainted with him, speaks of him as a man, *who was never afraid, or even disturbed*^l; and the authority of *Cicero* is more to be relied on, than that of all the historians, who wrote long after, put together. However, the learned fathers *Catrou* and *Rouille*, in their *Roman* history, take no notice of this passage; which would have left no room for their long descants on the cowardice of that *perfidious wretch*, that *cruel traitor*, that *inhuman assassin*, as they are pleased to stile *Brutus* for conspiring against so fine a man as *Cæsar*, guilty of no fault but that of tyranny and usurpation. When his head was brought to *Antony*, he looked on it with some concern, and then delivered it to his friends, by whom it was decently buried^m. Thus died *Decimus Junius Brutus*, a year and a half after the death of *Cæsar*. He had been always honoured by the dictator with particular marks of friendship and confidence, as appears both from his will, and from the great employments to which he raised him. For he was appointed one of his second heirs, in case any of his great nephews should renounce the inheritance; and had been general of his horse; governor first of *Transalpine*, and afterwards of *Cisalpine*, *Gaul*, and named consul, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, for the year after the consulate of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*ⁿ. And indeed *Decimus* served him with the utmost fidelity, till he began openly to aspire at the sovereign power; and then, considering him no longer as a friend, but as a tyrant, he preferred the public welfare to his private interest, which the abettors of arbitrary power look upon as an enormous crime. *Antony* immediately acquainted *Octavianus*, that he had sacrificed *Decimus* to the manes of his father, and than advanced with *Lepidus* at the head of his army to meet him. The place they chose for their private conferences was a small island formed by the river *Rhenus*, now the *Reno*, which falls into the *Po*, after having watered the territory of *Bononia* or *Bologna* (Y). Both armies advanced to the opposite banks of this river, from whence by two bridges a communication was opened with the island. *Lepidus* entered the first into the island, to view whether it was safe for the other two to venture into it. Such was the unfortunate condition of those ambitious men, who, even in the midst of a reconciliation, could not help mistrusting each other. *Lepidus* having made the signal that was agreed on, the two generals entered the island from the opposite banks, each of them guarded by three hundred men, who remained at the head of the bridges, while the two chiefs advanced to the place of the interview, which was a rising ground, whence they could be equally seen by their guards and both armies. After they had saluted and embraced each other

Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus meet in a certain island.

^k DIO. l. xlvi p. 325. VAL. MAX. l. ix. SENECA. epist. 82.

^l CIC. l. xii. ad familiar epist. 21.

^m DIO. libid. p. 325.

ⁿ VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 64.

(Y) *Appian* will have the triumvirs to have met in an island formed by the river *Labinius* in the neighbourhood of *Mantua* (41). But, in the first place, the *Labinius*, or, as others call it, the *Lavinus*, is at a great distance from *Mantua*, and rather in the neighbourhood of *Bononia*; and besides is not large enough to form an island, being in reality not a river, but a rivulet, known at present by the name of *Lavina*.

(41) *Appian. de bell. civil. l. iv. sub. init.*

in a polite and friendly manner, they took their seats, the other two yielding to *Octavianus*, as consul, the most honourable place. The conference lasted three days, during which time they had the precaution to speak constantly so low, notwithstanding some warm debates, that not a single word could be heard even by their guards, who stood but at a small distance: At length they agreed on the following articles: *The articles of their agreement.*

1. That *Octavianus* should forthwith resign the consulate, which gave him a kind of pre-eminence over the other two, to *Ventidius* one of *Antony's* lieutenants.
2. That the supreme authority should be divided among them three, and kept by them for the space of five years, under the name of triumvirs, and in quality of reformers of the commonwealth.
3. That they should cause this authority to be confirmed by the Roman people.
4. That *Antony* should have all *Transalpine* and *Cisalpine* Gaul, except *Narbonne*, which together with both *Spains* should be yielded to *Lepidus*; and that *Octavianus* should have for his share *Africa*, with *Sicily* and *Sardinia*.
5. That *Italy* and the eastern provinces, which were possessed by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, should for a while remain in common.
6. That *Antony* and *Octavianus* should forthwith join their forces and make war upon *Brutus* and *Cassius*, while *Lepidus* with four legions staid at *Rome*, to maintain the authority of the triumvirate there.

Thus was the empire of the world divided, as *Plutarch* observes, among these three chiefs, as if it had been their paternal inheritance. Besides these, several other articles were settled. As it was of the utmost importance, especially for *Octavianus* and *Antony*, who were to march into the east against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, to secure the fidelity of the legions, it was agreed, that each legionary should receive after the war five thousand drachmas, each centurion twenty-five thousand, and each tribune fifty thousand. To these immense and almost incredible sums, were added other rewards, yet more substantial. The triumvirs agreed to promise their soldiers settlements, on their return from the east, in eighteen of the best cities of *Italy*, which should be chosen out by the three chiefs, and abandoned in property with their houses and lands to the soldiers. As for the antient proprietors, they were by a crying injustice to be driven out of their old habitations, stripped of their lands and effects, and suffered either to perish with famine, or shift for themselves in the best manner they could. Some of these unhappy cities were even then named, viz. *Capua*, *Rhegium*, *Beneventum*, *Luceria*, *Ariminum*, and *Vibo*. As the triumvirs had occasion for immense sums to carry on the war, and besides were well apprised, that there were still in *Rome* great numbers of zealous republicans, who probably would raise disturbances in *Italy*, during their abode in the east, they came to that barbarous and inhuman resolution, which will render their memories execrable and infamous to the latest posterity; a resolution, *The proscription.* which brings disgrace upon tyranny itself. They agreed not only to cut off all their enemies, but those also who were either possessed of great estates, or were thought to retain the least spark of zeal for their antient laws and liberties. This they looked upon as the surest means of maintaining themselves in the peaceable possession of their usurped tyranny, and at the same time of raising the necessary sums for the support of their troops. These regulations were made without the least contest or dispute; but the list of the proscribed, when it came to be settled, occasioned warm debates, each of them intending to destroy his enemies and save his friends. *Antony* would come to no agreement till *Cicero's* name was set down in the fatal list. *Octavianus* endeavoured to save him, and was for having *Antony* to sacrifice *Lucius Cæsar*, his uncle by the mother's side. As for *Lepidus*, some writers tell us, that contrary to the inclination of the other two, he insisted upon the condemnation of his own brother *L. Æmilius Paulus*, who had voted the first in the senate for passing the decree, which declared him a public enemy when he joined *Antony*. Other authors say, that he would fain have saved his brother, but that *Octavianus* and *Antony* demanded his head. However that be, the thirst of being revenged on their enemies at length got the better of the desire of saving their friends and relations. *Octavianus* in the end sacrificed *Cicero* to *Antony*; *Antony* his uncle *Lucius* to *Octavianus*; and *Lepidus* was either allowed to murder his brother *Paulus*, or forced to abandon him to the resentment of the other two. The death of these three being agreed on, the list of the others, whom the triumvirs doomed to die, was soon drawn up, each of the three tyrants setting down the names of his particular enemies, and even of the enemies of his creatures. The first in this list was *Paulus*, the brother of *Lepidus*; *Lucius Cæsar*, *Antony's* uncle, was the second; and *Cicero* the third. After these were named *Plotius*, consul elect, and brother to *Plancus* one of *Antony's* lieutenants; *Quintus*, who was also designed consul for the ensuing year, and whose daughter *Asinius Pollio*, a great stickler for the triumvirate,

The second
triumvirate.

virate, had lately married; *Thoranius*, who had been governor to *Octavianus*, and had taken particular care of his education, and many others, whom we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of the history. And now the articles of this wicked confederacy being agreed on, and sworn to by the contracting parties, the three chiefs separated, after embracing each other, and went to impart the result of their conferences to their respective armies, who, overjoyed at the advantageous promises that were made them, heard the report with the greatest satisfaction. The same day the two armies joined, and mutually feasted and entertained each other (A). Thus was concluded the second triumvirate about a year and a half after *Cæsar's* death, the consequences whereof were most dreadful, and gave the last blow to the liberty of Rome °.

The decree of
the proscrip-
tion.

AND now the triumvirs, seeing their agreement, and each of the articles on which it was concluded, approved by the soldiery of both armies, resolved in the first place to publish the decree of proscription, and hasten the execution of it, before their enemies could have any notice of their wicked designs. Accordingly, the fatal decree was drawn up and made public. It began thus: *M. Lepidus, M. Antonius, and Octavianus Cæsar, chosen for the reformation of the commonwealth. If the generosity of Julius Cæsar had not prompted him to pardon some faithless men, and to grant them besides their lives, of which they were unworthy, honours and offices, which they deserved as little, he had not fallen by their treason, nor should we have been obliged to proceed in a manner disagreeable to us, against those who have declared us enemies to our country. But the wicked designs they formed against us, the horrible treachery they shewed towards Cæsar, and the certain knowledge we have of their execrable practices, force us to prevent the evils with which we are threatened.* Then followed a justification of the proceedings of the triumvirs, founded on the advantages which *Cæsar* had procured for the Roman people by his victories, on the ingratitude of those who had murdered him, and on the necessity of clearing the city of such as might involve it in new troubles. They concluded thus: *No man shall dare to receive, conceal, help to escape, any ways relieve those who are proscribed, or hold any manner of intelligence with them, upon pain of being himself proscribed. Whosoever shall bring to any of the triumvirs the head of a proscribed person shall receive, if a freeman, twenty-five thousand sesterces, and ten thousand, if a slave. The slave who shall kill his master, shall moreover be declared a Roman citizen. The same rewards shall be given to such as shall declare the place, where any proscribed person lies concealed, and the name of the informer shall not be entered into any register, to the end it may never be known who he was.* This decree, together with the first list of the unhappy wretches who were doomed to die, was immediately sent to Rome, and at the same time some companies of soldiers dispatched thither, to put the cruel orders of the triumvirs in execution. The soldiers arrived in the evening before the decree, and meeting four of the proscribed persons in the streets, immediately put them to death: others were inhumanly massacred in their houses; some while they were supping with their friends, and some in the temples, whither, upon the first alarm, they had fled for refuge. The city was in an instant filled with horror and confusion. Nothing was heard but cries and lamentations. As the list of the proscribed persons was not yet made public, every one fancied himself in that number; and hence a general terror and consternation. Some in the height of their despair resolved to involve the whole city in their destruction, and accordingly set fire to it in different quarters. The darkness of the night, the fire which began to flame out in several places, the cries and groans of those who were inhumanly butchered in the streets, the running up and down of the armed soldiers, the flight of the people, the shrieks of the women, &c. filled every breast with dread and horror. *Q. Pædius*, the only consul then in Rome, to remove the fears of the alarmed multitude and prevent disorders, ran from street to street, causing it to be every-where published, that the number of those, who were

Rome in the
utmost conster-
nation.

° APPIAN. l. iv. 589, 590. DIO, l. xlv. p. 325, 326. PLUT. in Cic. & Antonio. FLOR. l. iv. c. 6.

(A) The agreement being made, and the articles signed by the triumvirs, the army desired that the friendship between *Antony* and *Octavianus* might be cemented by some alliance, and forced in a manner the latter to divorce *Servilia*, the daughter of *Servilius Isauricus*, whom he had married when he was very young, and to take in her room *Clodia*, the daughter of the famous *P. Clodius*, who was killed by *Milo*, and of *Fulvia*, whom *Antony* had married after the death of her first husband (42).

(42) Plut. in Antonio.

were doomed to die, was but very small, and that, as soon as it was day, he would cause their names to be fixed up in the forum. Accordingly, early next morning, the list of the proscribed, containing the names only of seventeen persons, was set up in a public place, together with the decree of the triumvirs. This restored tranquillity to the city for a while; but the consul *Pædius*, having over-heated himself with running up and down the city, to calm the minds of the people and prevent disorders, died the night following^p.

DURING these alarms, the triumvirs advanced, at the head of their united forces, towards *Rome*, which they entered on three different days, *Octavianus* on the first, *Antony* on the second, and *Lepidus* on the third, each of them being attended with his prætorian cohort and one legion. The first step they took after their arrival was, to get a law passed, investing them with the authority which they had usurped. It was accordingly proposed by the tribune *P. Titius* to the assembled tribes, who passed it the same day in the following terms: *The Roman people lawfully assembled have thought fit to appoint three persons to govern the commonwealth with consular power. These are M. Antonius, M. Lepidus, and Cæsar Octavianus; whose authority shall be acknowledged and obeyed by all for the space of five years.* The decree was no sooner passed, than *Octavianus*, pursuant to one of the articles of the confederacy, resigned his consulship, some say to *C. Carrinas*, others to *Ventidius* (B). However that be, these two were by the triumvirs appointed consuls for the remaining part of the present year; but they made no figure, the whole power and authority of the republic being lodged in the triumvirs. These three tyrants, looking upon themselves now as lawful magistrates, added the night following the names of a hundred and thirty persons to those they had already proscribed; a few days after they proscribed a hundred and fifty more, and thus they daily increased the number, till it amounted at last to three hundred senators, and above two thousand knights. It is impossible to paint the horrors of this bloody proscription; by it every considerable man in *Rome*, who was disliked, or suspected by the triumvirate to disapprove their tyranny, who was rich and had wherewithal to glut their avarice, was doomed to die. As it was death to conceal or help them, and ample rewards were given too such as discovered and killed them, many were betrayed and butchered by their slaves and freedmen; many by their treacherous hosts and relations. Many fled to the wilderness, where they perished for want with their tender children. Nothing was to be seen but blood and slaughter; the streets were covered with dead bodies; the heads of the most illustrious senators were exposed upon the rostra, and their bodies left unburied in the streets and fields, to be devoured by the dogs and ravenous birds. This looked like dooming *Rome* to perish at once. Many uncondemned persons perished in this confusion, some by malice or mistake, others for concealing or defending their friends. Some of the ancient historians seem to take pleasure in describing the horrors of this bloody and cruel proscription, which reduced the populous capital of the world almost to a wilderness. They produce many remarkable and affecting instances of the affection of wives for their husbands, and of the fidelity of slaves towards their masters; but few, very few, as they own with great concern, of the love of children towards their parents. However, the dutiful behaviour of *Oppius* may stand for many, who, like *Æneas*, carried his old and decrepit father on his shoulders to the sea-side, and escaped with him into *Sicily*. His piety was not long unrewarded; for, on his return to *Rome*, after the triumvirs had put an end to the proscription, he found the people so taken with that generous action, that all the tribes unanimously concurred in raising him to the ædileship; and because he wanted money to exhibit the usual sports, the artificers worked without wages, and the people not only taxed themselves to defray the necessary charges attending such shews, but gave proofs of the esteem they had for so dutiful

The entry of
the triumvirs
into Rome.

The sad condi-
tion which the
city was in.

Some of the
proscribed
saved by their
children.

^p APPIAN, DIO. FLOR. PLUT. *ibid.*

(B) We have given elsewhere a particular account of the rise, exploits, and character of *Ventidius* (43); and therefore shall only add here, that as he had been formerly a muletier, and had got his livelihood by providing mules to carry the baggage of such Roman magistrates as were sent to govern foreign provinces, when he was raised to the consulate, the

following lampoon was fixed up in all the public places of the city:

*Concurrere, omnes augures, aruspices;
Portentum inusitatum conflatum est recens:
Nam mulos qui fricabat, consul factus est* (44).

(43) *Vol. IV. p. 308, 309.* (44) *Val. Max. l. vi. c. 9. A. Gell. l. xv. c. 4. Plin. l. vii. c. 43.*

Others by
their wives.

Lucius Anto-
nius saved by
his sister.

The fidelity of
some slaves.

tiful a son by such contributions, as amounted to twice the value of his paternal estate, which had been confiscated by the triumvirs. *Caius Hosidius Geta* was likewise saved by his son, who spread a report, that his father had laid violent hands on himself, and, to render the fact more credible, spent the poor remains of his fortune in performing his obsequies. By this means *Hosidius*, not being searched after, made his escape, but lost one of his eyes, which he had kept too long covered with a plaister, the better to disguise him. As for the barbarous impiety of those children, who by a strange apostasy from nature betrayed their own parents, it ought to be buried with them in eternal oblivion. Nothing can reflect greater infamy on the memory of the triumvirs, than their countenancing such impious monsters. Several slaves chose rather to die on the rack, amidst the most exquisite torments; than discover the place where their masters lay concealed; others, not caring to outlive them, fell by their own hands upon their dead bodies. Many illustrious matrons gave remarkable proofs of their conjugal love in these times of calamity, which ought not to be passed over in silence. The wife of *Q. Ligarius*, seeing her husband betrayed by one of his slaves, declared to the executioners who cut off his head, that she had concealed him, and consequently ought, in virtue of the decree, to undergo the same fate. But they not hearkening to her, she appeared before the triumvirs themselves, upbraided them with their cruelty, owned she had concealed, in spite of their decree, her husband, and begged death of them as a favour. Being driven away by their officers, she shut herself up in her own house, and there, as she was determined not to outlive her husband, starved herself to death. *Acilius* was betrayed by one of his slaves, and apprehended, but redeemed by his wife, who readily parted with all her jewels to save his life. *Apuleius*, *Antistius*, *Antius*, *Q. Lucretius Vispallio*, *Titus Vinus*, and many others, were saved by the ingenious contrivances of their wives, after they had given themselves up for lost. *Lucius*, the uncle of *Antony*, was saved by his sister *Julia*, in whose house he had taken refuge. The ministers of the triumvirs endeavoured to break into the room, where he lay concealed; but his sister meeting them at the door, cried out several times, *You shall never kill Lucius Cæsar, till you first dispatch me, me, who gave your general his life and being.* The assassins, thunder-struck at these words, retired; but nevertheless *Julia* flew to the forum, where her son was sitting on his tribunal, receiving the heads of the proscribed, and paying the assassins the promised rewards. *I have transgressed your decree*, said she to *Antony*, and am come to inform against myself. I have taken my brother into my house, and am resolved to protect him, till you shall think fit to put us both to death. *You have behaved*, replied *Antony*, *like a good sister, but as a bad mother*, and took no further notice of what *Julia* said; but *Lucius* was no more inquired after. Though the country as well as the city swarmed with informers and assassins, yet many illustrious citizens found means to avoid the fury of the proscription, and to get safe, either to *Brutus* in *Macedon*, or to *Sextus Pompeius* in *Sicily*. The latter kept constantly a great number of small vessels hovering on the coasts of *Italy*, to receive such as made their escape, and treated them with great kindness and civility. The most considerable persons among those who had the good luck to elude the fury of their enemies and persecutors, were, besides those we have already mentioned, *Valerius Messala*, *Bibulus*, *Arianus*, *Metellus*, *Restio*, *Appius*, *Meneius*, *Junius*, *Pomponius*, *Hirtius*, *Apuleius*, *Aruntius*, *Coponius*, and *Ventidius*. *Messala* and *Bibulus* were invited home by the triumvirs, who by a public declaration owned, that they had not been any ways accessory to the death of *Cæsar*; but they chose to continue with *Brutus* in *Macedon*, and signalized themselves in the battle of *Philippi*. *Bibulus* was afterwards raised to the first employments in the state. *Arianus* and *Metellus* were saved by their children, *Restio*, *Appius*, *Meneius*, and *Junius* by their slaves. *Restio* had marked one of his slaves on the forehead with a red-hot iron; the usual punishment inflicted on such slaves as attempted to run away from their masters. This slave, having by chance found out the place where *Restio* lay concealed, appeared unexpectedly before him, asking whether he could do him any service? *Restio* had afterwards treated the slave with great humanity, and done him many favours; but nevertheless, seeing himself now in his power, he looked upon his case as desperate, not doubting, but the slave would seize this opportunity of being revenged on him for the former affront; which the faithful and generous slave observing, addressed him thus: *Can you imagine, that the marks, with which you formerly branded me, have made a deeper impression on my forehead, than the favours, which you have since bestowed upon me, have done in my heart!*

Having

a Having thus spoke, he led him to a cave, and there supported him for some time with what he earned by his daily labour. At length a company of soldiers coming that way, and approaching the cave, the faithful slave, alarmed at the danger his master was in, followed them close, and falling upon a poor peasant, killed him in their presence, and cut off his head, crying out, *I am now revenged on my master for the marks with which he has branded me.* The soldiers, seeing the infamous marks on his forehead, and not doubting but he had killed *Restio*, snatched the head out of his hand and returned with it in all haste to the triumvirs. They were no sooner gone, than the slave conveyed his master to the sea-side, where they had the good luck to find one of *Sextus Pompeius's* vessels, which transported them safe into *Sicily*. The generosity of the slaves of *Appius* and *Meneius*, or *Menenius*, was still more heroic; for they suffered themselves to be slain in their masters habits, while their masters made their escape in the disguise of slaves. *Pomponius*, finding no other means to get safe out of *Rome*, assumed the habit of a prætor, and went early out of the city in that attire, being attended by his slaves in the disguise of lictors: he travelled at the expence of the public, giving out every-where, that he was sent by the triumvirs to negotiate a treaty with young *Pompey*: he was well received in all the cities on the road, and supplied both with horses and provisions: several bands of soldiers and assassins met him on his journey, but none of them offered to stop or examine an ambassador of the triumvirs; so that he reached *Sicily* undiscovered. *Hirtius*, *Apuleius*, and *Aruntius* killed, with the assistance of their friends, clients, and slaves, the soldiers, who were sent to murder them, and made their escape sword in hand. *Ventidius*, not the consul, deceived the murderers, by pretending to be one of them himself, and patrolling about the country with some of his friends, as in search of proscribed persons. The senator *Coponius* was saved by his wife at the expence of her virtue; *Antony* having caused his name to be struck out of the black list in regard of her compliance with his unlawful demands, after she had been proof for several years against the offers, caresses, and menaces of the lewd tyrant. Another senator, being quite tired with concealing himself in caves and dens, and sculking about the country in continual alarms, returned to *Rome* in the disguise of a school-master, opened there a little school, and kept it as long as the proscription lasted without being discovered, no-body imagining, that a poor pedant could have been of such significance, as to be ranked among the proscribed senators and knights.

The bold undertaking of Pomponius.

THOUGH we may perhaps seem to have dwelt already too long on so disagreeable a subject, yet we must, before we dismiss it, acquaint our readers with the fate of *Cicero*. The great reputation of that orator, the obligations which all men of learning owe to his memory, and the inimitable works he has left behind him, require of us a particular account of his death, and the most minute circumstances attending it. He was with his brother *Quintus*, who was likewise proscribed, at his country-house near *Tusculum*, when the first news was brought him of the proscription. He no sooner heard it, than he left *Tusculum* with his brother, taking his rout towards *Astura* (C), or, as some call it, *Stura*, another of his country-houses, on the sea-side between the promontories of *Antium* and *Circæum*. There they both designed to take shipping, and endeavour to join *Brutus* in *Macedon*. They travelled together each in his litter, oppressed with sorrow, and often joining their litters on the road to console each other. As they had, in the first alarm and hurry, forgot to take with them the necessary money to defray the expences of their voyage, it was agreed between them, that *Cicero* should make what haste he could to the sea-side, and *Quintus* return home to provide necessaries. Thus they embraced each other, and parted with reciprocal fears. *Quintus* returned to *Rome*, and got to his house undiscovered, where he thought himself safe at least for a short time, since it had been lately searched by the ministers of the triumvirs. But, as in most houses there were as many informers as domestics, his return was immediately known, and the house of course filled with soldiers.

The fate of Cicero.

^a APPIAN. l. iv. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. DIO, l. xlvii. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 8. & l. ix. c. 11. SUET. in Octavio. MACROB. Saturnal. l. i. c. 11.

(C) *Pliny* speaks of *Astura* as a river and an island. In process of time a village was built in that neighbourhood, and called by the same name of *Astura*, as we learn from *Servius* (47).

(45) *Plin.* l. iii. c. 5. & 6. (46) *Ad Attic.* l. xii. epist. 19. (47) *Servius* in *Æneid.* 7. v. 801.

Affecting circumstances of the death of his brother.

soldiers and assassins, who, not being able to find him out, put his son to the torture, in order to make him declare where his father lay concealed. But filial affection was proof in the young *Roman* against the most exquisite torments. However, the tender youth could not help sighing now and then, and groaning in the height of his pain. *Quintus* was not far off; and the reader may imagine, though we cannot express, how the heart of a tender father must have been affected, in hearing the sighs and groans of a son dying on the rack to save his life. He could not bear it; but quitting the place of his concealment, he presented himself to the assassins, begging them with a flood of tears to put him to death, and dismiss the innocent child, whose generous behaviour the triumvirs themselves, if informed of the fact, would judge worthy of the highest encomiums and rewards. But those inhuman monsters, without being in the least affected, with the tears either of the father or the son, answered, that *they must both die*, the father, because he was proscribed, and the son, because, in defiance of the decree of the triumvirs, he had concealed his father. Then a new contest of tenderness arose between the father and the son, who should die the first: but this the assassins, destitute of all sense of humanity, and no-ways affected with such melting scenes, soon decided by beheading them both at the same time. Tho' *Quintus Cicero's* life was not perhaps without reproach, his death, it must be owned, was truly glorious; as for that of his son, it has been, and ever will be, celebrated by the writers of all nations and ages, as an instance of the most heroic affection and filial duty.

Embarques for Macedon.

BUT to return to the elder brother: *Cicero*, having reached *Astura*, and by good luck found a vessel there ready to weigh anchor, went on board with a design to pass over into *Macedon* and join *Brutus*. But, either dreading the inconveniencies of such a voyage, or still depending on the friendship of *Octavianus*, whom he had all along supported with his credit and eloquence, he soon changed his mind, and ordered the master of the ship to set him ashore at *Circæum*, whence he took his rout towards

Changes his mind.

Rome by land. But after he had gone about two hundred furlongs, he altered his resolution anew, and returned to sea, where he spent the night in a thousand melancholly and perplexing thoughts. One while he resolved to go privately into *Octavianus's* house, and there kill himself upon the altar of his domestic gods, in order to bring upon him the wrath of those furies, which were deemed the avengers of violated friendship. But the fear of being taken on the road, and the apprehension of the cruel treatment he expected, if taken, soon made him drop that resolution. Then falling into other thoughts equally perplexing, and wavering between the hopes he had in *Octavianus's* friendship, and the fear of death, he at last suffered his domestics

Goes by sea to his country-house near Gaïeta.

to convey him by sea to a country-house, which he had in the neighbourhood of *Gaïeta*. Near the place, where he was to land, stood a little temple dedicated to *Apollo*, from which, it is said, a flight of crows, coming with great noise, made towards *Cicero's* small vessel, as it was putting into port, and perching on the sails and rigging, pecked them with a hideous noise; which was looked upon by all as a bad omen. However, *Cicero* went ashore, and entering his house, lay down upon his bed to take some rest. The crows followed him, and, fluttering about the windows of the room where he lay, made a dreadful noise. One of them was so bold as to fly into the chamber, and making to the bed where *Cicero* was reposing with the cloaths cast over his head, pecked them off by degrees and uncovered his face. The example of this creature roused his indolent domestics, who began to reproach each other for neglecting to save the life of a man, for whose preservation the very birds of the air seemed concerned: wherefore, partly by force partly by intreaty, they put him again into his litter, and carried him towards the sea-side. They were scarce gone,

A band of soldiers in search of him.

when a band of soldiers under the command of *Herennius*, a centurion, and *Popilius Lænas*, a military tribune, came to the house. *Cicero* had formerly undertaken the defence of *Popilius*, when he was under a prosecution for the murder of his own father, and by his triumphing eloquence had got him absolved by those very judges, who a little before were ready to condemn him to a most cruel death. But the ungrateful wretch, unmindful of former obligations, and wholly intent on currying favour with *Antony*, had promised to find out *Cicero*, where-ever he lay concealed, and bring him his head. He found the doors of his house shut, but breaking them open and searching in vain every corner, he threatened to put all the slaves in the house to the torture, if they did not immediately declare where their master lay concealed. But the faithful

slaves,

slaves, without betraying the least fear, answered with great constancy and resolution, that they knew not where he was. At length a young man, by name *Philologus* (D), ^{Is discovered.} who had been slave to *Quintus*, and afterwards enfranchised by him, and instructed by *Cicero* in the liberal arts and sciences with all the tenderness of a father, discovered to the tribune, that *Cicero*'s domestics were then carrying him in a litter through the close and shady walks to the sea-side. Upon this information, *Popilius* with some of his men hastened to the place, where he was to come out; while *Herennius* with the rest followed the litter through the narrow paths. As soon as *Cicero* perceived *Herennius*, he commanded his servants to set down his litter, and stroking, according to his custom, his beard with his left hand, he put out his head, and looked at the assassins with great intrepidity. This constancy, which they did not expect from him, his face disfigured and emaciated with cares and troubles, his hair and beard neglected and in disorder, &c. so affected the soldiers who attended *Herennius*, that they covered their eyes with their hands, while he cut off his head, and, pursuant to *Antony*'s directions, his right hand, with which he had wrote the *Philippics*. With those trophies of their cruelty, *Herennius* and *Popilius* hastened back to *Rome*, and laid them before *Antony* ^{His head and right hand cut off, and carried to Antony.} while he was holding an assembly of the people for the election of new magistrates. The cruel tyrant no sooner beheld them, than he cried out in a transport of joy, *Now let there be an end of all our proscriptions; live Romans, live in safety; you have nothing more to fear.* He took the head in his hand, and looked on it a long time with great satisfaction, smiling at a sight, which drew tears from all who were present. After he had satiated his cruel and revengeful temper with so dismal a spectacle, he sent, as we are told by several writers, the head of the orator to his wife *Fulvia*, who was naturally more cruel than the triumvir himself, and had borne an implacable hatred to *Cicero*, ever since the time of her first husband *P. Clodius*, who was slain by *Milo*. That infernal fury, after having insulted the poor remains of her enemy with the most injurious reproaches, took that venerable head in her lap, and drawing out the tongue of the deceased, which had uttered many bitter invectives against both her husbands, pierced it several times with a golden bodkin, which she wore in her hair. ^{The cruelty of Fulvia} When *Fulvia* had satiated her impotent rage, *Antony* ordered both the head and the hand to be set up on the rostra, where *Rome* could not without horror behold the remains of a man, who had so often triumphed in that very place by the force and charms of his eloquence (E). Thus fell the greatest orator *Italy* or any other country ever bred; *a man who*, as *Cæsar* the dictator used to say, *had obtained a laurel as much above all triumphs, as it was more glorious to extend the bounds of the Roman learning than those of the Roman empire.* In his consulate, which was truly glorious, he discovered with wonderful sagacity the most secret plots of the seditious *Catiline*, defeated his best concerted measures, and saved, we may say, *Rome* from utter destruction; whence he was deservedly honoured with the glorious title of *the father of his country.* The *Roman* people, no doubt, owed him much; and he took care to put them frequently in mind of their obligations; *for he was quoting on all occasions, in and out of season, the nones of December*, as *M. Brutus* observed in one of his letters to *Atticus*. He loved his country; but his zeal did not carry him so far as to make him sacrifice his private interest to the public welfare. This *Brutus*, who sincerely loved him, but knew his foible, insinuates in several letters to their common friend *Pomponius Atticus*. *We are too much afraid*, says he in one of his epistles, *of death, banishment* ^{His character.}

¹ VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 66. SENECA in suaſor, orat. 7. PLUT. in Cic. DIO, l. xlvii. APPIAN. l. iv. TACIT. dialog. de orat.

(D) *Plutarch* seems to question what some authors have wrote of the treachery of *Philologus*; at least he tells us, that this circumstance was unknown to *Tyro*, *Cicero*'s emancipated slave, who published an account of his life, which in *Plutarch*'s time was in great request, but has not reached ours. *Appian* tells us, that *Cicero* was betrayed and discovered by one *Cyrillus*, who had formerly served *Clodius*, his mortal enemy.

(E) We have followed *Plutarch*'s account; but other writers tell us, that *Cicero*'s slaves and domestics, seeing *Popilius* and *Herennius* pursuing their master,

put themselves in a posture of defence, and seemed determined to defend his life at the expence of their own; but that *Cicero* would not allow them to use any violence, saying, *Let us obey the decrees of destiny, and avoid shedding more blood than it has pleased the gods to require.* Having thus spoke to his domestics, he encouraged *Popilius* to advance, and putting his head out of the litter, *Draw near, veteran*, said he, *and shew us what you can do.* At these words the tribune came close to the litter, and with one blow cut off his head (48).

(48) *Appian*, l. iv. & *Val. Max.*

banishment, and poverty. These things appear to Cicero as great evils, who, provided he be allowed what he desires, provided he be respected and praised, reckons an honourable slavery as nothing, if honour is compatible with so great infamy. And elsewhere; I have no great opinion of those fine arts, of which Cicero is so great a master; for what use do we see him make of all he has written concerning the liberty of his country, true honour, death, and banishment? &c. Plutarch tells us, that though Brutus and his followers both loved and trusted Cicero, yet none of them ever thought of imparting their design to him, because they were determined to admit into the conspiracy such only as were bold, brave, and despisers of death; whereas Cicero was by nature a coward, and besides become so wary and over-cautious by old age, that he would not have made one step without the greatest security, which would have blunted the edge of their forwardness and resolution, in an affair that required all the dispatch imaginable^f. But after all, the intrepidity, with which he offered himself to death, ought to make us in a manner overlook the timorousness, pusillanimity, and irresolution, which he betrayed in most occurrences of his life. He died on the seventh of the ides of December, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and was greatly lamented by all ranks of men. Antony himself made some sort of reparation to his memory; for, instead of rewarding the perfidious Philologus, who betrayed his master and benefactor, he delivered him up to Pomponia, the widow of Quintus Cicero and sister of Pomponius Atticus, who, after having glutted her impotent rage and desire of revenge with the most exquisite torments cruelty itself could invent, obliged the miserable wretch to cut off his own flesh by piece-meal, boil it, and eat it in her presence. But Tyro, Cicero's freedman, has not so much as mentioned the treachery of Philologus, as we have observed

The cruelty of Pomponia towards the slaves who betrayed him.

above out of Plutarch. Octavianus, who shamefully sacrificed Cicero to his most cruel and bitter enemy, declared several years after the esteem he had for him: for visiting one day his daughter's son, and finding him with a book of Cicero's in his hand, the boy for fear endeavoured to hide it under his gown; which Octavianus perceiving, took it from him, and turning over a great part of the book standing, gave it him again, saying, *This, my child, was a learned man, and a lover of his country*^g.

Lepidus's triumph.

WHILE the proscription was still raging, and Rome in the utmost consternation in seeing herself daily deprived of some of her best citizens, Lepidus took it in his head to triumph, on account of some inconsiderable advantages he had formerly gained over the revolted Spaniards. The decree, empowering him to enjoy this honour, was issued by himself with the consent and approbation of his two colleagues, and began thus: *To all those who shall honour our triumph with sacrifices, feasting, and other demonstrations of joy, health and good fortune; but to others misery and proscription*. This decree drew greater crowds to his triumph than had ever been seen on the like occasion: he was attended by all the nobility of Rome, who strove to outvie each other in offering sacrifices for the safety of Lepidus and his colleagues, and in feasting their friends and the friends of the triumvirs. L. Munatius Plancus was likewise decreed a triumph for something, we know not what, he had done in Gaul^h. As it was customary for the soldiers to sing, during the triumphal procession, satyrical verses on the victorious generals, the following were often repeated on this occasion; *De Germanis, non de Gallis, duo triumphant consules*. The Latin word *Germani* signifies equally *brothers*, and, *the inhabitants of Germany*, so that the verses might be understood as importing, either that the designed consuls triumphed over the *Germans*, or over their *brothers*; for they had both procured the proscription of their brothers, or at least consented to it^w.

The cruelty and avarice of the triumvirs.

AND now the triumvirs, having glutted their revenge with the blood of so many illustrious citizens, began to think of raising the necessary sums for the carrying on of the war against Brutus and Cassius. In order to this they published daily new lists of proscribed persons, containing the names of the richest citizens in Rome, whom they caused, under several pretences, to be inhumanly murdered, and then seized on their estates, defrauding the poor widows and orphans of their right of inheritance and succession. They burdened the people with most grievous taxes, seized all the gold and silver, whether in plate or specie, they could lay their hands on, and took away by force immense sums, belonging both to strangers and citizens of Rome, which had been deposited in the hands of the vestal virgins. But with all this, not being able to make up the sum of two hundred thousand talents, which they judged necessary

^f PLUT. in Bruto.

^g PLUT. in Cic.

^h Vide CRUTER. inscript. p. 297. & APPIAN. l. iv. p. 607.

^w VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 67.

a to defray the charges of the war, they drew up a list of fourteen hundred of the richest ladies of Rome, mothers, daughters, relations, or any ways allied to such persons as they had proscribed, and taxed them all equally, and at an extravagant rate, though most of the alliances were very far fetched. Hereupon the ladies, after having had recourse in vain to the female relations of the triumvirs, agreed to go all in a body, and plead their cause at the tribunal of those magistrates, while they were administering justice in the forum. Accordingly, having made their way through the croud and the numerous guards attending the tyrants, they demanded to be heard. The triumvirs, alarmed at such an unusual sight, ordered their guards to disperse them; but this occasioning great murmurs among the people, one of them was at length permitted to speak, and the person the suppliants chose for this purpose was *Hortensia*, the daughter of the celebrated orator *Hortensius*, who addressed the triumvirs thus: *The unhappy women you see here imploring your justice and bounty, would never have presumed to appear in this place, had they not first made use of all other means, which their natural modesty could suggest to them. Though our appearing here may seem contrary to the rules of decency prescribed to our sex, which we have hitherto observed with all strictness, yet the loss of our fathers, children, brothers, and husbands, may sufficiently excuse us, especially when their unhappy deaths are made a pretence for our further misfortunes. You pretend, that they had offended and provoked you; but what injury have the women done, that they must be impoverished? If they are as blameable as the men, why do you not proscribe them too? Have we declared you enemies to your country? Have we suborned your soldiers, raised troops against you, or opposed you in the pursuit of those honours and offices which you claim? We pretend not to govern the republic; nor is it our ambition, which has drawn the present misfortune on our heads. Empire, dignities, and honours are not for us. Why should we contribute to a war, wherein we have no manner of interest? 'Tis true indeed, that in the Carthaginian war our mothers assisted the republic, which was at that time reduced to the utmost distress; but neither their houses, their lands, nor their moveables were sold for that service; some rings and a few jewels furnished the supply: it was not constraint and violence that forced it from them: what they contributed was intirely owing to their own good will and generous disposition. What danger at present threatens the city? If the Gauls or Parthians were incamped on the banks of the Tiber or the Anio, you should find us no less zealous in the defence of our common country, than our mothers were before us. But we ought not, and will not be any ways concerned in civil wars. Neither Marius, nor Cæsar, nor Pompey, ever thought of obliging us to take part in the domestic troubles which their ambition raised; nay, not Sylla himself, who first set up tyranny in Rome; and yet you assume the glorious title of reformers of the state, a title, which will turn to your eternal ignominy, if, without the least regard to the laws of equity, you persist in your wicked resolution of plundering those of their estates and fortunes, who have given you no just cause of offence.*

The triumvirs, provoked at the boldness of this speech, and fearing it might occasion some sudden tumult, ordered their lictors to drive away such troublesome suppliants; but the people crying out against such violence, they adjourned the affair to the next day, when, to appease the multitude, who had openly espoused the cause of the women, they reduced their number from one thousand four hundred to four hundred; but at the same time taxed above a hundred thousand men, as well strangers as citizens, without exempting the priests themselves, obliging them to pay immediately the fiftieth part of their estates, and a whole years revenue. In the levying of this tax the soldiers committed such unheard-of cruelties, that the triumvirs were obliged to charge one of the consuls to watch them, and punish the offenders with the utmost severity. But the cowardly magistrate, fearing to disgust the legionaries, winked at the disorders committed by them, and exerted his authority only against a few slaves, whom he caused to be crucified for the enormous cruelties they had exercised, in the disguise of soldiers, on some of the most illustrious citizens *.

AND now the triumvirs, having caused about three hundred senators and two thousand knights to be inhumanly massacred, and raised by a thousand extortions the necessary sums for their eastern expedition, assembled at last the few senators they had left alive, and, entering the senate-house, declared, that the proscription was at an end. *Lepidus* endeavoured to justify their past proceedings, and assured the conscript fathers, that for the future he at least should give them no occasion of complaint. But *Octavianus*, not yet satiated with so many butcheries, openly declared, That he

The Roman ladies taxed.

Hortensia's speech to the triumvirs.

Many of the ladies exempted from paying the tax.

The proscription at an end.

still

* Dio, APPIAN. *ibid.*

The cruelty of
Octavianus.

still reserved to himself the liberty of punishing the guilty. And indeed Suetonius tells us, that though he was at first unwilling to sign the fatal decree, which doomed so many citizens to die, yet he was the most cruel and inexorable of the three in the execution of it¹. Some of the antient and most of the modern writers endeavour to clear him from that reproach, and lay all the blame upon *Antony*; nay, they cry him up for one of the most mild, humane, and moderate princes that ever swayed a sceptre. But we meet with too many instances in history, which evidently shew that cruelty was the natural bent of his temper. We shall give only one here, which we have omitted in our account of his short consulate, and reserve the rest for their proper places. The prætor *Quintus Gellius* had on all occasions assisted him to the utmost of his power, and employed all his interest in his behalf, when he first stood for the consulate. *Octavianus* therefore no sooner obtained that dignity, than he appointed him governor of *Africa* with the title of proconsul: but soon after, taking it into his head that the prætor designed to murder him, he caused him to be seized by a band of soldiers in his seat of justice, and to be hurried away, without further inquiry, to the rack, like the meanest slave. He confessed nothing, nor indeed had any such thing ever entered into his thoughts; for he had been always greatly attached both to *Cæsar* and *Octavianus*. But neither could his great quality and high station, nor his innocence, exempt him from the hands of the executioner. The gentle consul condemned him to die, but first caused the venerable magistrate to be brought before him, that he might have the cruel and brutal pleasure of digging out his eyes with his own hands; which he did accordingly, and then ordered the executioner, less cruel than himself, to dispatch him². Is not this single instance an undeniable proof of the cruelty of his temper?

The trium-
virs appoint
consuls, præ-
tors, &c. for
several years.

AFTER the the triumvirs had declared, to the inexpressible joy both of the senate and people, that the proscription was at an end, they appointed of their own authority, without so much as assembling the people, the consuls for the ensuing year. These were *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, the triumvir, and *Lucius Munatius Plancus*. After this, as *Antony* and *Octavianus* were wholly intent on their grand expedition into the east, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, they named, in concert with *Lepidus*, consuls, prætors, and ædiles for several ensuing years, chusing for these great offices such persons as they all approved of, and could safely rely on. This precaution seemed necessary, to prevent the people from raising to these dignities, during their absence, men of seditious tempers, or ill-affected to the triumvirate. When they had thus settled matters in the city, *Antony* and *Octavianus* first divided both the money and troops, and then set out, the former for *Brundisium*, and the latter for *Rhegium*, where the fleets, appointed to transport them into the *Levant*, were ready to take the forces on board, and put to sea with the first favourable wind. But, before we relate the great events, which determined the fate of the unhappy republic, we must give a succinct account of what passed in the east, from the taking of *Laodicea* by *Cassius*, to the arrival of *Antony* and *Octavianus* in *Macedon*.

Cassius re-
solves to in-
vade Egypt.

Cassius, having, by the reduction of *Laodicea*, made himself master of all *Syria*, resolved in the next place to invade *Egypt*; for *Cleopatra* had not only declared for the triumvirs, but was ready to join them with a powerful fleet; but, as he was on his march, he was recalled by *Brutus*, who, by letters after letters, pressed him to come and join him against the triumvirs, who were making a dreadful havock of their friends in *Italy*, and assembling forces with a design to pass over into *Macedon*. It is not, said he in one of his letters, to gain an empire for ourselves, but to relieve our country, that we have assembled such powerful armies. We ought not so much to think of gaining glory by new conquests, as of destroying those who have enslaved Rome. Let us remember what we have undertaken, and persevere in our first intentions. It is high time for us to turn our thoughts upon *Italy*, which now groans under the oppression of tyrants. Let us make what haste we can thither, and endeavour to relieve our fellow-citizens. As *Cassius* had a great esteem and veneration for *Brutus*, he dropt his enterprize upon *Egypt*; and, committing the government of *Syria* to his brother's son with one legion, he set out with all the rest to meet him. On his march he detached a body of horse into *Cappadocia*, with orders to put king *Ariobarzanes* to death, upon an information that he had conspired against him, and kept up a private correspondence with his enemies. His orders were put in execution, and, after the king's death, great sums raised on his subjects,

But is recalled
by Brutus.

a subjects, who were looked upon by *Cassius* as disaffected to the republican party. As he passed by *Tarsus*, being touched with compassion on the miserable condition of that unhappy city, he remitted the rest of the heavy tax, which he had formerly laid on the inhabitants for siding with *Dolabella*, and refusing to supply with provisions the troops which *Tullius Cimber*, one of the conspirators, was leading into *Syria*. This conduct of the *Tarsenses*, after they had entered into an alliance with *Cassius*, and even presented him with a crown of gold, so provoked the republican general, that he condemned them to pay fifteen hundred talents; for the raising of which sum they first sold the lands belonging to the public, and the ornaments of their temples, afterwards their children of both sexes, and at last their women and old men. As the money accruing from these sales did not amount to the sum of fifteen hundred talents, they were at last forced to sell some of their young men, who were fit to bear arms; but the unhappy wretches, preferring death to slavery, laid violent hands on themselves; which *Cassius* no sooner heard, than he forgave them the rest of the payment, and exempted them from all tributes for the future. From *Tarsus* he pursued his march into *Asia* to join *Brutus*^a. That general, seeing himself master of all *Greece*, *Macedon*, and *Illyricum*, had resolved to pass over into *Asia* with the greater part of his army, and was already on his march, when news was brought him, that *Caius Antonius*, whom he had taken prisoner, as we have related above, and treated with the utmost civility, had raised a sedition among the troops that were left in *Macedon*. Hereupon he turned back, quelled the tumult, and having put *Caius* under close confinement in the city of *Apollonia*, pursued his march, and passed over into *Asia*, where he was joined by all the princes of that country, and among the rest by *Deiotarus*, king or tetrarch of *Galatia*, tho' he had refused to send any succours to *Cassius*. While *Brutus* was in *Asia*, *Caius Antonius*, having found means, even in his confinement, to debauch many of his soldiers, attempted to make his escape; but the plot being discovered, *Antonius* was more closely confined, and the guilty soldiers forced to take refuge on a neighbouring hill, where they seemed determined to stand it out, and rather undergo any hardships, than submit to the will of their officers. Hereupon *Caius Clodius*, to whose custody *Brutus* had committed the seditious prisoner, fearing he might raise new disturbances, and at length make his escape, put him to death; but whether of his own authority, or by *Brutus*'s orders, is uncertain. Thus *Dion Cassius*^b. But *Plutarch* tells us, that *Brutus* no sooner heard the news of *Cicero*'s death, than he sent orders to *Hortensius* to kill *Caius Antonius*; and adds, that, on this account, *Antony* having afterwards taken *Hortensius* in the battle of *Philippi*, slew him on his brother's tomb. However that be, *Brutus*, fearing the death of *Antonius* might occasion disturbances in *Macedon*, left *Asia*, and hastened back thither. On his arrival, he put himself at the head of a legion, and marched against the mutineers, whom he soon forced to sue for mercy. As *Brutus* was a man of an extraordinary mild nature, great magnanimity, and insensible of the passions of anger and revenge, he could not prevail upon himself to put any of the seditious legionaries to death, respecting, as *Appian* observes, the character of a Roman citizen even in an enemy. His officers pressed him to punish at least a small number of the mutineers, in order to deter others from the like practices. The good-natured general seemed to yield to their importunity; and, having ordered a galley to be got ready, caused the ringleaders of the late tumult to be put on board of it, as if he intended to have them thrown into the sea, and drowned; but, in the mean time, he gave private orders to the commander of the galley to convey them to some place of safety, and there leave them^c.

Is touched with compassion on the miserable condition of the Tarsenses.

Brutus passes over into Asia.

Caius Antonius put to death.

The great clemency of Brutus.

Brutus, having thus quieted all disturbances in *Macedon*, hastened back into *Asia*. It was, as is commonly believed, on his march thither, that he coined a new piece of money, which was for some time current in all the eastern countries. On one side was the head of *Brutus*, and on the reverse a *pileus* or cap, the badge of liberty, between two poniards, with this legend, *Eid. Mar.* to revive the remembrance of the *ides of March*, which was the last day of *Cæsar*'s life and usurped empire. *Brutus*, arriving in *Asia*, advanced in all haste to *Smyrna*, where he had appointed to meet *Cassius*, who accordingly came after him. As they had not seen one another since they parted at *Pireæus*, the one for *Syria*, and the other for *Macedon*, we may easily imagine how great their joy was at their first meeting. They had been intimate friends long before

Brutus and Cassius meet at Smyrna.

^a PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 625, & l. v. p. 675. DIO, l. xlvii. ^b Idem ibid. p. 340. 341. & l. xlix. p. 241. ^c DIO, APPIAN. ibid.

before the death of *Cæsar*, were nearly related, *Cassius* having married *Julia* the sister of *Brutus*, and looked upon themselves as the only protectors of their oppressed country. Their joy was doubled, when they compared their present circumstances with the despicable condition they were both in when they left *Italy*. *Cassius* shewed all possible respect for *Brutus*, having a great opinion of his virtue, honesty, and integrity. On the other hand, *Brutus*, considering *Cassius* as the elder man, and of a more weakly constitution than himself, desired that their conferences might be held in his camp; for their two armies incamped separately. When they came to deliberate about the proper measures to be taken with relation to the great war with which they were threatened, *Brutus* was for transporting all their forces over into *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, and there making head against the triumvirs, who, in all likelihood, would land their numberless troops in one of those countries; but *Cassius* was of opinion, that they should first reduce the *Rhodians* and *Lycians*, that they might not leave two such formidable maritime powers unsubdued behind them; for both these nations had refused to pay them any contributions, or to take part in the war, under pretence of maintaining a strict neutrality, though it was well known, that they had sent succours under-hand to the triumvirs. As for the numberless forces of the enemy, *their great number*, said *Cassius*, *renders them less formidable; they will find a powerful enemy to contend with in Greece, Macedon, or Thessaly, famine. Where will they find provisions for so great a multitude? Let us therefore turn our arms against their friends the Lycians and Rhodians, and in the mean time leave them to fight with want and famine*^d. *Brutus* readily came into the opinion of *Cassius*, who was deemed an officer of great experience, and had given extraordinary proofs of his conduct after the unhappy battle of *Carrhae*, as we have related in our history of the *Parthians*^e. It was therefore agreed, that, before they passed farther westward, *Brutus* should march against the *Lycians*, and *Cassius* sail with his fleet against the *Rhodians*; but as *Brutus* had spent great sums in equipping a fleet, he desired *Cassius* to share with him the immense treasure he had amassed in *Asia*. This demand was taken ill by the friends of *Cassius*, who endeavoured to dissuade him from complying with the just request of *Brutus*, saying, That it was not reasonable the money which he had saved with so much parsimony, or got with so much envy, should be disposed of to enrich *Brutus's* soldiers, and to make him popular. But *Cassius*, without hearkening to their remonstrances, generously gave him a third part of the great treasure he had heaped up; after which the two generals parted, *Cassius* marching against the *Rhodians*, and *Brutus* against the *Lycians*^f.

Resolutions
taken at their
interview.

The Rhodians
send an em-
bassy to Cas-
sius.

They refuse to
submit.

As the city of *Rhodes* was at that time in a very flourishing condition, and had a powerful fleet at sea, *Cassius*, before he attempted to make a descent on the island, took care to exercise his mariners at *Mindus*, a maritime city of *Caria*. Thither the *Rhodians* sent ambassadors to him, putting him in mind of the victories they had formerly gained over *Demetrius* king of *Macedon*, over *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*, and many others, and representing, that their nation was not easily to be conquered; that he might, in so dangerous an attempt, lose, as many others had done, all the glory he had hitherto acquired; that they had a numerous fleet at sea; that their naval forces had been always dreaded by all nations, &c. As they were going on, *Cassius* interrupted them: *Since you have so great an opinion of your own valour*, said he, *I will soon give you an opportunity of exerting it. You have sent succours to Dola-bella, and unless you assist me in the like manner, neither the numerous fleet you have at sea, nor the dread of your naval forces, shall deter me from invading your island, and laying siege to your proud capital.* This answer terrified the wiser citizens, who were for complying with *Cassius's* demands; but the populace, conceited of their own valour, opposed all their measures; and two orators, *Alexander* and *Mnaseas*, by magnifying the strength of the nation, the number of their ships, the experience of their mariners, the fortifications of the city and its port, prevailed upon the multitude to reject all proposals of an accommodation; nay, the people, in an assembly which was held at this time for the electing of new magistrates, appointed *Alexander* commander in chief of the land forces, and *Mnaseas* of the fleet, who immediately began to make the necessary preparations for war. However, the nobility, who dreaded the valour of the *Romans*, sent a second embassy to *Cassius*, employing for that purpose *Archelaus*, who had formerly taught him the *Greek* tongue in *Rhodes*, and for whom the *Roman* had

^d APPIAN. *ibid.* p. 626. LIV. l. cxxii
I iv p. 626. DIO, l. xlvii. p. 346.

^e Vide Vol. IV. p. 306.

^f PLUT. in BRUTO. APPIAN.

had on all occasions shewed great respect and veneration. *Archelaus* put him in mind of their ancient friendship, of the alliance that was still subsisting between the republic of *Rhodes* and that of *Rome*, and of the education he had received in that city. *Cassius* answered, That if *Archelaus* had consented to the hostilities of his countrymen Cassius's speech to the Rhodian envoy. against him, he had, by that means, renounced his friendship, and effaced all former obligations; but if he had advised them to embrace his interest, and they had rejected his advice, he was determined to be revenged on them for the contempt they had shewn for him. As to their alliance with *Rome*, he said, that in virtue of that treaty with the republic, they were obliged to assist him against those who were using their utmost efforts to overturn the republican government, and introduce arbitrary power in its room; that he demanded succours of them as prætor and proconsul appointed by the senate and the most honest part of the *Roman* people, and that, if they refused to acknowledge him in that character, or would not send him the succours he demanded in the name of the senate and *Roman* people, he could not look upon them otherwise than as enemies to *Rome*, and would treat them as such. *Archelaus* finding *Cassius* inflexible, and the reasons he alledged for making war upon the *Rhodians* unanswerable; took his leave, and returned to *Rhodes*, where he found *Alexander* and *Mnaseas* ready to put to sea with a fleet of thirty-three ships of war, and a great number of smaller vessels. These two commanders no sooner heard the *Roman* general's final answer, than they weighed anchor, and went in quest of the enemy's fleet, which they met off *Cnidus*, where they had formerly defeated the navy of *Mithridates the Great*. This they looked upon as a good omen, and therefore immediately attacked the *Roman* fleet, which was commanded by *Statius Murcus*, with incredible bravery and resolution. The fight was long and bloody, on account of the great experience of the *Rhodian* mariners, and the nimbleness of their ships; but at length the *Rhodians* The Rhodians overcome in a sea-fight. were put to flight, after having lost a great number of soldiers, as well as mariners, and five of their best ships, three whereof were taken, and two sunk. After this engagement, *Cassius*, who beheld it from a neighbouring mountain, marched his army to *Loryma*, a maritime city of *Caria*, situated over-against the island of *Rhodes*, and there, without loss of time, put his forces on board a great number of transports, which he had assembled before-hand, and ordered them to land in the island, and fortify themselves there, while he, with a fleet of eighty ships of war, invested the city of *Rhodes* by sea, in hopes of striking terror into the inhabitants, and obliging them, without further bloodshed, to submit, and comply with his demands. With this view he continued some days inactive before the place; but was greatly surprised to see the enemy's fleet unexpectedly sail out of the harbour in good order, and offer him battle. In this second engagement the *Rhodians* were defeated anew, with the loss of two galleys, and forced to take shelter under the walls of their city, which was immediately invested both by sea and land, and, after a short but most vigorous resistance, forced to surrender at discretion^s. *Appian* tells, that some of the rich citizens, to save their estates, betrayed the city to *Cassius*; after he had solemnly promised not to destroy it. The inhabitants seeing him master of the place, whether by force or treachery is uncertain, flocked to him from all quarters, calling him their king and master. But *Cassius*, abhorring those titles, *I am neither your king nor master*, said he, *but the destroyer of a tyrant. who would have been your king and master.* He Cassius treats the Rhodians with severity then caused a tribunal to be raised in the market-place, and seating himself on it, with a spear planted before him, as it was customary among the *Roman* generals, when they had taken a city by storm, he first forbade his soldiers, upon pain of death, to plunder the houses, or offer any sort of violence to the inhabitants. He then summoned fifty of the citizens before his tribunal, who had been most sanguine for war, and pronounced sentence of death upon them, which was immediately put in execution. He condemned twenty five more, who had made their escape, to perpetual banishment. Afterwards he commanded all the gold and silver, whether belonging to the temples, to the public, or to private persons, to be brought to him in a limited time, threatening those with death who should conceal any part of their wealth, and promising rewards to such as should discover it, viz. a tenth to persons of a free condition, and liberty to slaves. At first some concealed their treasures, not thinking he would proceed with so much rigour; but when they saw three or four of the richest citizens die by the hand of the public executioner, for having put out of the way part

Cleopatra's
fleet dispersed
by a storm.

Brutus enters
Lycia, after
having de-
feated the in-
habitants
who opposed
him.

The memora-
ble siege of
Xanthus.

part of their wealth, they desired that the time prefixed might be prolonged; which, being granted, they brought to light what they had hid in tombs, wells, and other places, and laid it before *Cassius*, who by that means raised, at the expence of private persons, the sum of eight thousand talents, as we have related more at length in the history of *Rhodes*^b. *Cassius*, having thus reduced and pillaged the city of *Rhodes*, returned to the continent, leaving *Lucius Varus* with a strong garison on the island, to exact a fine of five hundred talents more, which at his departure he laid on those refractory islanders. On the continent, he was informed, that *Cleopatra* had left *Egypt*, and was sailed with a numerous fleet to join *Antony* and *Octavianus*. Upon this intelligence he sent *Statius Murcus* with sixty ships of war, and a legion on board, to cruize on the coast of *Peloponnesus*, pillage that rich country, and keep near the promontory of *Tenarus*, in hopes of meeting there with *Cleopatra's* fleet; but the queen's navy was dispersed by a violent storm, and most of her ships dashed to pieces on the coast of *Africa*; which misfortune obliged her to return home, and lay aside for the present all thoughts of sending any succours to the triumvirs. *Cassius*, having now no enemies behind him, began his march to rejoin *Brutus*, obliging all the provinces of *Asia*, as he passed through them, to pay, without the least abatement, ten years taxes^c.

WHILE *Cassius* was thus employed against the *Rhodians*, *Brutus* was making war in *Lycia*, agreeable to the scheme concerted between the two republican generals. Before he began hostilities, he sent to the *Lycians* to demand a supply of men and money; but one *Maukrates*, a popular man among them, persuaded them not to comply with *Brutus's* request, and taking upon him the whole management of the war, posted several bodies of troops on the frontiers, to prevent *Brutus* from entering the country. But the *Roman* general detached a party of horse against them; which, coming upon them unexpectedly, killed six hundred of them, drove the rest from their posts, and opened a passage into the country for the whole army^d. *Dion* tells us, that the *Lycians*, who were a brave and warlike people, met *Brutus* on their frontiers, with all the forces of their nation, and gave him battle; but were overcome by the *Romans*, who made themselves masters of the enemy's camp, and all their baggage^e. However that be, *Brutus*, after this first skirmish or battle, entered their country, and finding no enemy in the field to contend with, made himself master of all their cities and villages, except *Xanthus* (F) their capital, whither the flower of the nation retired, with a design to stand a siege. *Brutus*, who was of an extraordinary mild nature, and great magnanimity, being unwilling to shed the blood of those unhappy wretches, set all the prisoners he had taken free without ransom, hoping to win the whole nation by his clemency; but the *Lycians*, despising his humanity and good-nature, would hearken to no terms; so that *Brutus* was forced, to his great grief, to lay siege to the place, which, he foresaw, would bring innumerable evils on a brave and gallant people. *Xanthus* was reckoned one of the strongest cities of *Asia*; its walls were of an extraordinary height and thickness, and surrounded with a ditch fifty foot deep, and broad in proportion. The inhabitants had cut down the woods to a great distance, destroyed all the neighbouring villages, and conveyed away the materials; which obliged *Brutus* to send parties a great way off to fetch the necessary timber for building his machines, and even the earth to fill up the ditch, the country round about being very rocky; but notwithstanding the many difficulties which he had to struggle with, and which he did not himself expect to surmount in many months, as *Appian* tells us, he in a few days built his machines, filled up the ditch, and began to batter the walls with the ram: so great was the eagerness and ardour of the soldiery, animated by the example of their general, who shared with them all the toils and dangers of so difficult an undertaking. The besieged made a most vigorous defence, and behaved in their sallies with unparalleled bravery; but were always beaten with great loss, *Brutus* keeping the half of his army night and day under arms. A breach being at length made in the wall, the *Xanthians* began to think of making

^b Vide Vol. III. p. 342. ^c APPIAN. & DIO, ibid. & VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 70. ^d PLUT. in Bruto. ^e DIO, l. xlvii. p. 347.

(F) *Xanthus* was, according to *Strabo* (49), the metropolis of all *Lycia*. The river, which watered it, is said by *Stephanus* to have borrowed its name from the city, and the city from its founder *Xanthus*, who was, according to some, an *Egyptian*, according to others, a native of *Crete*.

(49) *Strabo*, l. xiv. p. 981.

making their escape; and accordingly some of them threw themselves into the river; which ran through the city, hoping to save themselves by swimming and diving under water; but they were taken in nets let down for that purpose, with little bells fastened to them, to give present notice when any of the unfortunate wretches were intangled in them; but the greater part, despairing to hold out any longer, resolved to make a general sally; and, forcing their way through the enemy's camp, to retire to the neighbouring mountains. *Brutus*, suspecting their design, ordered his men to retire from before the gate; which the *Xanthians* supposing to have happened through the negligence of the guard, sallied out in the dead of the night; but were repulsed with great slaughter by the *Romans*, who lay in wait for them. The next day about noon, they made another sally; set fire to the engines of the aggressors; and retired in great haste within their walls. The *Romans* pursued them close, and entered the city, to the number of two thousand; with the besieged; but the port-cullis falling, either by a stratagem of the enemy; or by the breaking of the ropes from which it hung, many of the *Romans* were crushed to pieces; and others shut in, without any possible means of retiring, or receiving the least assistance from their friends. In this desperate condition they resolved at least to sell their lives dear, and with this view marched in good order through showers of darts, which were discharged upon them from all parts; to a temple dedicated to *Sarpedon* king of *Lycia*, who was supposed to have been killed in the *Trojan* war. There they fortified themselves, and sustained a siege in the very heart of the city. In the mean time, *Brutus* and his men exerted their utmost efforts to relieve their fellow-soldiers; but all their endeavours were to no effect, the *Xanthians* defending it with a bravery and resolution which surprised the *Romans* themselves. As they could neither move nor break down the port-cullis, which was trellised with iron-bars, they endeavoured to scale the walls, using for that purpose not scaling-ladders, (for the besieged had burnt them, together with the wooden towers when they first sallied out) but long ropes, to which they fastened iron hooks. These they threw upon the walls, and by that means attempted to get over them; but the besieged, by pushing the aggressors down with their bucklers, or cutting the ropes with their swords, rendered this attempt likewise unsuccessful. While *Brutus* was under the utmost concern for his men, who were, to the number of two thousand, shut up in the city, a company of *Oenoandes* (G), who served under him and bore an irreconcilable hatred to the *Xanthians*, climbing up a steep rock adjoining to the walls, threw themselves from thence into the city, and opening a postern to some *Romans* who followed them, they went all in a body to one of the chief gates, which they broke down, notwithstanding the opposition they met with, and let in the rest of the *Roman* army. But, in the mean time, some sparks of fire being carried by a violent wind from the machines, which burnt with great fierceness, to the battlements, and from thence to the adjoining houses, the flame was in a trice spread all over the city, and the conflagration became general. *Brutus*, fearing the whole city should be destroyed, ordered his soldiers to lay aside all thoughts of revenge, and assist the inhabitants in quenching the fire; but the *Xanthians*, seized with a kind of frenzy, which *Plutarch* calls a violent desire of dying, strove to drive away the soldiers who came to their assistance; nay, they themselves, gathering together reeds, wood, and other combustible matter, spread the fire over the whole city, feeding it with what fuel they could get. *Brutus*, seeing the flame blaze out in a most frightful manner, and extremely desirous of having an opportunity to shew his clemency to a gallant people, who had fought with such bravery in defence of their liberty, mounted on horseback, and riding round the walls, stretched forth his hand to the inhabitants, begging of them that they would spare their own lives and save their town. But his intreaties were not regarded; the *Xanthians* were immoveably determined not to outlive the loss of their liberty, and therefore repulsed with showers of arrows the *Romans*, whom the good-natured general sent to their assistance. Some of them cut the throats of their wives, their children, and their slaves, before the soldiers faces, and then leaped into the flames. Not only the men, but the women, nay, even the children, ran like wild beasts, on the enemy's swords, or threw themselves head-

The city taken.

The desperate resolution of the Xanthians.

Instances of the fury and despair of the long Xanthians.

(G) *Oenoanda*, or, as others write it, *Oeneanda*, was, according to *Pliny* and *Stephanus*, situated on the confines of *Cabalia*, a small province of *Lycia*. It was still in being in the sixth century of the christian æra, and is mentioned in the *notitia* of the em-

pire of *Constantinople*, commonly ascribed to the grammarian *Hierocles*. The inhabitants of this city bore an irreconcilable hatred to the *Xanthians* their neighbours, and therefore readily joined *Brutus* against them.

long from the top of the walls. Some children were seen offering their throats, or opening their breasts to their fathers swords, and begging they would take away that life which they had given. How great is the power of education! The *Xanthians* had inspired their children, from their very infancy, with the most heroic sentiments of liberty, and an utter abhorrence to slavery and subjection, often relating to them, how their forefathers had suffered themselves to be buried under the ruins of their country, rather than submit either to *Harpagus*, *Cyrus's* lieutenant, or to *Alexander of Macedon*, the famous conqueror of *Asia*; for they had in the *Persian* and *Macedonian* wars set fire to their city after the same manner, and destroyed themselves. When the city was almost wholly reduced to ashes, a woman was found, who had hanged herself with her young child fastened to her neck, and the torch in her hand, with which she had set fire to her own house. When this was related to *Brutus*, he burst into tears, and, declining to see so tragical an object, he proclaimed a reward to any soldier who should save a *Xanthian*; but with all his care and good-nature he could only preserve one hundred and fifty, and those much against their wills^m. *Appian* tells, that only some slaves were saved, and one hundred and fifty women, who wanted husbands to kill them; and adds, that *Brutus* found means to preserve some of the temples from so general a conflagrationⁿ.

Brutus endeavours to gain the Patarenfes by gentle methods.

FROM *Xanthus* *Brutus* led his army against *Patara* (H), another city of *Lycia*; but, being desirous to save the place and the lives of the inhabitants, before he began hostilities, he sent deputies to them, begging they would not force him to treat them as he had done the *Xanthians*. With the deputies he sent the few prisoners he had taken at *Xanthus*, hoping, that they, by giving the *Patarenfes* an account of their misfortunes, might deter them from following their example. But all was to no purpose; the inhabitants seemed determined to stand a siege, and undergo any miseries, rather than submit. This gave *Brutus* great uneasiness; he studied all means to win them by gentle methods, fearing the same frenzy, which had driven the *Xanthians* to destruction, might seize them. Notwithstanding the answer they sent him, which was, *That they chose rather to die like brave men, than purchase their lives at the expence of their liberty and reputation*, the humane general withdrew his troops, and granted them the rest of that day to reflect more seriously on their present circumstances. In the mean time, to get the better of their obstinacy, he set at liberty such of the *Xanthian* captives as were any ways allied to them, sending them into the city as a present from him to their relations; but the *Patarenfes* still continued inflexible. *Brutus* therefore, finding he could not gain them by gentle methods, had recourse to severity, and causing the *Xanthian* captives to be brought out one by one, he ordered them to be sold to the best bidder under the very walls of *Patara*; but as this was contrary to the bent of his inclination, after a few of those unfortunate wretches had been sold, he set the rest at liberty, declaring, that he could not find in his heart to reduce brave men to slavery, who had fought so valiantly in defence of their liberty. While he was under the greatest concern imaginable for the *Patarenfes*, whose obstinacy rendered all the measures abortive, which his good-nature could suggest for their preservation, a lucky accident put him at length in the way of triumphing over their stubborn and inflexible temper. One of his parties, in scouring the country, happened to meet some of the chief women of *Patara*, whom they took prisoners, and carried to *Brutus*, who immediately dismissed them all without ransom. These returning into the city, and there crying up the politeness, justice, and temperance of *Brutus*, prevailed upon their husbands and relations, who were all leading men, to submit to so good-natured a general, and put the city into his hands. *Brutus* treated them with great humanity, pardoning even those who had been to the very last for standing a siege. *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Roman* general exacted only an hundred and fifty talents of the whole nation, a very inconsiderable sum, if compared with that of eight thousand talents, which *Cassius* extorted from the *Rhodi-ans*.

And at length succeeds.

^m PLUT. in BRUTO. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 633---635.

ⁿ APPIAN, ibid.

(H) *Patara* stood on the peninsula, which *Stephanus* calls the *Lycian Chersonesus*. *Livy* (50) honours this city with the title of *caput gentis, the metropolis of the nation*. In our history of *Lycia* we have

given an account of this city, and of the famous oracle of *Apollo*, who was supposed to reside six months at *Patara*, and as many at *Delos* (51).

(50) *Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 15.*

(51) *Vide Servium in Aeneid. 4. ver. 143.*

a *dians*. Appian writes, that *Brutus*, after the example of *Cassius*, ordered the *Patarenses*, on pain of death, to bring to him all their gold and silver, promising rewards to such as should discover any hidden treasures. Upon this, a slave, belonging to a rich citizen, informed against his master, and discovered to a centurion, who was sent for that purpose, the place where he had buried the greatest part of his wealth. The citizen was immediately seized, and brought, together with the treacherous informer, before *Brutus*. The mother of the accused followed them, declaring with many tears, that she had hid the treasure without her son's knowledge, and consequently ought to be punished. On the other hand, the slave stood to his first information, maintaining, that his master, and not his mother, had transgressed the edict. *Brutus* heard both parties with great patience, and being in the end convinced, that the accusation of the slave was chiefly founded on the hatred he bore to his master, he commended the tenderness and generosity of the mother, restored the whole sum to the son, and condemned the slave to be crucified. This judgment, which was immediately published all over *Lycia*, gained him the hearts of the inhabitants, who came in flocks to him from all quarters, offering him, of their own accord, what ready money they had by them.ⁿ

*Instances of
Brutus's good
nature, jus-
tice, &c.*

AND now *Brutus*, having reduced, more by the fame of his clemency than by force of arms, all *Lycia*, left that country, and entered *Ionian*, where he found the famous rhetorician *Theodotus*, who had the most contributed to the death of *Pompey the Great*, as we have related in the history of *Egypt*. The unhappy wretch had fled out of *Egypt* on the arrival of *Cæsar* at *Alexandria*, and ever since that time sculked about in *Asia*, wandering from town to town, hated and abhorred by all men. *Brutus* no sooner heard he was in *Ionian*, than he caused him to be seized, and sacrificed to the manes of the illustrious *Roman*, who, by his advice, had been inhumanly murdered, as he himself had the impudence to boast^o. This memorable act of justice was greatly applauded by every honest *Roman*, and all the princes of *Asia*, who had a great veneration for the memory of *Pompey*. From *Ionian* *Brutus* marched into *Lydia*, and stopping at *Sardis*, the metropolis of that country, waited there for *Cassius*, who, after the reduction of *Rhodes*, was, by agreement, to rejoin him in the neighbourhood of that city.

*Theodotus
put to death
by Brutus's
order.*

d As *Cassius* drew near, *Brutus* went out to meet him; and the joy, both of the generals and armies, was exceeding great on this occasion. The soldiery expressed their satisfaction in seeing each other again with joyful acclamations, and saluted both generals with the title of *imperator*. As several jealousies of each other and complaints had passed between the two generals, as soon as the usual compliments and civilities were over, they withdrew into a private apartment, with a design to settle all differences between them, before they entered upon any other business. What was the subject of their debate, we know not; but they disputed with great warmth, reproaching and accusing each other with hard words, and at last bursting out into tears. Their friends, who stood without, hearing them so loud and angry, began

*Brutus and
Cassius meet
at Sardis.*

e to be afraid, lest their quarrel should be attended with dangerous consequences; but yet they durst not interrupt them, having been commanded not to enter the room. But, notwithstanding this prohibition, *M. Favonius*, a wild and frantic pretender to virtue, and one who valued himself more upon a sort of *Cynical* liberty of speaking what he pleased, than upon the dignity of a senator, breaking through the attendants who kept the door, entered the room, and, without knowing the subject of the dispute, pronounced with a mimical voice this verse, which *Homer* puts in the mouth of *Nestor*; *Be ruled, for I am elder than you both*. This made *Cassius* laugh; but *Brutus*, offended at the impertinent behaviour of the pretended *Cynic*, thrust him out, calling him *a dog*, in allusion to his sect, and *a counterfeit philosopher*. This, however, put an end to the dispute; *Cassius* provided a supper that night, and *Brutus* invited his friends to it. As they were sitting down, *Favonius* came in, and took the most honourable place, tho' *Brutus*, calling out aloud, told him, That he was not invited; but, after all, he diverted the company, and the entertainment was seasoned both with mirth and learned discourses^p.

*A private dis-
pute between
the two ge-
nerals.*

f THE next day, *Brutus*, upon the accusation of the inhabitants of *Sardis*, publicly condemned and branded with infamy *Lucius Pella*, who had been formerly censor, and often employed by *Brutus* himself in offices of trust, for having embezzled the public money. This sentence offended *Cassius*, who but a few days before had ab-

*Brutus's
equity.*

solved

ⁿ Dio, l. xlvii. p. 347. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 635, 636. ^o PLUT. in Pomp. & Bruto. ^p PLUT. in Brut.

solved in public two of his own friends; and continued them in their offices, tho' accused of the same crime, contenting himself only with reprimanding them in private. He did not conceal his sentiments on this head from *Brutus*, whom he accused in a friendly manner of too much rigor and severity; when gentleness and favour were more necessary, and would prove of greater service to their cause. In answer to this, *Brutus* put him in mind of the ides of *March*, the day on which they had killed *Cæsar*, who himself neither vexed nor oppressed mankind, but was the support of those who did. He desired him to consider, that if justice could be neglected under any colour or pretence, it had been better to have suffered the injustice of *Cæsar's* friends, than to give impunity to their own; *for then*, said he, *we could have been accused of cowardice only; whereas now, if we connive at the injustice of others, we make ourselves liable to the same accusation, and share with them in the guilt.* From this we may perceive, as *Plutarch* observes, what was the rule of all *Brutus's* actions^a.

Antony and
Octavianus
pass over into
Macedon.

Brutus sees a
ghost.

Cassius satis-
fies him with
reasons from
the Epicurean
philosophy.

AND now the two republican generals, being masters of all the eastern provinces from *Macedon* to the *Euphrates*, after several consultations, resolved to march from *Sardis* to *Abydus*, and, crossing the *Hellepont*, advance into *Macedon* against *Antony* and *Octavianus*, who, notwithstanding the opposition they had met with from *Statius Murcus*, *Cassius's* admiral, had transported their troops, without the loss of one single ship or man, to *Dyrrachium*. From thence they detached *Decidius Saxa* and *Caius Norbanus*, with eight legions, to seize on the straits leading from *Thrace* into *Macedon*, in order to prevent *Brutus* and *Cassius* from coming upon them, and ravaging the country, before they had filled their magazines, and got together the necessary provisions for the support of their two armies. *Brutus* and *Cassius*, upon the first intelligence of these motions, left *Sardis*, and marched in all haste to *Abydus*, where they had appointed the *Lycian* fleet to meet them, and transport their forces out of *Asia* into *Europe*. It was on this march that *Brutus* is reported to have seen a ghost or spectre in his tent. This memorable story is thus related by *Plutarch*^c, *Florus*^d, and *Appian*^e: *Brutus*, being used to great moderation in his diet, was much given to watching, and allowed but a very small portion of time for sleep. *Plutarch* tells us, that he never slept in the day-time, as was customary among the *Romans*, and in the night then only when he had dispatched his affairs; and when, every one else being gone to rest, he had no body left to keep him company. At this time the war being begun, and he very careful and solicitous about the event of it, used to lie down for a short while just after supper, and spend the rest of the night either in dispatching his affairs, or reading till the third watch, when the centurions and tribunes used to wait on him for their orders. According to this custom, he was one night, before he passed out of *Asia*, very late alone in his tent, with a dim light burning by him, there being a general silence all over the camp, especially about his tent. As he was musing with himself and very thoughtful, he heard on a sudden an unusual noise at the door of his tent, which at the same time flew open. *Brutus*, casting his eye towards the place whence the noise came, saw a terrible and strange figure of a huge and frightful body coming towards him without speaking; but he undauntedly addressed the spectre, asking it, *What art thou? a god, or a man? or upon what business dost thou come to us? I am*, said the ghost, *thy evil genius, Brutus; thou shalt see me again near Philippi.* *Brutus*, without betraying the least fear, answered boldly, *Well, I will see thee there*: upon which the apparition vanished. *Brutus* immediately called his servants, who all told him, that they had neither seen nor heard any thing. He continued watching the rest of the night, and, as soon as it was day, went to give an account of what had happened to *Cassius*, who, as he had been bred up in the principles of the *Epicurean* philosophy, ascribed the vision wholly to the weakness of his senses and the force of imagination, which easily moves and varies them into all manner of ideas. This he maintained by the example of dreams, where the fancy, forming different images, affects the organs of the body after the same manner, as they would be moved by outward objects. *But that there is any such thing as spirits or demons*, said he, *let us never believe it, much less that spirits can have human shape or voice, or any power over us; tho' I could earnestly wish it were so, that we might not only rely on the powerful armies and fleets that attend us, but likewise on the assistance of those immortal beings, who could not but be favourable to a cause so just and sacred*

^a *Plur* in *Brute*. ^c *Idem. ibid.* ^d *FLOR.* l. iv. c. 7. ^e *APPIAN.* l. iv. p. 665.

a *sacred as ours is* (I). This discourse satisfied *Brutus*, who was not under the least apprehension for himself, but very solicitous about the fate of his friends and country. Both generals pursued their march to *Abydus*, and, crossing the *Hellepont*, took their rout through *Thrace*, with a design to dislodge *Saxa* and *Norbanus*, who had seized the passes between that country and *Macedon*. *Plutarch* tells us, that on their march two eagles flew to them; and, lighting upon the two foremost ensigns, continually attended the army, and were fed by the soldiers, till they came to *Philippi*, where the day before the battle they disappeared. Upon their arrival in *Thrace*, they were joined by *Rhaseupolis*, a petty king of that country, at the head of three thousand horse, and conducted by him, as he was well acquainted with the country, through by-roads to the place where the two generals of the triumvirs were encamped with their eight legions. There *Brutus* and *Cassius* thought it adviseable, before they attempted to force the passes which were guarded by so numerous a body of the enemy, to review their forces, offer a solemn sacrifice for the success of their arms, and put their soldiers in mind of the justice of the cause in which they were engaged. Accordingly both armies passed in review before the two generals, and were found to consist of eighty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, counting *Romans* and auxiliaries. In the next place, a sacrifice was offered with the utmost solemnity, and innumerable victims killed. When this ceremony was over, the two generals appeared on a tribunal erected for that purpose, having on their right hand the *Roman* senators, and magistrates of their party, and on the left the foreign kings and princes who had joined them. *Cassius*, who was the elder man, took upon him to speak, and, after having enlarged on the justice of their cause, on the unheard of cruelties committed by the triumvirs in *Italy*, on the miserable condition to which *Rome* was reduced, &c. he concluded with acquainting them, that *Brutus* and he had agreed to give immediately two thousand five hundred drachmas to each soldier, five thousand to each centurion, and double that sum to each tribune. This caused an universal joy in the army; nothing was heard but shouts of joy and loud acclamations, the soldiers and officers striving to outdo each other in protestations of fidelity, and an inviolable attachment to the interest of their leaders, which, they said, was the same with that of their country. The money was immediately distributed, and, besides, considerable presents made to the officers and commanders of the foreign troops; so that the whole army marched with great alacrity towards the plain of *Oricum*, which was bounded towards *Macedon* by the straits we have mentioned above. *Norbanus*, who was encamped there, upon the first notice of the enemy's march, dispatched an express to *Decidius*, who guarded the coast of the *Meliac* gulf, entreating him to make what haste he could to join him. The two bodies thus united, posted themselves so advantageously in the narrow passes, that it seemed impossible to dislodge them. Hereupon *Brutus*, being greatly at a loss what to do, advised with *Rhaseupolis*, who, as he was by birth a *Thracian* and well acquainted with that country,

Brutus and Cassius pass over into Europe.

They review their forces.

And distribute large sums among the soldiers.

(I) As *Cassius* had been bred up in the principles of the *Epicurean* philosophy, and had often disputed with *Brutus*, concerning matters of this nature, he spoke to him thus, as *Plutarch* informs us: "It is the opinion of our sect, O *Brutus*, that all we feel or see is not real and true; but that our senses, being apt to receive all sorts of impressions, are very treacherous; and the imagination, which is more quick and subtle, moves and varies them into all manner of ideas which have no real existence in nature, as readily as we imprint any form upon wax; so that it is easy for the soul of man, which has in itself both that which forms, and that which is formed, to vary it into what shapes it pleases. This is evident from the sudden changes of our dreams, in which the imagination, upon very slight principles, represents to us all sorts of passions of the soul, and appearances of things; for it is the nature of the mind to be in perpetual motion, and that motion is our imagination and thought. But besides all this, in our case, the body, being tired and worn out with continual labours and cares, naturally works upon the mind, and keeps it in suspense and trouble;

but that there should be any such thing as demons or spirits, or, if there were, that they should have human shape or voice, or power that can reach us, is altogether improbable, though, I confess, I could wish there were such beings, that we might not rely upon our arms only, and our horses, and our navy, but might be likewise confident of the assistance of the gods in this our most sacred and honourable attempt (52)." 'Tis true, as *Cassius* observes, that our imagination, when heated, may impose upon us false objects, which we see with the same certainty as if they were real; but to say, that there are no such beings as spirits, who can appear to us, speak to us, and foretel future events, is carrying this principle too far. *Cassius*, after insinuating that the notion of spirits is false and groundless, makes it appear, that it were to be wished there were such spirits; for in that case, they would not come to foretel to them unfortunate, but happy, events; an effectual way of removing *Brutus's* apprehensions: for, by this way of reasoning, be there spirits, or be there not, the phantom which *Brutus* imagined to see was false, and a mere illusion of the imaginative faculty of the mind.

(52) *Plut. in Bruto.*

They get beyond the straits of Symbolon possessed by the enemy.

Who abandon that post.

Antony arrives with his troops in the plain of Philippi.

Brutus and Cassius post themselves advantageously in the same plain.

country, told him, that there was another passage over the mountains; but that they could not go that way in less than three days, and besides would meet with no water during their march; but, if they would take water with them, he engaged to conduct them the fourth day to the river *Arpeffus*, which was but one day's march from the city of *Philippi*, by ways unknown even to the wild beasts. The soldiers took courage, provided themselves with water, and, trusting entirely to the conduct of *Rhaseupolis*, set out on their march, *Bibulus*, son-in-law to *Brutus*, marching with the *Thracian* prince in the van, and *Brutus* and *Cassius* bringing up the rear. The hardships they underwent on their rout can hardly be expressed. The fourth day they were ready to fall upon *Rhaseupolis*, suspecting him of treachery, when their scouts, discovering the river, signified their joy to the harassed troops with loud shouts, which were answered by the whole army, and heard even in the camp of *Norbanus* and *Saxa*, who thereupon abandoned their post, and retired in all haste to *Amphipolis*, for fear of being surrounded. At the same time they dispatched an express to *Antony* and *Octavianus*, acquainting them, that the enemy had passed the straits, and were advancing towards the frontiers of *Macedon*. Hereupon *Antony*, to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of *Amphipolis* on the *Strymon*, which the triumvirs designed to make their place of arms, quitted the neighbourhood of *Dyrrachium*, and by long marches reached *Amphipolis*. His arrival was so sudden, and his march so expeditious, that *Brutus* and *Cassius* could not believe he was come, till they saw his van-guard advancing into the plains of *Philippi*. This city, famous for the battle which was fought here, and for the epistle which *St. Paul* afterwards wrote to its inhabitants, belonged, properly speaking, to *Thrace*, but is placed by most geographers in *Macedon*, pursuant to the division which obtained ever since the time of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, who, having reduced the country lying between the *Strymon*, the ancient boundary of *Macedon*, and the *Nessus* or *Nestus*, added it to his hereditary kingdom; whence that tract was ever after looked upon as part of *Macedon*, and is called in the *Acts* the first city of part of *Macedon*, that is, of that part beyond the *Strymon*, which was added to ancient *Macedon*. The city of *Philippi*, so called from *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, who fortified it against the incursions of the *Thracians*, was situated on a rising ground, which abounded with springs and had on the north several hills covered with woods, on the south a marsh, which reached to the *Ægean* sea, on the east the straits we have mentioned above, which some writers call the straits of *Topiris*, others the straits of *Symbolon*; and on the west a large plain extending as far as the river *Strymon*. In this plain, at a small distance from the city, was a rising ground, and there *Brutus* intrenched himself, while *Cassius* took possession of a post equally advantageous, about three miles from *Brutus*'s camp, and nearer the sea. They drew lines of communication from one camp to the other, and built a strong wall, which covered the interval between the two intrenchments; so that they could not have wished for a more advantageous situation, having the plains of *Philippi* before them, the *Strymon* and the marsh on their left, the straits of *Topiris* on their right, and behind them the sea, by which means they could be easily supplied with all manner of provisions from *Asia* and *Sicily*, which island was in the hands of young *Pompey*.

Antony was informed at *Amphipolis* of the advantageous situation of the enemy; but nevertheless, having left in that city one legion, under the command of *Pinarius*, he advanced boldly into the plain, and incamped in sight of the republican generals; but did not attempt any thing till the arrival of *Octavianus*, who came up ten days after, having been detained at *Dyrrachium* by a fit of sickness, which seized him the same day he landed there. And now, the two most powerful armies *Rome* had ever raised being in sight of each other, the world stood with dread and terror, expecting the success of a general action, which, they foresaw, would soon ensue and decide the fate of the *Roman* empire. The army of *Brutus* and *Cassius* consisted of nineteen legions and twenty thousand horse, and that of the triumvirs of the same number of legions, but more complete, and thirteen thousand horse; so that the forces of both parties were pretty equal: but the troops of *Brutus* far excelled those of the triumvirs in the richness of their apparel and arms, which were for the most part adorned with gold and silver; for tho' *Brutus* in other things had accustomed his soldiers to use all frugality and moderation, yet he thought, that the riches, which they carried about them in their hands and on their bodies, would inspire them with courage, and make them

* *Acts*, c. xvi. ver. 12.

† *PLUT.* in *Bruto*. *APPIAN.* l. iv. p. 840.

a them more bold in action to preserve their arms, which were in a manner their estates: This was likewise the sentiment of *Cæsar** and *Sertorius*†, though *Mithridates* and other great commanders have been of a different opinion: *Antony* lay incamped opposite to *Cassius*, and *Brutus* to *Octavianus*. The latter did nothing worth relating; but *Antony* was continually harassing the enemy, in order to draw them to a battle; for the triumvirs forces began very soon to be straitened for want of provisions; having only *Macedon* and *Thrace* open to them, since *Pompey*, *Murcus*, and *Abenobarbus* had, with their several navies, cut off all communication with *Africa*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. But, on the other hand, *Brutus* and *Cassius* received daily supplies from *Asia* and *Sicily*, and had amassed great store of necessaries in the neighbouring city of *Neapolis*, and in the island of *Tbasus*, whence they were conveyed without the least danger to their respective camps. *Antony* indeed attempted to cut off their communication with the sea, by opening a passage through the marsh, which lay between them and the shore, and completed this great and bold undertaking before the enemy had notice of his design; but *Cassius* no sooner saw, to his great surprize, castles and turrets appearing among the reeds, than setting all hands to work, he drew a line cross the marsh, from his camp quite to the sea, and, fortifying it with towers and castles at proper distances, maintained, in spite of *Antony*'s utmost efforts, a free and open communication with the sea and the cities on the coast. In the mean time, *Thrace* and *Macedon* being quite exhausted, the numerous troops of the triumvirs were daily more straitened for want of necessaries, with which those countries could no longer supply them. This made *Antony* extremely desirous of coming to a battle; which the enemy, well acquainted with the sad condition his troops were in, and which, they knew, would become every day worse, carefully avoided. Had they continued in this resolution, the triumvirs must either have marched back to *Dyrrachium*, and from thence returned to *Italy*, or attempted to force their strong intrenchments, which, in all probability, would have proved fatal to them; but *Brutus* soon changed his mind, and in a council of war, which consisted of all the chief officers of the army, declared, that he was for putting the whole to the issue of a general engagement, that so he might either restore *Rome* to her former liberty, or else deliver from their misery so many nations, who were harassed with the expences, troubles, and dangers of the war. *Cassius*, on the other hand, very unwilling to put all to the hazard of a battle, enlarged on the bad posture of the enemy's affairs, on their want of provisions, on the extremities to which they must be soon reduced: *Their forces*, said he, *must moulder away of themselves: if we can but restrain for a while that unseasonable ardour which transports us, we shall see the enemy fly before us, and leave us in possession of their camp and baggage, without striking a blow. But whither can they fly? Macedon and Thessaly are drained of provisions; the seas are beset with our fleets; so that a battle is their only resource, which, indeed, as they are somewhat superiour to us in the number of men, may retrieve their affairs, and deliver them from the miseries of their present condition.* *Brutus* yielded to these unanswerable reasons, and both generals kept close in their intrenchments, despising the bravadoes of *Antony*, who advanced every day with his army in battalia to the very gates of their camp; but, in the mean time, the undiscerning soldiery began to complain, and ascribe to cowardice the prudent measures of their generals; nay, they deserted in troops to the enemy, which, together with the advantages the light-horse of the republican generals had gained in several skirmishes, inclined *Brutus* again to venture an engagement. *Cassius* still opposed it, for the reasons we have alledged above (K); but most of the officers, fearing a general desertion, changed their

The triumvirs begin to be straitened for want of provisions.

Brutus inclined to fight, contrary to the opinion of Cassius.

* Suet. in Cæfare, c. 67.

† Plut. in Sertorio.

(K) Some writers say, he was also deterred from fighting by the following omens: at the time of lustration, one of *Cassius*'s officers presenting him with a garland, which he was to wear at the sacrifice, gave it him with the inside outward. Some time before, at a certain solemn procession, the person who carried, according to custom, a golden image of victory before *Cassius*, stumbled, and fell. Many birds of prey appeared daily about the camp, and several swarms of bees, which were looked upon as a bad omen, were seen in a place within the

trenches, which the soothsayers ordered to be shut out from the camp, to remove the superstition which began to prevail among the soldiery (44). These pretended prodigies, which a man of common sense would now despise, are said to have terrified and confounded *Cassius* himself, in spite of his Epicurean philosophy; which is a plain proof both of human frailty, and of the insufficiency of philosophy, as to the strengthening our minds against the least terrors and apprehensions.

(44) Plut. *ibid.*

A general engagement agreed to by most of the officers.

their opinions to that of *Brutus*; so that a general engagement was agreed to by a great majority, to which *Cassius* himself yielded at last, after having solemnly declared, that he was still of a contrary opinion. Besides *Cassius*, one of *Brutus*'s friends, by name *Atellius*, was still for putting off the engagement; and spinning out the war till the next winter. *Brutus* asked him, *What advantage he promised himself from such a delay!* If I gain nothing else, answered *Atellius*, yet I shall live so much the longer. This answer offended *Cassius* and all the officers who were present; but they all agreed, before the council broke up, to give battle the next day. *Brutus* that night invited his friends to an entertainment, at which he appeared very chearful and full of hope, diverting his guests with learned discourses till he went to rest. *Cassius* supped privately with a few of his most intimate friends; and, during the repast, appeared thoughtful and silent, contrary to his temper and custom. *Valerius Messala*, a young nobleman of great wit and learning who supped with him, tells us, that as *Cassius* rose from the table, he took him by the hand, and pressing it close in token of his good-will and affection, *Bear witness for me*, *Messala*, said he to him in Greek, *that I am forced, in the same manner as Pompey the Great was before me, to expose the liberty of the Roman people to the hazard of one battle; yet we ought to take courage, relying on fortune, which it were unjust to mistrust, though we have taken bad measures.* These, *Messala* says, were the last words *Cassius* spoke before he withdrew² (L).

What passed in the interview between Brutus and Cassius before the battle.

THE next morning by break of day, a scarlet coat of armour, among the Romans the signal of battle, was exposed on the tents of the two generals, who, while the troops were putting themselves in a readiness to march out of their intrenchments, met in the middle space between the two camps. *Cassius*, desirous to know what *Brutus* intended to do in case fortune should prove their enemy, addressed him at their first meeting thus: *The gods grant, O Brutus, that we may now overcome our enemies, and pass the rest of our days together in repose and prosperity; but since the greatest of human concerns are the most uncertain, and since it will be very difficult for us to see one another again, if the success of the battle should not answer our expectation, tell me, what are you determined to do, to save yourself by flight, or to die?* *Brutus* answered, *When I was young, Cassius, and unskilful in affairs, I condemned Cato for laying violent hands on himself, thinking it irreligious in itself, and unworthy of a man to quit the post in which providence has placed him, and not to take and bear patiently whatever the gods are pleased to send him. But my present situation has made me alter my opinion; so that if providence shall not dispose what we now undertake according to our wishes, I am resolved to make no further attempts nor preparations for war, but to die contented with my fortune; for I sacrificed my life to the service of my country on the ides of March, in recompense for which I have ever since lived with liberty and honour².* At these words *Cassius* smiled, and tenderly embracing him, *With these noble sentiments*, said he, *let us advance boldly against the enemy; for either we ourselves shall conquer, or have no cause to fear those who do.* After this they consulted with their friends about the order of battle. *Brutus* desired of *Cassius*, that he might command the right wing; which was readily granted him, tho' it was thought a post more fit for *Cassius*, in regard both of his age and experience; nay, *Cassius* placed *Messala* in the same wing, at the head of his best legions, ordering him to assist and support *Brutus*. While the tribunes and centurions were drawing up their men, *Brutus* retired for a few minutes into his tent, and wrote a letter to his friend *Atticus*, telling him, *That his affairs were in the best state he could wish; for that either he should overcome, and restore liberty to the people of Rome,*

Brutus's letter to Atticus before the battle.

² PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 652, 653. ² PLUT. ibid. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 653, 655. DIO, l. xlvii.

(L) Plutarch tells us, *That, in taking his leave, he invited him to sup with him the next night, being his birth-day.* The ambiguous manner in which the Greek writer expresses himself, leaves it a doubt, whether *Cassius* invited *Messala*, or *Messala Cassius*; whether it was the birth-day of *Cassius*, or of *Messala*. Mad. Dacier has made choice of the latter construction; for *Cassius*, says she, pensive and gloomy as he was, must have been but little disposed to make an invitation for the next night. It must therefore have been *Messala* who did it on

account of his birth-day, as the custom was among friends on the like occasion. But this learned lady seems here to have forgot what she must have read in Appian, who tells us in express terms, that *Cassius was killed on the very day he was born* (45); so that it was the birth-day of *Cassius*, and not of *Messala*. Neither was *Cassius* so gloomy and pensive as Mad. Dacier imagines; he was only grieved to see himself obliged to hazard a battle, when he thought himself sure of victory without running any risks.

(45) Appian. l. iv. p. 655.

^a or die, and be himself free from slavery. In the same letter he blamed the conduct of Antony, who, when he might have been ranked among the Bruti, the Cassii, and the Catos, had joined Octavianus; adding, that if they were not both defeated in the ensuing battle, they would soon fall out and quarrel with one another^b; which happened accordingly, as we shall see in the sequel of this history.

THE two republican generals, having drawn up their men in battalia, marched out of their intrenchments, and advanced in good order into the plain, where the army of the triumvirs waited for them in battle-array. Antony commanded the right wing, and Octavianus the left; but the latter withdrew just before the charge was given, upon a dream, which his physician, by name Artorius, had the preceding night. ^{Octavianus retires before the battle.} He dreamt that he saw a vision, which directed Octavianus to be removed out of the camp. The vision was immediately obeyed, and he conveyed away very seasonably.

^b This Octavianus himself tells us in his memoirs quoted by Plutarch, which Dion seems not to have consulted, since he writes, that Octavianus was in the action, but, like a sick person, without his armour, not being yet recovered from his former indisposition. Brutus, before he began the charge, sent to all the commanders tickets with the parole or word of battle, which, according to some, was liberty, according to others, Apollo, and rid through the ranks, exhorting his soldiers to behave with their usual bravery. They were so animated by his speech, that few of them had patience to stay for the word or command to charge; but, before it could be given, rushed

^c with loud shouts upon the enemy. This caused a great confusion in the army, the legions being scattered and separated from one another. Messala, at the head of his legions, instead of attacking the enemy in front, took a compass about, and having put some of the ranks in Octavianus's rear in disorder, and killed a small number of his men, fell upon his camp, and entered it sword in hand, made a dreadful havoc of those he found there, and cut off among the rest two thousand Lacedæmonians, who were newly come to the assistance of Octavianus. He himself had but just before

^d been conveyed away, upon the persuasion of Artorius, as we have related above; but the soldiers pierced the litter, in which he used to be carried on account of his indisposition, in many places with their darts and pikes; whence a report was spread, and for some time believed, that he was slain. In the mean time, Brutus, charging the enemy in front, easily put them to flight, as they were in great consternation for the loss of their camp, cut three whole legions in pieces on the spot, and pursued the fugitives with great slaughter, the plain being, to a great distance, strewn with dead bodies. Thus was the enemy's left wing intirely defeated by the brave Brutus, who, as Octavianus was no-where to be found, began to believe, that the republic was delivered from the worst of her tyrants. He was confirmed in this belief by some of his soldiers, who presenting themselves to him, told him, that they had killed Octavianus, shewed him their swords all bloody, and described his age and person^e. But the coward was safe enough, either in Antony's camp, or lurking in the mire of the neighbouring marsh^d. Brutus took a great many of the enemy's ensigns and three eagles.

Brutus, by engaging too far in the pursuit, left the wing, which Cassius commanded, naked and separated from the rest of the army. Hereupon Antony, who well knew how to take advantage of this oversight, charged the enemy in front, and at the same time detached some legions with orders to cross the marsh, and fall upon their flank which was left open and unguarded. The first shock was terrible; Antony, according to some writers, retired into the marsh to avoid the fury of it, and did not appear again till the enemy began to give ground. Be that as it will, both parties fought with unparalleled bravery and resolution. Antony's men, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, could make no impression upon Cassius's front; but, in the mean time, the detached legions, having opened a passage through the marsh, fell unexpectedly upon the enemy's flank, and, after a long and vigorous resistance, put them to the rout. The run-aways fled to their camp, whither the triumvir's men pursued them, and, finding it ill guarded, made themselves easily masters of it. This occasioned so general a consternation in the rest of the army, who were still maintaining their ground in the plain with great intrepidity, that first the cavalry, and afterwards the foot, began to make their escape, and fly towards the sea. Cassius on this occasion did all that could be expected from a man of courage. He returned several

^b PLUT. *ibid.* ^c Idem *ibid* FLOR. l. iv. c. 7. VEL. PAT. l. ii. c. 70. ^d Suet. in Octav. PLIN l. vii c. 45.

several times to the charge at the head of his guards and the few men he could rally, and snatching an ensign out of the hand of the standard-bearer, who fled, carried it himself; but being no longer able to keep together even his prætorian band or guards, he was forced to retire with a small number of attendants to a rising ground near the city of *Philippi* ^d.

Brutus
marches to
the assistance
of Cassius.

In the mean time, *Brutus*, believing he had gained a complete victory, was leading back his troops, loaded with the plunder of *Octavianus*'s camp, when casting his eyes upon that of *Cassius*, he was surprised that he could not spy any tents standing there, not even the general's, which used to appear at a great distance above the rest. Some who were about him, and had a more quick and discerning sight, acquainted him, that they distinguished a great many arms shining about his tent, and silver targets moving to and fro, which, they thought, could not belong to those who had been left to guard the camp. On the other side, there did not appear so many dead bodies about the place, as would have been after the defeat of so many legions. However, *Brutus*, suspecting *Cassius*'s misfortune, left a sufficient guard in the enemy's camp, called back his troops from the pursuit, and marched with all possible expedition to the relief of his colleague, who, from the top of the hill, whither he had retired, discovered nothing as he was short-sighted, except the destruction of his camp, and even that in a confused manner; but those who were with him, acquainted him, that they saw a great body of horse moving towards him. As *Cassius* knew nothing of the victory and march of *Brutus*, he took them to be a party of the enemy sent in pursuit of him. However, he ordered out *Titinius*, one of his most intimate friends, to get more certain intelligence. As soon as *Brutus*'s horse saw him, those who were his more familiar acquaintance, shouting for joy and alighting from their horses, saluted and embraced him, while the rest who knew him to be one of *Cassius*'s chief favourites, rid round him, as it were in triumph, asked him, *What news of his general?* *Cassius* observing this, and believing the horsemen, who dismounted to embrace *Titinius*, had taken him prisoner, cried out, *Alas! to preserve the remains of a miserable life, I have exposed my best friend to be taken by the enemy before my face.* Having thus spoke, he retired into a tent with *Pindarus*, one of his freed-men, whom he had reserved for such an occasion ever since the unhappy battle of *Carrhæ*. We have

Cassius's
death.

no good account of what passed there; but *Cassius*'s head was found lying severed from his body, and *Pindarus* never appeared afterwards, whence some suspected he had killed his master without his command ^e. *Livy* ^f and *Plutarch* ^g, in the life of *Cæsar*, tell us, that *Cassius* dispatched himself with the same dagger with which he had killed *Cæsar*; but all other historians, nay, *Plutarch* himself in the lives of *Brutus* and *Antony*, agree in the circumstances of his death, which we have related. A few minutes after *Cassius*'s death, his attendants perceived who the horsemen were, and saw *Titinius*, crowned with garlands in token of *Brutus*'s victory, making what haste he could towards them with the cavalry: but their joy was soon turned into the deepest melancholy and affliction. *Titinius* especially was inconsolable, when he was informed of the unfortunate mistake and death of his general. He burst into tears, and crying out, *My long stay has been the occasion of his death*, he drew his sword and killed himself upon the body of his friend. *Brutus*, upon the first

Brutus's con-
cern for, and
elegium upon,
Cassius.

advice of the defeat of *Cassius*, flew to his assistance; but heard nothing of his death till he came near his camp. Then shedding many tears over his body, he called him *the last of the Romans*, meaning thereby, that *Rome* would never produce another man equal to him. He caused his body to be privately conveyed to the island of *Thasus*, lest the celebrating of his funeral within the camp might dishearten the troops, and occasion some disorder. He then assembled the soldiers of the deceased general, comforted them, and, to make them amends for the losses they had sustained, promised to each man two thousand drachmas. *Cassius* was generally esteemed one of the best commanders of his age, and had given signal proofs of an extraordinary courage and consummate knowledge of the military art, in *Cassius*'s unhappy expedition against the *Parthians*. He was to the very last against engaging the triumvirs, and would, in all probability, if he had lived, brought over *Brutus* to his opinion; which could not but prove fatal to the enemy, who were already reduced to great straits for want of provisions, and must in a short time have inevitably perished with famine. The good opinion which *Brutus* entertained of his honesty and virtue, and the

His charac-
ter.

^d PLUT. *ibid.* ^e *Idem ibid.* APPIAN. p. 655. VELL. PATERC. l. vii c. 70. DIO, l. xlvii. p. 354. VAL. MAX. l. vi c. 8. ^f LIV. l. cxxiv. ^g PLUT. in *Cæs.* prope finem.

the elogium, with which he honoured him after his death, are a sufficient confutation of the many ill-natured reflections, with which the mercenary flatterers of the *Cæsars* have endeavoured to blacken his reputation and asperse his memory. It was indeed commonly said, as *Plutarch* informs us, that *Brutus hated the tyrannical power, and Cassius only the tyrant*, on account of some private grudge (M); but that writer, tho' no friend to *Cassius* (N), clears him from this charge, and tells us, that from his infancy he bore an irreconcilable hatred to the whole race of tyrants, whereof he gives us the following instance: when he was but a boy, and went to the same school with *Faustus* the son of *Sylla*, hearing him one day bragging of the unlimited power of his father, he rose up, and gave him two or three boxes on the ear. The relations of *Faustus* complained of this affront to *Pompey*, who thereupon summoned the two boys to appear before him; but young *Cassius* was so far from yielding to the remonstrances of *Pompey*, or giving any satisfaction to *Faustus*, that he threatened to strike him again, even in *Pompey's* presence, if he dared to utter the words which had provoked him. He was somewhat inclined to covetousness, naturally passionate, and commanded rather by fear than love. But who is without faults? *Cassius* in the mean meant well, and would, in all likelihood, if he had lived a little longer, have saved his country from utter ruin.

Brutus, now the sole commander of two numerous armies, thought it advisable to withdraw his troops from the camp of *Octavianus*, which he had taken. *Antony* likewise, when informed of the total overthrow of his colleague, abandoned *Cassius's* camp, which he did not think himself in a condition to defend against the victorious troops of *Brutus*; so that both armies returned to their former posts. *Brutus* was under the utmost concern for the loss of *Cassius*, having no commander of reputation to put in his room. On the other hand, the triumvirs, not yet informed of the death of *Cassius*, were quite out of heart, having lost above sixteen thousand of their best legionaries: whereas on the enemy's side there were not slain eight thousand men, reckoning even the sutlers and servants of the army. Besides, provisions were become very scarce in their camp, without any possible means of receiving new supplies, either by sea or land. These melancholy reflections had almost reduced them to despair, when a servant of *Cassius*, by name *Demetrius*, coming in the evening to *Antony*, gave him an account of the tragical end of *Cassius*, and at the same time delivered to him the garment, which he had taken from his master's dead body, and his sword still bloody. *Antony*, overjoyed at this news, immediately imparted it to his colleague; and they both agreed to draw out their men next morning by day-break, to try whether they could bring *Brutus* to a battle, before his men recovered themselves.

The two armies return to their former posts.

Antony and Octavianus, upon the news of the death of Cassius, endeavour in vain to draw Brutus to a second battle.

(M) *Cassius* pretended to have received many injuries from *Cæsar*. Among the rest he complained of his having taken some lions from him; for when *Cassius* was designed for ædile, he had caused many lions to be taken, and conducted to *Megara*, in order to make use of them in the shews, which, in virtue of his office, he was to exhibit to the people. But *Cæsar* finding them in *Megara*, when that city was taken by *Fufius Calenus*, one of his lieutenants, after the defeat of *Pompey*, seized them for himself. This, some writers say, was what chiefly stirred up *Cassius* against *Cæsar*; but *Plutarch* clears him from this imputation, as we have observed in the text. *Cassius* bore a private grudge to *Cæsar* on another account: he and *Brutus* stood both for the prætura urbana, or the prætorship of the city; and *Cæsar* is said to have given privately each of the competitors hopes of his favouring their pretensions, with a view to foment some small differences that had arisen between them on other accounts. When they came to lay their claims before *Cæsar*, *Brutus* had only the reputation of his honour and virtue to oppose to the many gallant actions, which *Cassius* had performed in his youth against the *Parthians*. However, the dictator, having heard both parties, said, in deliberating about the matter among his friends. *Cassius indeed pleads with most justice; but Brutus must have the first prætorship*. Accordingly the prætorship of the city was given to *Brutus*, and

another to *Cassius*; but the gaining of this did not so much oblige him, as he was incensed for the loss of the other (46). *Cassius*, who was of a harsh and passionate temper, was, no doubt, fired against *Cæsar* on account of these private injuries, which, it is not improbable, contributed in some degree to the resolution he afterwards took; but what chiefly prompted him to it was, as *Plutarch* himself owns, his natural rancour and hatred against the whole race of tyrants (47).

(N) *Plutarch* was highly prejudiced against *Cassius*, as must evidently appear to every impartial reader, who peruses his works. This prejudice was probably owing to the severity with which the republican general used the *Rhodians*, a Greek nation. *Cassius* having taken *Rhodes*, says *Plutarch*, behaved himself there with great cruelty. But, with his leave, we cannot look upon the punishment of fifty mutiniers as an instance of cruelty. As he took the city by storm, he might, after the example of other Roman generals, put all the inhabitants whom he found in arms to the sword, but he contented himself with punishing fifty of the ringleaders. As for the wealth of the inhabitants, it belonged to him by right of war; but, as *Plutarch* was a Greek, the love of his country has, on several occasions, got the better of his philosophy; a proof that no man, however philosophical, can boast an intire exemption from prejudices.

(46) *Plut. ibid.*

(47) *Idem ibid.*

themselves from the terror and consternation, which, they were well apprised, the defeat and death of *Cassius* must have occasioned; but *Brutus*, having his own camp filled with prisoners, who required a numerous guard, and finding that of *Cassius* in great disorder, the soldiers, who had been defeated, burning with a secret envy and indignation against those who had conquered, kept close in his intrenchments, and despised the enemy's bravadoes. As his troops, elated with their late victory, shewed a great eagerness to venture a second engagement, he assembled the soldiers of both armies, and, after having commended their valour, and slightly reproved his own men for falling upon the enemy in disorder, without waiting either for the word, or the command of their general, he enlarged on the deplorable state to which the enemy was reduced, and assured them, that if they could but restrain their ardor for a while, they would have the pleasure of seeing the armies of *Antony* and *Octavianus* either perish with famine, or, by a shameful flight, abandon *Greece* and *Macedon*. But to hazard a second battle, said he, is to put ourselves in the power of fortune, when we are sure of victory by continuing inactive in our camp. After this he caused a thousand drachmas to be given to each soldier of both camps, and dismissed them highly satisfied with the generosity of their leader, to whose orders they promised an intire obedience and submission, whether he thought proper to engage the enemy, or continue in a state of inaction^h.

The triumvirs
fleet destroyed
by Brutus's
admirals.

The bad situa-
tion of the tri-
umvirs af-
fairs.

IN the mean time, provisions growing daily more scarce in the enemy's camp, *Antony* and *Octavianus*, finding they could not bring *Brutus* to a battle, were greatly at a loss what measures to take. All their dependence was on a fleet which they expected hourly from *Italy*, having on board great store of provisions, two legions of veterans, one of which was that of *Mars*, a prætorian cohort, and a considerable body of cavalry; but while they were comforting themselves with the hopes of the speedy arrival of this powerful supply, news was brought them, that their fleet, under the command of *Cneius Domitius Calvinus*, had been intirely defeated, and most of their ships, with the soldiers on board, either sunk or taken by *Cneius Domitius Abenobarbus* and *Lucius Staius Murcus*, the two admirals of the adverse party. Some of their ships indeed found means to save themselves among the rocks of the *Adriatic* sea; but being there blocked up by the enemy, both the soldiers and mariners, after having consumed all their provisions, were forced by famine to feed upon the sails and tackle of their ships, which they boiled with the pitch and grease they had prepared for the careening of their vessels. This victory was gained by the admirals of the republic the same day in which the battle of *Philippi* was fought; and the news of so great an overthrow, which soon reached the triumvirs, so disheartened them, that they now began to look upon their affairs as quite desperate, being not only straitened for want of necessaries, but without any prospect or possible means of procuring new supplies. Besides, as they were incamped in a low ground, surrounded with marshes, and a great quantity of rain, as it usually happens in autumn, had fallen after the battle, which filled their tents with mire and water, distempers began to reign in both armies, and daily carry off great numbers of men. On the other hand, *Brutus* had sufficient provisions to support his army for a long time, was very advantageously posted, his camp being safe from the injuries of the weather, and inaccessible to the enemy; and, as he was absolute master of the sea, he could receive whatever he stood in need of from *Asia*, *Africa*, *Sicily*, and *Spain*. The triumvirs, finding themselves in this desperate condition, left nothing unattempted which could provoke *Brutus's* men, and make them mutiny against their general for declining an engagement. They drew out their troops day after day, and marched in battle array up to the very gates of the enemy's camp; but *Brutus*, who knew that their boldness and courage proceeded from despair, kept within his intrenchments, not doubting, but he should soon see them moulder away, and, by a shameful flight, abandon both *Greece* and *Macedon* to the mercy of his troops. The triumvirs, finding they could by no means bring *Brutus* to a battle, detached two legions to take possession of a rising ground, which, tho' close to *Cassius's* camp, *Brutus* had thought proper to abandon after the late battle. About six hundred paces from thence, towards the sea, they posted ten legions, and two more at a small distance from them, with a design to cut off the communication between the enemy's army and fleets. On the other hand, *Brutus* caused several works to be carried on from his camp quite to the shore, and by that means.

^h PLUT. in BRUTO. APPIAN. p. 656. DIO, p. 355.

means kept, in spite of all the enemy's efforts, a free communication with the sea; but as several skirmishes happened between the soldiers of the opposite parties, who covered their workmen, in which *Brutus's* men had all the advantage, they were so elated with this success, that they began to mutiny, and, assembling in crowds, ask their general, *What cowardice he had lately observed in them, that they must be thus, like prisoners, kept within their intrenchments, and not suffered to make use of their arms, and exert that courage, which had but a few days before proved so fatal to the enemy, who now insulted them?* *Brutus* endeavoured to satisfy them, and restrain their unseasonable ardor, by representing to them the desperate posture of the enemy's affairs, and the happy situation of their own; but all to no purpose, tho' the triumvirs forces were reduced to the utmost extremity, and a considerable body of *German* troops, to avoid starving in their camp, had deserted, and given the mutineers a full account of the miseries, which the want of provisions occasioned in the enemy's army; yet, by an unaccountable obstinacy and perverseness, they still persisted in demanding to be led out against the enemy, whom they desired to conquer not by famine, but valour; nay, because the prudent general refused to comply with their request, several *Romans*, as well as auxiliaries, abandoned him, and went over to the enemy. Among the latter were *Amyntas*, commander in chief of the *Galatians* sent by the old king *Dejotarus*, and *Rhaseupolis*, who had proved so serviceable to *Brutus* and *Cassius* on their march through *Thrace*. Some writers indeed say, that *Rhaseupolis* did not join the enemy, but returned home with the troops he commanded. Be that as it will, this desertion gave *Brutus* great concern, which was increased by the disorders that happened daily in *Cassius's* camp, whose soldiers, become headstrong and intractable since the death of their general, refused to obey the officer whom *Brutus* had put in his room. In these circumstances *Brutus* yielded at last to the importunity of his soldiers, and resolved to put an end to his own cares and those of the *Roman* world, by a general and decisive action; which, all the antients tell us, he would never have done, had he been informed of the late advantage gained by his fleet; but of that important victory he received no intelligence till twenty days after, that is, till the very evening before the fight. This some writers ascribe to the negligence, others to the treachery, of his officers, but *Plutarch* to providence, which, as the state of *Rome*, says he, now necessarily required a monarchy, prevented *Brutus* from receiving notice of his good success, that it might remove the only man who was able to resist the person whom destiny had appointed to be the sole governor of the *Roman* state (O). However that be, the evening before the battle, when it was too late for *Brutus* to alter his measures, one *Caius Clodius*, a deserter from the enemy, came to acquaint the republican general, that the triumvirs had received advice of the loss of their fleet, and for that reason were in such haste to come to a battle. But the intelligence he brought met with no credit; nay, *Brutus* would not so much as admit him to his presence, taking it for granted, that he had invented the news to please him, and bring himself into favour.

Brutus's troops begin to mutiny, and demand to be led out against the enemy.

Brutus yields to the importunity of the soldiery.

AND now *Brutus*, determined to put the whole to the issue of a general action, found himself obliged to use violence to his good-nature, and take a precaution, which, tho' necessary, may seem not altogether free from the reproach of cruelty. He had taken in the late battle a great number of prisoners, partly slaves and partly freemen, who required a numerous guard, which he could not well spare. As *Antony* therefore and *Octavianus* had ordered all their prisoners, without distinction, to be inhumanly massacred, *Brutus*, having reason to suspect that the slaves he had taken were tampering with his soldiers, commanded them all to be slain. Though they deserved to die, and their death was but a kind of retaliation upon the enemy, yet

Brutus puts the captive slaves to death, and sets most of the freed-men at liberty.

¹ PLUT. *ibid.*

(O) For the empire, says *Mad. Dacier*, was no longer able to support itself. It was necessary for it to come under the dominion of a single person. So long as there were so many competitors on foot, so many pretenders either to the empire or the royalty, that competition would have been an inexhaustible source of civil war and dissention; and nothing was more incompatible with monarchy than *Brutus*. *Brutus* therefore was to be removed. All this, adds this learned writer, strongly proves the truth of *Plato's* sentiments, who maintains, that of all go-

vernments monarchy is the most perfect; but then the monarch must govern according to law. So far we agree with *Mad. Dacier*. But is it to be left to the monarch to govern, or not to govern, by law, as he thinks fit? Is he to have nothing but his own will and inclination to restrain him? Is mankind to depend for security and happiness upon uncertain inclinations? This surely is wide of the opinion of so wise a philosopher as *Plato*, who, in preferring monarchy to all other governments, could not mean by monarchy a power without controul.

S f f

Volumnius
and Sacculio,
two mimics,
taken prison-
ers.

And put to
death.

Brutus pro-
mises his sol-
diers the spoil
of two Greek
cities.

The spectre ap-
pears again
to Brutus.

yet the flatterers of the *Cæsars* have, with great partiality and injustice, made long descants on this pretended act of cruelty, without taking notice of his clemency towards the freemen and *Roman* citizens. Of these he openly dismissed great numbers, telling them, *That with the enemy they were captives and slaves; but with him freemen and citizens of Rome.* Others he concealed himself, and helped to escape privately, perceiving that some of his commanders and friends were implacably bent upon their destruction. Among the captives was one *Volumnius* a mimic, and *Sacculio* a buffoon, who, by their unseasonable jests, of which *Brutus* took no manner of notice, provoked some of the chief officers of his army. These brought them before their general, and accused them of not being able, even in their present situation, to refrain from their abusive jests and scurrilous language. *Brutus*, having his mind taken up with other affairs, returned no answer to the accusation; but *Messala Corvinus* was of opinion, that they should be whipt publicly upon a scaffold, and, after that ignominious punishment, be sent back naked to *Antony* and *Octavianus*, which, he thought, would reflect no small dishonour on those two generals, who were not ashamed to chuse such scoundrels for their bottle-companions. At this some who were present laughed; but *Publius Casca*, who gave the first wound to *Cæsar*, *It does not become us*, said he with a serious air, *to be thus merry after the loss of Cassius.* And as for you, O *Brutus*, you will shew what respect you bear to the memory of your fellow commander, by punishing or pardoning those who cannot forbear scoffing and speaking abusively of him. Why then, *Casca*, replied *Brutus*, do you tell me of this, and not do yourself what you think proper? This answer was taken for his consent to the death of those unhappy wretches, who were accordingly carried away and slain^k.

Brutus, having got rid of most of his prisoners, assembled his soldiers the day before the battle, and, in order to rouse their courage, promised them the pillage of *Theffalonica* and *Lacedamon*, two cities which had sided with the triumvirs. This, in the opinion of *Plutarch*, is the only inexcusable fault which *Brutus* was ever guilty of; for, if in the end *Antony* and *Octavianus*, says that writer, were much more cruel in the rewards they gave their soldiers after victory; if they drove out almost all the antient inhabitants of *Italy*, to put their soldiers in possession of their lands and cities; it is well known, that their only design and end in undertaking the war was, to obtain dominion and empire: but the great opinion the world had conceived of *Brutus* on account of his virtue, would not allow him either to conquer the enemy, or save himself, but by means truly just and honourable, especially after the death of *Cassius*, who was generally accused of putting *Brutus* upon several actions, not intirely agreeable to his mild and generous temper. But after all, *Plutarch* entertained so great an opinion of *Brutus's* virtue, good-nature, and integrity, that he could not prevail upon himself to believe, that he made this promise of his own motion; but thinks he was in a manner forced to it by his officers, according to whose advice he both did and said many things, contrary to the bent of his own inclination, especially in whatever he thought might conduce to the bringing of *Cassius's* soldiers into better order, who were become bold and insolent in the camp after the death of their general, but in the field cowardly and fearful, remembering, that they had suffered themselves to be shamefully overcome^l.

Brutus, having encouraged his men with promises of ample rewards after the victory, and made the necessary preparations for the next day's engagement, retired late in the night to his tent, when the spectre, which had promised to meet him at *Philippi*, is said to have appeared to him again, in the same shape as it had done before, but to have vanished in an instant, without one single word being uttered on either side; but *Publius Volumnius*, a man given to the study of philosophy, who was then in *Brutus's* camp, and wrote an account of several other prodigies, which he supposed to have happened before this great battle (P), makes no mention of this appa-

^k PLUT. *ibid.*

^l Idem *ibid.*

(P) The first standard, that is, the standard belonging to the first legion, was covered with a swarm of bees. A kind of sweat in the nature of oil, and having the smell of roses, issued from the arm of a centurion, which, tho' often wiped and dried, yet continued sweating. The first man, whom *Brutus's* troops met at the opening the gate of the camp to march into the plain, was an *Æthio-*

pian, or negro, whom they cut in pieces, interpreting that circumstance as an unlucky omen. When the two armies were advanced within reach of each other, two eagles, appearing in the air, fought in the space between the armies, the soldiers on both sides being silent and intent on the fight, till that, which was on the side of *Brutus*, yielded and fled, &c. (48).

(48) *Plut. ibid.*

apparition^m. Be that as it will, *Brutus*, without taking the least notice of this or any other prodigies, drew out his men the next morning, with a firm resolution of restoring liberty to his country, or dying in the attempt. He chose his ground like an able general, forming his lines at a small distance from his camp, that he might have a safe retreat, in case of any misfortune. Then riding through the ranks, *Fellow-soldiers*, said he, *you have desired to engage the enemy in the open field, when you might have obtained a complete victory, by continuing inactive within your intrenchments; but this kind of victory you despised, as not honourable enough for men of your bravery; you are for purchasing glory at the expence of your blood. It is therefore now incumbent upon you to summon all that boldness, with which you demanded battle, to maintain the honour of your first victory, and to answer the trust which I have reposed in your valour. Whether Rome is to enjoy an uninterrupted happiness and liberty, or be condemned to eternal slavery and endless calamities, this day will decide.* As for *Antony* and *Octavianus*, they could scarce believe their own eyes; when they first observed a coat of arms, the usual signal of battle, exposed on *Brutus's* tent. Overjoyed at this unexpected resolution, they ordered their men to prepare for battle; but did not quit their intrenchments before three in the afternoon, when they marched out like famished lions, as *Appian* expresses it, against their prey. Their generals, the more to encourage them, promised to each soldier five hundred drachmas after the victory, painting to them at the same time in most lively colours the inexpressible miseries and calamities, which they must unavoidably endure, if overcome. *You have but two things to chuse*, said they, *to conquer, or perish by the most miserable of all deaths, famine.* Having thus spoke, they ordered their men to advance with a slow pace against the enemy, who kept their ground ready to receive them. When the two armies were in presence of each other, *Brutus* had the mortification to see a brave knight, by name *Cumulatus*, whom he highly esteemed for his valour, abandon his post, and riding close by him, go over to the enemy. Hereupon *Brutus*, fearing others might follow the example of the treacherous knight, caused the signal of battle to be given immediately, and charged the enemy's left wing, commanded by *Octavianus*, with such intrepidity, vigor, and resolution, that all gave way before him. As *Octavianus's* cavalry was put into the utmost disorder at the very first onset, *Brutus's* horse broke in among the enemy's foot, and made a most dreadful havock of the legionaries. But while the brave *Brutus* was thus signalising himself in the right wing, his left, commanded by the lieutenants of *Cassius*, men no-ways equal to that charge, was hard pressed by *Antony*. *Cassius's* cavalry immediately gave way, leaving the flank of the wing, in which they were posted, naked and unguarded. Hereupon the foot, fearing to be incompassed, widened their ranks to the right and left, that they might make head every way; but as this weakened them, they were at the first onset broken and disordered by the close battalions of *Antony*. The plain was in an instant covered with the runaways scattered up and down, some of them making towards the camp, others flying to the sea-side, but most of them repairing to the right wing to take shelter among the victorious troops of *Brutus*. *Antony* did not pursue the fugitives; but, like an experienced general, marched directly against *Brutus*, and fell upon his rear with incredible fury. That brave commander performed on this occasion all that could be expected from an expert general and valiant soldier, giving proofs in the greatest danger of a courage and conduct, which well deserved to be crowned with victory; but *Cassius's* troops, which were overthrown in the left wing, crouding in among his ranks, and carrying with them, where-ever they came, despair and confusion, turned the scale in favour of the enemy, after *Brutus* had, for a long time, maintained his ground, with unparalleled bravery, against all the forces of their united armies. His lines were at length broke and put into disorder, notwithstanding all he could do to rally them. He attempted several times to bring them back to the charge; but all his endeavours proved unsuccessful, *Cassius's* men, who were terrified with their own defeat, communicating their fear to the rest of the army. *Brutus* stood his ground with the few men he could rally; but, being furrounded on all sides and overpowered by the numerous forces of *Antony* and *Octavianus*, was in imminent danger of being either cut in pieces, or falling alive into the hands of his most inveterate enemies. And on this occasion it was, that most of *Brutus's* best officers were killed in endeavouring to save their general, who, with their assistance, breaking through

Brutus's speech to his soldiers before the battle.

The second battle of Philippi.

Brutus defeats the enemy's left wing.

But his left is defeated by Antony.

Which occasions the defeat of the whole army.

Brutus's gallant behaviour.

The contri-
vance of Lu-
cilius to save
Brutus.

the enemy's battalions, that surrounded them; withdrew, when abandoned by his men, from the field of battle. Among the few who attended him was one *Lucilius Lacinus*, an intimate friend of his, who observing a body of *Thracian* horse, under the command of *Rhaseus*, the brother of *Rhaseupolis*, taking no notice of any other in the pursuit, but making directly towards *Brutus*, resolved to stop them, and save the life of his general, at the hazard of his own. Accordingly, without acquainting *Brutus* with his design, he halted, till the *Thracians* came up and surrounded him. Then he cried out that he was *Brutus*, and, begging quarters, desired they would carry him to *Antony*, pretending that he feared *Octavianus*, but durst trust him. The *Thracians*, overjoyed with their prey, and thinking themselves wonderfully happy, immediately detached some of their own body to acquaint *Antony* with their good fortune; and in the mean time giving over the pursuit, returned to the field of battle with their prisoner. The report being spread in an instant all over the army, that *Brutus* was taken, and that the *Thracians* were bringing him alive to *Antony*, both soldiers and officers flocked together from all parts to see him. Some pitied his misfortune, others accused him of a meanness unbecoming his former glory, for suffering himself, out of too much love of life, to be a prey to barbarians. As for *Antony*, he was not a little concerned at this adventure, being quite at a loss in what manner he should receive, and how he should treat, his illustrious captive: but he was soon delivered from his uneasiness; for as the *Thracians* drew near, he knew the prisoner, who had passed himself upon the *Thracians* for *Brutus*, and now addressing the triumvir with a generous confidence; *Be assured, Antony, said he, that no enemy either has, or ever shall take Marcus Brutus alive. Forbid it ye gods, that fortune should ever prevail so much above virtue! But let him be found dead or alive, he will certainly be found in such a state as is worthy of him. As for me, I have delivered myself up to save him, and am now ready to suffer whatever torments you think proper to inflict upon me, without demanding or expecting any quarter.* *Antony*, wonderfully taken with the fidelity, virtue, and generosity of *Lucilius*, turned to the *Thracians*, now sensible of, and enraged at, their disappointment, and addressed them thus: *I perceive, my fellow-soldiers, that you are concerned, and full of resentment, for having been thus imposed upon by Lucilius; but be assured, that you have met with a booty better than that which you sought for; you were in search of an enemy, and have brought me a friend. I was truly at a loss how I should have used Brutus, if you had brought him to me alive; but of this I am sure, that it is better to have such a man as Lucilius our friend than our enemy.* Having thus spoke, he embraced *Lucilius*, and commended him to the care of one of his friends. Such a generous behaviour won the heart of *Lucilius*, who ever after continued inviolably attached to the interest of his friend and benefactor. After this both *Antony* and *Octavianus* marched with their victorious legions in pursuit of the enemy's broken and dispersed forces, making a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives, and strewing the whole plain with dead bodies. Some of *Brutus's* officers, not caring to outlive the liberty of their country, would neither fly nor give ground; but died sword in hand in the posts assigned them. Among these were *Marcus*, the son of the great *Cato*; *L. Cassius*, nephew to the deceased general; *C. Flavius*, one of *Brutus's* best friends; *Marcus*, the son of *Lucullus* who conquered *Mithridates the Great*; *Demetrius*, *Apollonides*, and several other commanders of great distinction. Young *Cato* distinguished himself on this occasion in a very eminent manner; for after the body he commanded was put to the rout, he returned several times to the charge with the few forces he could rally, overthrew all who opposed him, and declaring who he was, and often repeating his father's name, fell at last upon a heap of dead bodies of the enemy, whom he sacrificed to the manes of his father and the expiring republic. Such a behaviour was very surprising in a man of young *Cato's* character; for, degenerating from the virtue of his father, he had, to that time, led an idle, indolent, and debauched life; but the glory he acquired by his death has recommended him to posterity, as a worthy son of so great a father.

The glorious
death of young
Cato.

What happen-
ed to Brutus
after the loss
of the battle.

As for *Brutus*, the contrivance of *Lucilius* gave him an opportunity of passing a little brook, encompassed with rocks, and shaded with trees. Being there overtaken by the night, he stopped in a hollow place at the foot of a great rock, being attended with a small number of his friends and officers. There lifting up his eyes to heaven, he repeated two Greek verses, one of which *Volumnius*, who attended him, forgot, but remem-

remembered the other, which was the following out of the *Medea* of *Euripides*; *Punish, great Jove, the author of these ills*; by which it was thought he meant *Antony*, who remembered and repeated it, when, after the battle of *Actium*, he was reduced to the necessity of laying violent hands on himself. Afterwards *Brutus* named severally all his friends, who had been slain in the battle before his face, and fetched a deep sigh, especially at the mentioning of *Flavius* and *Labeo*, whereof one was his lieutenant, and the other master of his workmen. In the mean time, one of his followers, who was very thirsty, and saw *Brutus* in the same condition, ran to the brook, and brought him some water in his helmet. While he was drinking, a noise being heard from the other side of the rivulet, *Volumnius*, taking *Dardanus*, *Brutus*'s armour-bearer, with him, went out to discover what had occasioned it. They both returned soon after; but finding no water, asked what was become of it; *It is all drank*, replied *Brutus* smiling; *but you shall have some more fetched immediately*. But he, who had brought the first water, being sent again, narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands, by whom he was dangerously wounded. *Brutus*, understanding by this that he was invested, exhorted those who were with him to make some attempt to get to their camp before day-light; for he conjectured, that he had not lost many of his men, and that those who had escaped had taken refuge there. *Statilius* undertook to pass through the enemy, and go by himself to the camp, promising, if it was not taken, to hold up a lighted torch for a signal, and return immediately. *Statilius* got safe to the camp, and held up the torch, which gave *Brutus* some hopes of retrieving his affairs. He waited a long time for the return of *Statilius*, saying, *If Statilius be alive, he will come back*; but he was slain on his return by the enemy. At length *Brutus*, tired with waiting, and day now beginning to dawn, whispered something in the ear to one of his domestics, by name *Clytus*, who returned him no answer, but burst into tears. Hereupon, *Brutus*, taking aside *Dardanus* his armour-bearer, had some discourse with him in private, and afterwards addressed himself to *Volumnius* in Greek, conjuring him, by their common studies and antient friendship, to draw his sword and put an end to his life. *Volumnius*, and after him several others, answered him only with their tears. One of them, to divert *Brutus* from the thoughts of laying violent hands on himself, starting up, *There is no staying here any longer*, said he; *we must all fly*. Yes, answered *Brutus*, *we must fly indeed, not with our feet, but with our hands*. Then taking each of them by the hand, told them with a cheerful countenance, *That it was an infinite satisfaction to him to find, that none of his friends had proved false to him; that he did not complain of fortune for his own, but for his country's sake; that as for himself, he thought he was much more happy than those who had conquered, not only in regard of what was passed, but even in his present condition, since he should enjoy that reputation, which always follows virtue, and which tyranny and injustice could never deserve* (Q). Having thus spoke, he beseeched his friends to provide for their own safety, telling them, *That he hoped Antony and Octavianus, satisfied with his death, would pursue their revenge no further*. He then withdrew, with two or three only of his peculiar friends. Among these was an *Epirote*, by name *Strato*, with whom he had contracted an acquaintance when they studied rhetoric together. To him *Brutus* had recourse, conjuring him, by their antient friendship, to give him the last proof of his affection, by performing that friendly office which the others had declined. As *Strato* could not by any means be prevailed upon to imbrue his hands in the blood of his friend, *Brutus* called one of his slaves; and then the faithful *Epirote*, crying out, *Forbid, ye gods, it should ever be said, that Brutus died by the hand of a slave for want of a friend*, covered his eyes with his left arm, and presented the point of his sword to *Brutus*, who threw himself upon it with such violence, that it pierced him through, and he expired immediately. Some historians relate the circumstances of his death otherwise, and tell us, that taking his sword by the hilt with both his hands, he fell upon the point of it, and ran himself through,

His last words
to his friends.

The death of
Brutus.
Year of the
flood 2962
Before Christ

37.
Of Rome 711.

° PLUT. *ibid.* LIV. lxxiv. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 74. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 665, 666.

(Q) Some writers tell us, that when *Brutus* in the morning saw no way of escaping, he cried out, *O unhappy virtue! I followed thee as a solid good, but thou art only a mere notion, a vain empty name, or at best a slave of fortune* (49). But *Volumnius*, who was present, and from whose memoirs *Plutarch* copied the particulars of his death which we have related, makes no mention of such a speech, no-ways suitable to the character of *Brutus*.

(49) Flor. l. iv. c. 7. Dio. l. xlvii. *sub finem*. Vide Plut. *de superst. init.*
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without the assistance of his faithful friend *Strato*. But all authors agree in this, that *Messala*, having some time after made his peace with *Cæsar Octavianus*, presented *Strato* to him, saying with tears in his eyes, *This, O Cæsar, is the man who paid the last friendly office to my beloved Brutus*.

Thus fell *Brutus* in the forty-third year of his age (R), and with him fell the liberty of *Rome* and of the *Roman* people. He was a man, in whom the malice of his enemies could discern no fault (S); in whom the virtues of humanity were eminent; in whom the constant, firm, and inviolable attachment to the public good (T) formed the principal and most distinguishable part of his character, and the uninterrupted business of his life, ever in view, ever pursued; but from the inherent equity of his mind, for he was, as his historian well observes, by nature exactly framed for virtue (U), without one breach of that never to be omitted distinction of *fas* and *nefas*, right and wrong. And here it may not be altogether foreign to our purpose

to

(R) *Brutus* died, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, in the thirty-seventh year of his age; but to the authority of *Velleius* we prefer that of *Cicero*, who tells us, that *Brutus* was born ten years after *Hortensius* appeared first at the bar; and that celebrated orator made his first public essay of eloquence in the consulate of *Lucius Crassus* and *Quintus Scævola*, in the year of *Rome* 658; so that *Brutus* was born in the year of the city 668, and consequently was, at the time of his death, which happened in 711, in the forty-third year of his age (49).

(S) Those who were most his enemies, says *Plutarch* (50), on account of his conspiracy against *Cæsar*, if in that whole affair there was any honourable and generous action done, refer it wholly to *Brutus*, and lay whatever was barbarous and cruel to the charge of *Cassius*, *Brutus's* most intimate and familiar friend; but not at all like him in honesty and virtue. Upon which words *Madam Dacier* comments thus: It appears from this passage, that even in the days of *Plutarch*, there were some remaining, who hated the memory of *Brutus*, for the share he had in the murder of *Cæsar*; and I am of opinion, that the same hatred continues, and will do so to the end of the world. Among slaves, she ought to have added, and persons brought up in slavish principles, who are taught to look upon the disarming of a tyrant, and the saving of their country from havock and oppression, as an heinous crime; but the memory of that truly virtuous and generous patriot will be, to the end of the world, revered by all, who have any spark of zeal for the welfare of their country and the good of mankind.

(T) The public good was, as *Plutarch* observes, the only end and standard, which he proposed for his hatred and friendship. This of an enemy made him a friend to *Pompey*, and of a friend made him an enemy to *Cæsar*. When *Cæsar* and *Pompey* took up arms against each other, it was generally believed that he would have taken *Cæsar's* side; for his father not long before had been put to death by *Pompey*: but he, thinking it his duty to prefer the interest of the public to his private resentment, and judging *Pompey's* to be the better cause, took part with him, tho' formerly he used not so much as to salute him, or take any notice of him, deeming it a great crime to have the least conversation with the murderer of his father. But afterwards, looking upon him as the general of his country, he listed himself under his command, and set sail to *Sicily*, in quality of lieutenant to *Sestius*, whom *Pompey* had appointed governor of that island; but finding no opportunity there of exerting his zeal for the good of his country, and hearing that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were incamped near one another and would come to a battle, upon which the whole empire depended, he hastened into *Macedon* to share in the danger. *Pompey* was so surprised at his arrival, and at the

same time so pleased, that rising from his tribunal, in the sight of all his guards, he saluted and embraced him, as one of the chiefest men of his party. Thus *Brutus* embraced the party even of his father's murderer, because he thought it more just than that of *Cæsar*, and considered *Pompey* as the head of the state, of which *Cæsar* was the declared enemy. The same consideration of the public good, which reconciled him to *Pompey*, estranged him from *Cæsar*, notwithstanding the innumerable favours he had received at his hands. And what can be more generous, more heroic, for a man, than to sacrifice his highest obligations, as well as his greatest injuries, to the welfare of his country?

(U) "*Brutus*, says the author of his life, for the sake of his virtue, was esteemed by the people, beloved by his friends, admired by all good men, and hated by none, no, not even by his enemies; for he was of an extraordinary mild nature, great magnanimity, insensible of the passions of anger, pleasure, or covetousness; steady and inflexible in his opinion, and zealous for whatever he thought just and honest. That which gained him the greatest credit and reputation among the people was, their inviolable opinion of his uprightness and integrity in all his undertakings; whereas no man ever imagined, that *Pompey*, even *Pompey the Great* himself, if he had overcome *Cæsar*, would have submitted his power to the laws, but would have retained the sovereign authority in his own hands, under the specious name of consul or dictator, or some other mild and more popular title, with which he would have soothed the people. As for *Cassius*, a man inclined to passion, and carried often by his covetous humour beyond the bounds of justice, they well knew, that he endured all these hardships rather to obtain dominion to himself, than liberty to the people. As to the former disturbers of the peace of *Rome*, whether a *Cinna*, a *Marius*, or a *Garbo*, it is manifest, that they, having set their country as a stake for him who should win, did almost own, in express terms, that they fought for empire. But even the enemies of *Brutus* cannot lay this accusation to his charge; nay, many have heard *Antony* himself say, That *Brutus* was the only man who conspired against *Cæsar* out of a sense of the glory of the action; but that all the rest rose up against the man, and not the tyrant, from their own private malice and envy (51)." In this passage *Plutarch* does justice to *Brutus's* virtue; but at the same time betrays his prejudice against *Cassius*, the motives of which we have assigned elsewhere (52). What a high opinion *Cicero* had of *Brutus's* virtue, the orator sufficiently declares in the following word: *Bruto certe meo nullo loco deero, idque etiam si mihi cum illo nihil fuisset, facerem propter ejus singularem incredibilemque virtutem*.

to illustrate this transcendent rectitude of his mind, by instancing his refusal, contrary to the opinion of *Cicero* and his other friends, to employ the arts of oratory in gilding even the fairest cause, when, after the death of *Cæsar*, he addressed himself to the Roman people. It cannot be supposed, that *Brutus*, who had long been famed for eloquence (W), could be ignorant of speaking to the passions of men, an art too successfully made use of by *Antony* on the same occasion. Such then was the integrity of *Brutus*'s mind, that he could not stoop to employ any indecent means even in the pursuit of virtue. The death of *Cæsar* was undoubtedly justifiable under the government which then prevailed in *Rome* (X), notwithstanding all the dirt that has been thrown

(W) *Plutarch* tells us in his life, that in *Latin* he was a good speaker, and had, by constant exercise, attained a sufficient excellence in making public orations and pleading causes; but in *Greek* he was remarkable for affecting the sentiments and short *Laconic* way of speaking, especially in his epistles, a collection of which has been published by *Aldus* in *Greek*, and by *Ranutius Florentius* in *Latin*. *Plutarch* instances three of them, the first whereof he wrote in the beginning of the war to the *Pergamenses*, or inhabitants of *Pergamus*, thus: *I hear you have given Dolabella money; if you gave it willingly; you must own you have injured me; if unwillingly; shew it by giving willingly to me.* The second inscribed in the *Greek* copy to the *Bithynians*; in the *Latin* to the *Galatians*, and in *Plutarch* to the *Samiens*, is couched in the following terms: *Your deliberations are tedious, your actions slow; what do you think will be the end?* The third was to the *Rhodiens*, thus: *The Xanthians, suspecting my kindness, have made their country their grave of despair. The Patarense, who have submitted to me, have lost nothing of their former liberty. It is in your power to chuse the opinions of the Patarense, or the fortune of the Xanthians* (53). This epistle is likewise exhibited by *Velleius Paterculus*, but in a more diffused style (54). The speech which *Brutus* made before *Cæsar* at *Nice*, the capital of *Bithynia*, in behalf of *Deiotarus* king of *Galatia*, is commended by *Cicero* (55), and the author of the dialogue on the *Latin* orators, which is commonly ascribed to *Tacitus*. Tho' the king was charged with crimes of a high and dangerous nature, yet the eloquence of *Brutus* was so prevalent, that he preserved to him great part of his kingdom. The liberty and vehemence with which he spoke on this occasion, gave rise to that memorable saying of *Cæsar* concerning him, as *Cicero* relates it in the first letter of his fourth book to *Atticus*: *De quo quidem ille ad quem divertit, Cæsarem solitum dicere, Magni refert hic quid velit, sed quidquid volt, valde volt. Idque cum animadvertisse cum pro Deiotaro Niceæ dicere, valde eum vehementer & libere dicere.* And truly the natural firmness of his mind, as his historian observes (56); when once set on foot by the motives of right reason, and the principles of honesty, which way soever it turned itself, moved with great vigor and impetuosity, and generally effected its designs.

Brutus was, as we have observed above, a good orator; but, as he had made choice of the concise and grave style (57), he judged *Cicero*'s eloquence to want strength (58); and *Cicero* on the other hand thought his style negligent and unconnected (59). *Brutus*'s style had another fault; it was often crouded with verses. *Versus hi fere excidunt*, says *Quintilian*, *quos Brutus ipso componendi ductus studio sæpiissime facit* (60). *Cicero* acknowledges, that *Brutus* very freely found fault with his taste in point of style (61); but nevertheless that orator was highly

pleased with the harangue which *Brutus* made on the death of *Cæsar*; *Est autem oratio*, says he, speaking of this piece, after he had perused it with great attention, *scripta elegantissime, sententiis, verbis, ut nihil possit ultra* (62).

Brutus was not only a good orator, but an excellent philosopher. Of all the sects of the *Greek* philosophers, there was not one of which he had not been a hearer; and in which he had not made some proficiency; but he chiefly esteemed the *Platonists*; and applied himself wholly to the study of the ancient academy (63). He was likewise well acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and wrote several books, viz. one *de officiis*, cited by *Charisius* and *Priscian*, without all doubt the same which *Seneca* calls *περί καθήκοντος* (64); another *de virtute*, mentioned by *Cicero* (65) and *Seneca* (66); and a third *de patientia*, quoted by *Dionmedes*. He abridged the *Roman* history of *Fannius* (67), and that of *Antipater* (68); but whether he finished the abridgment of *Polybius*'s history, which he had undertaken, we know not; for *Plutarch* (69) only tells us, that the day before the great battle of *Pharsalia*, while the others were taken up with the thoughts of the next day's action, *Brutus* spent his whole time, till the evening, in writing that epitome. He likewise composed a panegyric on *Cato*, which *Cæsar* did not think extraordinary well penned (70).

(X) By the laws of *Rome*, the dominion of one, and consequently the dominion of *Cæsar*, was tyranny; and any man was warranted to kill the tyrant: *eum jus fasque esset occidi, neve ea cædes capitalis noxa haberetur.* The only reason that can be alledged against killing *Cæsar* is, that the state was irretrievable, and a usurper become a necessary evil. This argument *Seneca* urges against the enterprize of *Brutus* and his followers (71). But *Brutus*, *Cicero*, and the senate, that is, the greatest and wisest men in *Rome*, judged otherwise, and who was better qualified to judge? Nay, liberty was for some time actually restored; why it subsisted no longer, was owing to casualties, and to the treachery of *Octavianus*, who, after he was emperor, thought it possible to resettle the old free state, and proposed once or twice to resign. *Drusus*, his wife's son, was of the same opinion, and declared his resolution to effect it. *Cæsar* himself might, by his dictatorial power, have suppressed the insolence of particulars, revived the force of the laws, and reduced the commonwealth to her first principles. This would have been true glory, the only right use of his absolute power, and the only amends for having assumed it; but, instead of this, he continued more and more to debauch the people, and trample upon the most sacred laws of his country. Liberty and the republic were a jest to him; he treated the very name with contempt; *nihil esse rempublicam; appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie* (72). He ridiculed *Sylla* for resigning his usurped power; he had nothing

(53) *Plut. ibid.* (54) *Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 7b.* (55) *Cic. in oratore.* (56) *Plut. ibid.*
 (57) *Quintil. l. xii. c. 10.* (58) *Vide dialog. de causis corr. eloq.* (59) *Auctor de causis corr. eloq.*
 (60) *Quintil. l. ix. c. 4.* (61) *Cic. ad Attic. l. xiv. epist. 20.* (62) *Idem ibid. l. xv. epist. 1.* (63) *Plut.*
in Bruto. (64) *Seneca epist. 95.* (65) *Cic. Tuscul. 1. 5. de finibus 1.* (66) *Senec. consol. ad*
Helviam, c. 9. (67) *Cic. ad Attic. l. xii. epist. 5.* (68) *Idem ibid. l. xiii. epist. 8.* (69) *Plut. ubi*
supra (70) *Cic. ad Attic.* (71) *Senec. de benefic. l. ii. c. 26.* (72) *Suet. in Cæs.*

thrown at this transaction by the mean and grovelling abettors of arbitrary power. We may see what the Romans, and Tully, the least adventurous of men, thought of this action, by a passage in one of his letters to his friend Atticus, bemoaning the misfortunes of the times; where he says, *But notwithstanding the cloud that hangs over us, I console myself in the ides of March. Our heroes have done every thing within their power, and with a resolution by which they have acquired immortal glory.* Nor was the putting the destroyer of their constitution and liberties to death, by violent hands, without precedent in the Roman history (Y). And as to the method they made choice of, it appears adequate to the dignity of the action; for who more proper to compass such an event, than a number of senators distinguished by their attachment to liberty? or what place could be more justly fixed on for the tyrant of Rome to expire in, than that dictatorial chair, which he possessed in violation of the laws of his country? We often see the love of one's country the bent and inclination of very different men, influenced either by passion, acrimony of temper, vanity, resentment, a lust of power, or any other inducement: nor were all those, who joined in that glorious cause, altogether free from such suspicions; for an uniform, steady, constant attachment to the public good was to be met with in Brutus alone. Men generally differ from themselves as much as from one another; Brutus was always the same. If we have dwelt too long in considering the virtues of this great man, the mighty excellence of his character and his inviolable attachment to the public cause may plead our excuse. We are not only indebted to history for the enlargement of our minds, but likewise for the improvement of our moral virtues; and to an Englishman the foremost of the rank in the pursuit of liberty. Who then more properly can become the object of our contemplation than Brutus, the genius of liberty?

The generosity of Antony, and cowardly spite of Octavianus.

LET us now return to the plains of Philippi. Antony, being informed the next day of the death of Brutus, flew to the place where the body still lay, beheld it with grief and tears, cast his purple mantle of a great value over it, and charged one of his freedmen to take care of the funeral of the illustrious deceased. Some time after, being told that the servant had not burnt the mantle with the corpse, and had detained part of the money which was to be expended in the funeral, he ordered him to be put to death. Octavianus, who had not greatness of soul enough for such generous humanity, could not forbear shewing a cowardly spite to the dead body of Brutus, before whom he had a little before fled for his life. He caused the head of that excellent person

nothing in his head or heart but absolute rule, a diadem, the title of king, and controuling the world according to his lust; *nullos non honores ad libidinem cepit & dedit, spreto patriæ more*; nay, he would have his very words to go for laws, *debere homines pro legibus habere quæ dicat* (73). He was therefore lawfully slain, tho' not by the forms of law, which his usurped power had rendered impossible. *Abusus dominatione & jure cæsus existimaretur*, says Suetonius (74).

(Y) Nor in Brutus's family; for his mother Servilia was of the family of Servilius Ahala, who slew Spurius Manlius, as we have related elsewhere, for stirring the people up to a rebellion, and aspiring at the sovereign power. The famous dictator Quintus Cincinnatus, whose general of the horse he was, commended the zeal of Servilius, and approved of the action (75). Whether Brutus was descended from the celebrated Junius Brutus, who expelled Tarquin the Proud, is uncertain. Dionysius of Halicarnassus maintains, not out of any prejudice to Brutus, that he was not descended from him. This, says he, is the opinion of those historians, who have examined the affairs of the Romans with the greatest exactness (76). Dion positively affirms, that none of the race of Junius Brutus was left after the execution of his two sons (77). On the other hand, Plutarch tells us, that Junius Brutus had a great many children by a sister of the Vitellii (78); and adds, upon the authority of the philosopher Pseudo-manius, that two indeed of Brutus's sons, who had at-

tained to man's estate, were, by their father's order, put to death; but that a third, yet an infant, was left alive, from whom the family was propagated down to Marcus Brutus. The same philosopher writes, that in his time there were several famous persons of the family of M. Brutus, and of his own acquaintance, who very much resembled the statue of Junius Brutus (79). Cicero likewise in his Philippians speaks of our Brutus as descended from L. Brutus; L. Brutus was the man, says he, who both himself freed the commonwealth from the sovereignty of kings, and has now, almost five hundred years after, propagated descendants, famed for the like virtue and the like achievement (80). And elsewhere (81): If leaders were wanting to free our country, I would stir up the Brutuses, who both daily behold the image of L. Brutus, and one of them that of Ahala also. Should these men therefore, descended from such ancestors, ask counsel of strangers, rather than of their own family, abroad rather than at home? But after all, Cicero, who speaks here as an orator, and not as an historian, is not a proper evidence to invalidate the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Dion. An orator little cares whether such facts be certain or not; it is enough for him, if the facts he relates be believed by the greater part of the people. Nothing can be with any certainty determined on this head; but, all things well considered, we are inclined to prefer the authority of Dion, and of Dionysius, a most accurate writer, to that of Cicero and Plutarch.

(73) *Idem ibid.*
(77) *Dio. l. xliv.*
Idem, Philip. 2.

(74) *Idem ibid.*
(78) *Plut. in Valerip.*

(75) *Plut. ibid. & Liv. l. iv.*
(79) *Plut in Bruto.*

(76) *Dio. Hal. l. v.*
(80) *Cic. Philip. 1.* (81)

a person to be cut off, and charged one of his friends to carry it to *Rome*, and there lay it ignominiously at the feet of *Cæsar's* statue^p; but in the passage from *Dyrrachium*, a violent storm arising, it was, probably out of superstition, thrown into the sea^q. The rest of the body was burnt by *Antony's* orders, and the ashes conveyed in an urn to *Servilia*, *Brutus's* mother. As for *Porcia* his wife, *Valerius Maximus* and *Nicolaus*, the *Peripatetic* philosopher, tell us, that being resolved not to outlive her husband, but so narrowly watched by her friends, that she could neither make use of poison or a dagger, she snatched some burning coals out of the fire, and shutting them close in her mouth, stifled herself; and expired in the arms of the women who watched her^r. But we have a great deal of reason to look upon this account as fabulous, since *Plutarch* assures us^t, that, in his time, was still extant a letter of *Brutus* to his friends, wherein he lamented the death of *Porcia*, and complained of them for suffering her to die of melancholy; so that the history of the live-coals, which has been the subject of a fine epigram^u. is no better than a fable.

The death of Porcia.

THE death of *Brutus* was no sooner known in his camp, than those who had retired thither, to the number of fourteen thousand men, submitted upon honourable terms to the two victorious generals. Others fled into the island of *Thasus*, and from thence escaped into *Asia*. *Antony* and *Octavianus* found in *Brutus's* camp great store of arms and provisions, and immense sums of money, which enabled them to satisfy immediately some of their veterans, whom they disbanded soon after the battle, being glad to get rid of men, who, proud of their victory, began to usurp an authority even over their generals. By this famous overthrow the triumvirs established, on the ruins of the republic, the authority they had usurped, and became masters of the whole *Roman* empire, *Sicily* alone excepted, which was still held by *Sextus*, the son of *Pompey the Great*; but the opposition they met with from him was not very considerable, as we shall see in the following chapter.

Many of Brutus's men submit to the conquerors.

^p PLUT. in Anton. & Brut. APPIAN. l. iv. p. 668. Suet. in Octavio, c. 13. ^q Dio, l. xlvii. p. 356
^r PLUT. in Brut. ^t Idem. ibid. ^u Vide MART. l. i. epig. 43.

C H A P. XVI.

The history of Rome, from the death of Brutus and Cassius to the perfect settling of the empire by Octavianus.

d THE first days after the battle were spent by the triumvirs, in punishing such of their enemies, as had the misfortune to fall into their hands. *Antony*, after having reproached *Hortensius* with the death of his brother *Caius*, of whom we have spoken above, caused him to be slain on his tomb. He likewise put *Varro*, an illustrious senator, to death, who had on all occasions betrayed an irreconcilable hatred to him, and could not forbear reproaching the triumvir, even when he was in his power, with his debauched and scandalous life, which, he said, he would one day end with an unhappy and tragical death. *Livius Drusus*, the father of that *Livia* who was afterwards married to *Augustus*, not caring to outlive the liberty of his country, laid violent hands on himself in his tent. *Quintilius Varus*, after having adorned himself with all the ensigns of the honours and dignities he had borne, chose rather to die by the hands of his freedmen, than to be exposed to the insults of a merciless enemy. *Octavianus* on this occasion betrayed a cruelty unworthy of a *Roman*, which some of his flatterers endeavour to excuse, by ascribing it, not to the natural bent of his temper, but

The triumvirs punish their enemies.

The cruelty of
Octavianus.

but to the long and tedious indisposition, which had soured his humour. However that be, it is certain, that he shewed as much cruelty and insolence after the battle, as he wanted courage in it. We have seen above what cowardly spite he shewed to the body of his deceased enemy, which *Antony* treated with great respect and tenderness. The mean soul of *Octavianus* was not capable of such generous humanity: he insulted every illustrious captive with bitter words and outrageous invectives, putting them to death without mercy. To one, who earnestly begged as a particular favour, that he would suffer his body to be buried after his death, he answered, that *the ravens would soon regulate that matter*. When a father implored mercy for his son, and the son for the father, he commanded, with an excess of cruelty hardly to be met with in the history of the most barbarous nations, the father and son to fight for their lives; this barbarous fight he beheld; beheld unconcerned the son to stab his father, and then himself for having done it. Others tell us, that he obliged the father and son to draw lots for their lives, and that the father gave himself voluntarily up to execution to save his son, who, disdaining to owe his life to the murderer of his father, stabbed himself in the presence of the tyrant. Had not therefore the remaining prisoners reason, when they were brought before *Antony* and him, loaded with chains, to salute the former with the honourable title of emperor, and the latter with bitter invectives, curses, and reproaches? Among these were the famous *M. Favonius*, who with the sword at his throat reproached the merciless *Octavianus*, with all the freedom of a *Cynic* philosopher ^w (Z).

The republican
party still
powerful.

THE triumvirs, having thus glutted their revenge with the blood of many illustrious citizens, who on that fatal day fell into their hands, began now to deliberate about the proper measures for the establishing of their authority, and the utter suppression of those who still stood up in defence of their ancient laws and liberties. For *Pompey* was still in possession of *Sicily*; *Domitius Abenobarbus* and *Statius Murcus*, *Brutus's* admirals, commanded two powerful fleets, the former on the coasts of *Macedon*, the latter in the *Ionian* sea; *Cassius Parmensis* (A), one of the conspirators, having been left in *Asia* by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, with a considerable fleet and a competent number of forces, to keep the eastern provinces in awe, upon the news of *Brutus's* overthrow and death, reinforced his fleet with thirty *Rhodian* ships, which he manned with *Romans*, and being joined by *Clodius*, governor of *Rhodes*, at the head of three thousand men, by *Lepidus* governor of *Crete* with the garison which *Brutus* had left there, by *Clodius*, *Torulus*, young *Cicero*, and many other persons of distinction, who had fled into *Asia*, he gave no small umbrage to the triumvirs. In a private conference therefore between them, it was agreed, that *Antony* should march into the east and settle those provinces, and that *Octavianus* should lead the old troops into *Italy*, put them there in possession of the lands which had been promised them, and to force young *Pompey* out of a retreat, which served for an asylum to all the zealous republicans. Before they parted they disbanded all their veterans, except eight thousand, after having.

^w Vide *Suet.* in *Julio*, & *Dio*. l. xlvii.

(Z) *M. Favonius* had been always very intimate with *Brutus*, but nevertheless by him left out of the conspiracy for the following reason. As *Brutus* was discoursing one day with him and *Statilius*, who was by sect an *Epicurean*, and proposing some questions to be disputed, with a design to discover their sentiments, *Favonius* declared his judgment to be, that a civil war was worse than the most unjust tyranny. Though he had no share in the death of *Cæsar*, nor approved of the action, yet he joined *Brutus*, served him with the utmost fidelity to the last, and died with a constancy worthy of a *Roman* senator and philosopher (81).

(A) *Cassius Parmensis* was one of the conspirators, but some time after the battle of *Philippi* he joined *Antony*, and served under him at the battle of *Actium*. Upon his defeat he returned to *Athens*, where he was murdered by *Octavianus's* orders. He was a native of *Parma*, and thence called *Parmensis*. As that city stood within the bounds of ancient *Hetruria*, which extended, as *Cluverius* shews, to the

banks of the *Po*, no wonder that *Horace* calls him an *Hetruscan* (82). He was, in the opinion of that inimitable writer, a great versifier, but no extraordinary poet. He left such a vast heap of writings behind him, that it was pleasantly said he wanted no other materials for his funeral pile.

————— *Hetrusci*.
*Quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius anni
Ingenium, capsis quem, fama est, esse librisque
Ambustum propriis* ————— (83).

Quintilius Varus, by whom he was assassinated, is said to have found a tragedy among his papers, intitled *Thyestes*, which he published as his own. It is at least certain, that *Quintilius*, having put him to death, seized all his writings, among which were several tragedies, he having a particular talent at that sort of composition. The verses upon *Orpheus*, which *Achilles Tatius* published under his name, are by the best judges thought to be of a later date.

(81) *Plut.* in *Bruto*.

(82) *Horat.* l. i. *Serm.* satyr. 10.

(83) *Idem.* *ibide*.

having satisfied them in part with the money they had left, and what they found in *Brutus's* camp. Of the remaining forces *Octavianus* took with him into *Italy* four legions and four thousand horse; *Antony* keeping with him six legions and ten thousand horse. It was also agreed, that *Octavianus* should yield two of his legions to his colleague, and receive two others in their stead belonging to *Antony*, which had been left in *Italy* under the command of *Calenus*, one of *Antony's* lieutenants*. Though the forty-three legions they had in the beginning of the war were by this time reduced to twenty-eight, yet they wanted vast sums to pay five thousand drachmas to each private man, and reward all the officers in proportion: this was the principle motive of *Antony's* expedition into *Asia*, whither he carried with him for his guard four thousand veterans, besides the above-mentioned forces, who were prevailed upon, though the time of their service was expired, to attend him in quality of volunteers, the like number remaining with *Octavianus* in the same quality and post†.

AND now the two conquerors parted, *Octavianus* taking his rout towards *Dyrrachium*, in order to return to *Italy*, and *Antony* marching into *Greece*, with a design to pass over from thence into *Asia*. *Octavianus* arrived in a few days march at *Dyrrachium*, where we shall leave him for a while to follow *Antony* in his memorable, but to him fatal, expedition into the east. After so remarkable a victory, which was entirely owing to him (for *Octavianus* was not present in the first engagement, and in the second was driven out of the field by the brave *Brutus*), he must needs visit *Greece*, as being the country where flattery was managed with most delicacy. There laying aside all majesty, he took pleasure in assisting, like a private citizen, at the disputes of the philosophers in the schools and academies of *Athens*, in seeing the public sports, and frequenting the religious ceremonies of the *Greeks*. As he was fond of being styled, the *Lover of Greece*, but above all, the *Lover of Athens*, he administered justice there with a great deal of equity, and made very considerable presents to the city, though he was himself in great want of money, his military chest being almost quite drained by the vast sums he and his colleague had distributed among the veterans after the battle. Before he left *Attica* he caused an exact survey to be made of the temple of *Apollo Pythius*, as if he designed to repair it; but he dropt that project on his arrival in *Asia*, whither he marched with all his forces, leaving *Lucius Censorinus*, one of his lieutenants to govern *Greece* in his absence. In *Asia* all the kings and princes, who acknowledged the *Roman* power, came to make their court to him, many of them bringing with them their wives and daughters, to gain the triumvir's favour by their charms. The queens rivalled one another, who should make him the most magnificent present, or appear most charming in his eyes. This croud of sovereigns, who daily attended his levee and waited upon him where-ever he went, with their praises and submissions, most agreeably soothed his ambitious and voluptuous temper; but nothing pleased him so much as the reception he met with at *Ephesus*. There the women went out to meet him in the habit they used to wear when they solemnized the feasts of *Bacchus*, and the men and boys drest like *satyrs* and *fauns*. Nothing was to be seen throughout the town but spears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and hautboys, while they styled *Antony* in their songs, *Bacchus the Gracious* and *the Gentle*; and so indeed he was to some, but others he treated with great inhumanity. He pardoned all those of *Brutus's* party, who surrendered themselves to him, except *Petronius*, who was one of the conspirators, and *Quintus*, who was charged with betraying *Dolabella* to *Cassius* in *Laodicea*. But then he stript several rich citizens of their estates to gratify his flatterers and buffoons, who often begged and obtained the estates of men yet living and in perfect health, making *Antony*, to whom they alone had access, believe they were dead. Thus one of his cooks, having dressed him a supper to his taste, begged and obtained as his reward the fine house of a wealthy citizen of *Magnesia*. But as the chief business, which had brought him into *Asia*, was the raising of the necessary sums for the satisfying of the victorious legions, he summoned the deputies of all the subjects and allies of *Rome* in those parts to meet at *Ephesus*, and there, after having reproached them with assisting *Brutus* and *Cassius*, notwithstanding the kindness *Cæsar* had shewn them, he acquainted them with the great promises he and his colleague had made to their twenty-eight conquering legions, amounting in all to a hundred and fifty thousand men and upwards, and then concluded thus: You may judge of the sums we want from the number of our soldiers, and the promises we have

Antony and Octavianus parts.

The obliging behaviour of Antony to the Greeks.

In Asia he is courted by kings, princes, &c.

His behaviour towards the Asiatics.

His speech to the deputies of the Asiatic cities.

* APPIAN. *ibid.* p. 672, 673. DIO, l. xlviii. p. 358. † APPIAN. *ibid.* LIV. l. cxxv. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 74. PLUT. in *Anton.* DIO, *ibid.* p. 357, 358.

made them. This has obliged my colleague to go into Italy, where he has taken upon him to reward them with lands and houses, from which he will be obliged to drive out the antient proprietors. But as for you, I will treat you with more humanity, being unwilling to deprive you of your inheritances; or drive you from your temples and sepulchres of your forefathers. As you would needs run the fortune of our enemies in war; now that the gods have been pleased to grant the victory, not according to your wishes, but their own justice, we ought to treat you as the allies, or rather as the accomplices, of our foes; and inflict upon you some exemplary punishment. But, as the laws of humanity will not always allow the punishments to be proportionable to the crimes, instead of other penalties, we shall content ourselves with a sum of money, the same you gave our enemies, ten years tribute: but as you paid it to them in two years time, we require it in one. This is the only punishment we intend to inflict upon you, which we should very readily forgive, were not our exigencies very pressing. At these words the deputies threw themselves at Antony's feet, remonstrating with tears in their eyes, that their assisting Brutus and Cassius could not be laid to their charge as a crime, since they had been forced to it by such cruel usage, as made them rather objects of pity than punishment; and that as to the sums which were demanded of them, it was not in their power to raise them, since Brutus and Cassius had stripped them, not only of all their gold and silver in specie, but likewise of their plate, the furniture of their houses, and of all the ornaments of their cities and temples. As Antony continued inflexible, Hybreas, an orator and agent for some of the Asiatic cities, rising up, Since you are determined, said he, to double our taxes, pray take care that our summers and autumns be doubled too; otherwise we shall never be able to satisfy your demands. This liberty of speech did not displease Antony (B), who, as Plutarch tells us, was as well contented to be handsomely rallied, as he was delighted in rallying others. The deputies prevailed at length, but with much ado, upon the triumvir, to be contented with the tribute of nine years to be paid in two²: so that all the princes, kings, and free states of Asia, were obliged to lay heavy taxes on their subjects for the payment of this sum, which reduced them, after the exorbitant taxes with which Cassius had loaded them, almost to a state of beggary³. After this, Antony took a progress through the provinces of Asia, giving every-where extraordinary demonstrations of generosity and good-nature. He pardoned Lucius, brother to Cassius, and several others of the adverse party, who upon the fame of his clemency flocked to him from all quarters: but he continued implacable to those who had any hand in the death of Cæsar. The Xanthians he freed from all tribute, and persuaded them to rebuild their city. To the Rhodians, whom Cassius had treated with great severity, he gave the islands of Andros, Tenos, Naxos, and Myndus. The inhabitants of Tarsus and Laodicea he likewise exempted from all taxes. Neither was he unmindful of the Athenians, to whom he granted the islands of Ægina, Teos, Cea, Sciathus, and Peparethus⁴: so that the whole weight of the exorbitant contributions, amounting to two hundred thousand talents, fell upon the inhabitants of Asia, properly so called, of Syria, Phrygia, Mysia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Palestine. As he wanted ready money to pay his soldiers, while the tax was raising, he sent all his horse to Palmyra or Tadmor to take the plunder of that rich city, instead of their pay; but the inhabitants, having timely notice of the design, removed before their arrival, their families and effects to the other side of the Euphrates; so that the triumvir's

The Asiatics
loaded with
heavy taxes.

His generosity.

² PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. l. v. p. 673, 674. ³ Idem ibid. ⁴ Idem ibid. p. 675.

(B) The same Hybreas some time after told Antony, when he required more money; Asia has already furnished two hundred thousand talents for your service; if the money did not come to your hands, call those to an account who levied it; but if it did, and you have already spent that sum, we are all undone. These words, says Plutarch, touched Antony to the quick; for many things were done in his name, of which he was quite ignorant; not that he was by nature easily imposed upon, but because he reposed too great confidence in the integrity of those he employed. He was naturally very sincere, but somewhat slow of apprehension; but as soon as he was made sensible of his faults, he was much troubled,

and ready to ask pardon of those he had offended. He loved raillery, but was as well contented to be handsomely rallied, as he was pleased to rally others. This freedom had; as Plutarch observes, its inconvenience; for he imagined, that those friends, who used so much liberty in their mirth, would never flatter or deceive him in any business of consequence, not perceiving, that these subtle parasites disguised their flattery to make it go down the better. Upon examining any difficulty, they contrived matters so as not to seem to yield to him out of complaisance; but because his understanding was superior to theirs (84).

triumvir's cavalry returned empty. On their retreat the *Palmyrenians* returned to their habitations; but, being exasperated by this cruel usage, put themselves under the protection of the *Parthians*, which gave occasion to the second *Parthian* war. ^c

Antony arriving in *Cilicia*, dispatched from thence *Dellius* into *Egypt*, to summon *Cleopatra* to appear before him, and give him an account of her conduct during the war. For though she had assisted *Dolabella*, yet *Serapion*, her lieutenant in *Cyprus*, had joined *Brutus* and *Cassius*, which the triumvirs had taken much amiss, considering what she owed to the memory of *Cæsar*: *Dellius*, who was sent on this message; was a famous historian and a man of great wit and learning; but of no principles, being one of those who have always a base compliance for the inclinations of their masters (C). As he was well acquainted with Antony's temper, after a short conversation with the queen, he easily judged with what sentiments a woman of her beauty, wit, address, and sprightly conversation would inspire him; and therefore encouraged her to go in person into *Cilicia*, assuring her, that Antony, who was a brave and amorous soldier, would receive her with all the respect due to persons of her high station, extraordinary merit, and wonderful qualifications. She had great faith in the words of *Dellius*; but her chief dependance was in her own beauty; and indeed never had beauty been signalized by more illustrious conquests: she had captivated the heart of *Julius Cæsar*, of *Pompey's* eldest son, and formerly of Antony himself, when he served under *Gabinus*, governor of *Syria*; and this when she was young and ignorant in the arts of love; whereas she was now to meet him in the flower of her age, with all the charms of beauty, and all the artifice of riper years. But what above all inspired her with certain confidence of rekindling the flame in Antony's heart was, the quickness of her wit; for though there were some at *Rome* who rivalled her in beauty, none was to compare to her in the agreeableness of her conversation, and in a certain natural grace and sweetness, which appeared in every thing she said or did, and made a deep impression on all who heard her. In short, the charms of her conversation were irresistible, and the very tone of her voice so harmonious, that no instrument was capable of a greater variety of sounds, and of equally soothing the ears of the hearers. Besides, she expressed herself with so much ease, and in so many different languages, that she was looked upon by all as a prodigy. The most barbarous nations heard her with astonishment answer their ambassadors without an interpreter. She understood, besides many others, the *Æthiopian*, the *Troglodite*, the *Hebrew*, the *Arabian*, *Syrian*, *Median*, and *Parthian* tongues; which was the more wonderful in her, considering, that most of the kings, her predecessors, had not been able to learn the *Egyptian* tongue, and several of them had forgot the *Macedonian*, their original language ^d. The confidence she placed in these extraordinary accomplishments encouraged her more than the words of *Dellius*, or her own beauty, to appear before Antony. She made great preparations for her journey, taking with her vast sums of money, and all the jewels, plate, and rich ornaments of the *Egyptian* kings. Many were the letters she received from Antony, hastening her coming; but she seemed to make no account of his orders. At length she set out, and arriving at the mouth of the river *Cydnus*, she embarked on a small galley, and appeared before Antony at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, in the fantastical manner which we have described at length in our history of *Egypt* ^e. The triumvir was so taken with the charms of her person, the quickness of her wit, and the agreeableness of her conversation, that from the first day he conceived a passion for her, which occasioned all the future misfortunes of his life. He was never after the same man, but wholly taken up with the

He summons
Cleopatra to
give an ac-
count of her
conduct.

Her charms.

She arrives at
Tarsus in
Cilicia.

^c APPIAN. *ibid.*
l. xlviii. p. 371.

^d PLUT. in Anton. JOSEPH. *antiq.* l. xiv. c. 23. APPIAN. l. v. p. 673. DIO,
^e Vide Hist. Universal. Vol. III. p. 382.

(C) *Quintus Dellius* wrote in *Greek* an account of Antony's unsuccessful expedition against the *Parthians*, in which he attended him and had a chief command. He was one of *Horace's* most intimate friends, who addressed to him the third ode of his second book, containing the soundest principles of the *Epicurean* philosophy. He was a man of great wit and learning, but of a very bad character. *Mesala Corvinus* used to call him *desultorem bellorum civilium*, that is, the vaulter of the civil wars. For

he left *Dolabella* to side with *Cassius*, then quitted *Cassius* to join Antony, and at last abandoned Antony to take party with *Octavianus*. During his stay at the court of *Egypt*, the fair queen captivated his heart, and is said not to have been displeased with the addresses of a man of his fine genius. In the time of *Seneca* several letters of his to that queen were handed about, written with too much familiarity (85).

(85) Vide *Senec. l. i. de clementia. c. 10.* & *M. Senec. suaf. 1.* *Strabo, l. xi.* & *Lips. ad 1. Annal. Tacit.*

And capti-
vates Antony:

the thoughts of the beautiful *Cleopatra*, he neglected all other business, and followed her into *Egypt*, spending there the whole ensuing winter with her in a most scandalous conversation, well suited to his vicious temper, but highly unbecoming a man of his age and character[†].

Octavianus
greatly indis-
posed:

WHILE *Antony* was thus wallowing in pleasures with his beloved *Cleopatra* in *Egypt*, his colleague was wholly taken up in settling the affairs of *Italy*, and dividing the promised lands among the veterans. Having imbarqued his troops at *Dyrrachium*, he crossed the *Adriatic* gulf, without meeting with any of the enemy's fleets, and landed at *Brundisium*; where he was taken so ill, that his physicians gave him over, and the news of his death was immediately spread all over *Italy*, and differently received according to the different inclinations of the people. Most of the senators looked upon this report as one of his usual tricks to discover their intentions and real sentiments; and therefore by a decree of the senate prayers and sacrifices were offered up to the gods for his recovery, which soon followed by the favour of his native air and the vigor of his youth. As soon as he was in a condition to bear the fatigues of the journey, he set out for *Rome*, where he was received with loud acclamations; especially by the populace. Some time before his arrival the fasces had been transferred from *Lepidus* and *L. Munatius Plancus* to *L. Antonius*, the brother of the triumvir, and *P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus*; but *Fulvia*, *Antony's* wife, a woman of a manly spirit and an unbounded ambition, had gained the ascendant over the new consuls, and governed

Jealousies at
Rome be-
tween him
and *Fulvia*.

Rome with an absolute sway. This *Octavianus* could not bear; and hence the mutual jealousies and distrusts between her and the young triumvir, which at length kindled a war in the very bowels of *Italy*. *Octavianus* met with many, almost insurmountable, difficulties in the distribution of the promised lands. As the public treasury was quite exhausted, he could not content the soldiery without giving up to them the several towns which he had promised them by way of reward after the victory; and this he was well apprised would provoke the people. Most of the inhabitants of those unhappy towns flocked daily in great multitudes to *Rome*: vast numbers of women with children in their arms, whose tender years and innocence moved even the triumvir's friends to compassion, daily filled the temples and public places with their cries and lamentations. The people, on this occasion talked with a great deal of freedom and boldness; *This war*, said they, *has been undertaken not for the public good, but for the private views of the triumvirs, who, since they have reaped the advantage of it, ought to bear all the charges, and not satisfy their soldiers at the expence of so many distressed families.* *Octavianus* heard and patiently bore these complaints, with a dissimulation peculiar to himself. Unwilling to give occasion to fresh disturbances, he borrowed what money he could; but finding he could not raise the sufficient sums to satisfy his soldiers, he broke through all difficulties, and, pursuant to his first design, allotted them the lands for their inheritance, which he had promised in the beginning of the war. *Cremona* a city greatly attached to the interest of *Brutus*, suffered most in this iniquitous distribution, and *Mantua*, which was but too near to a place abandoned to the mercy of the ungovernable soldiery, had more than her share in these misfortunes. The prince of the *Latin* poets had like to have perished on this occasion, by the hand of a centurion, named *Arrius*, who pursued him with his drawn sword, for daring to dispute with him the possession of his small estate on the banks of the *Mincius*; and would have deprived the world of the greatest poet *Italy* ever produced, had he not happily escaped the fury of the enraged centurion by swimming cross the river. This very adventure seems to have most of all contributed to the reputation and good fortune of that divine and inimitable writer; for it put him upon going to *Rome*, where his extraordinary talents being known to *Mænas* and *Asinius Pollio*, he obtained by their interest the restitution of his farm, which is the subject of that excellent eclogue, the first of his *Bucolics*, he being then about twenty-eight years of age.

The prince of
the Latin poets
in great dan-
der:

Octavianus
meets with
great difficul-
ties in the di-
tribution of
the lands.

Octavianus himself was exposed to great dangers in this extremely nice and difficult undertaking, the soldiery and people being equally exasperated against him. Few of the veterans were satisfied with the portion of the lands allotted to them; *Antony's* soldiers taxed *Octavianus* with partiality, as if he assigned the best lands to his own men and the worst to them. *Fulvia* did not fail to improve these discontents; and being seconded by the consul *Lucius*, her brother-in-law, whom she easily gained over to her interest, she left nothing unattempted to fire both the soldiers and people against one,

[†] PLUT. APPIAN. DIO, ibid. Vide Hist. Univers. ubi. supra.

a one, who, she well saw, was engrossing all the power to himself. And indeed she was attended therein with good success, as plainly appeared from the two following accidents. A private soldier having taken place among the knights at a public shew, *Octavianus* ordered an officer to drive him from thence; hereupon a report being spread, by the triumvir's enemies, that the soldier had been assassinated by his orders, as soon as the sports were over, they all crowded round him, demanding with threatenings to see their comrade. *Octavianus* caused him immediately to be sought for and brought before them; when the soldier declared, that he had not received the least hurt or ill usage: the mutinous troops were not easily prevailed upon to believe him, as if they had been incensed against him for depriving them of so specious a pretence to murder their general. The other accident shews still more plainly, to what a degree *Fulvia* and *Lucius* had estranged the minds of the soldiers from their general. He had appointed a day for his soldiers to meet in the field of *Mars*, in order to proceed to the distribution of the lands. The legionaries assembled accordingly at the time agreed on, but *Octavianus* not coming so soon as they expected, they began to mutiny, and speak of their general with great disrespect; upon which *Nonnius*, one of the tribunes, ventured to remind them of their duty, and chide them for the indecency of their carriage. But the insolent soldiery first rallied the zealous officer as a mercenary sycophant, and then insulted him in a most outrageous manner; insomuch, that he was forced to save himself by flight from their fury, and throw himself, finding no other means to escape, into the *Tiber*, where he was drowned. The mutineers drew the body out of the river, and exposed it on the way which led to the field of *Mars*, that *Octavianus* might see it, and learn what might be his own fate, if he provoked their resentment. *Octavianus*, though acquainted with this disorder, went, contrary to the advice of his friends, to the field of *Mars*, and, only turning away his eyes from the dead body as he passed by it, appeared in the midst of the assembly with an affected calmness and tranquillity. He artfully pretended to believe, that *Nonnius* had been killed in a quarrel by some private enemy, and, after having exhorted his soldiers not to carry their resentment another time to such extremities, without taking any further notice of such a notorious breach of the military laws, he proceeded to the distribution of the lands, extending his liberality even to those who had lost their lives in the battle of *Philippi*, on whose wives and children he bestowed that portion, which would have fallen to their lot. This false and iniquitous generosity, for he gave nothing of his own, but only what he had with the utmost injustice taken from the lawful owners, had so good an effect on the minds of the undiscerning multitude, that they demanded the authors of *Nonnius's* death might be brought to condign punishment. The crafty general answered, that they would be sufficiently punished by the reproaches of their own conscience, and the remorse which ever attends wicked actions.

His soldiers
mutiny.

His address in
quelling the
mutiny.

Octavianus, having thus regained the affections of his soldiers, and being no longer able to bear the haughty and imperious behaviour of *Fulvia*, divorced her daughter *Clodia*, after having solemnly declared upon oath, that for him she was still a virgin. This was touching the proud *Fulvia* in the most sensible part: she resolved thenceforth to keep no measures with *Octavianus*, and accordingly began openly to encourage the veterans, who had served under her husband, to take arms against his ungrateful colleague, who, though he had no ways contributed to the victory, was now reaping all the advantage of it, with a view to ingross the whole power to himself, and exclude *Antony*, to whose valour the victory was entirely owing, from any share in the administration. She appeared in all the assemblies of the people with the children she had by *Antony*, and there made bitter complaints of the cruel usage she pretended they had received from one, who ought, with all the tenderness of a father, to have protected them against the insults of their enemies. *Lucius*, her brother-in-law, joined her, giving out every-where, that *Octavianus* had nothing else in view but to enslave *Italy*, deprive his colleague of all power, and make both the senate and people of *Rome* subservient to his will. He pretended to act by the direction of, and in concert with, his brother, whose chief and main concern, he said, was to preserve the republic from the tyranny of the proud, crafty, and ambitious *Octavianus*. This disagreement between the young triumvir on one side, and *Lucius* and *Fulvia* on the other, gave rise to two different factions, and rent the republic anew into parties.

He divorces
Clodia the
daughter of
Fulvia.

The

The republic
rent anew into
two factions.

Fulvia retires
from Rome,
and forms a
camp at Præ-
neste.

Minius's
speech against
Octavianus.

Both parties
prepare for
war.

The veterans, who had served under *Antony*, and such of the *Italians*, as had been driven from their ancient inheritances, sided with *Fulvia* and *Lucius*. The friends of the late dictator; and those legionaries, who were satisfied with the lands fallen to their share, took party with *Octavianus*: so that all *Italy* was in a flame, and threatened with a new war ready to break out within the very walls of *Rome*, where horrible disorders and cruel murders were daily committed, by the insolent populace and ungovernable soldiery of the two opposite factions. To complete the misfortunes of *Rome* and *Italy*, a famine began to be felt all over the country, great part of the lands lying uncultivated ever since the beginning of the civil war, the seas being beset with the enemy's fleets, and *Sextus Pompeius* holding *Sicily*, whence the continent, and especially the capital, was supplied with corn. In this distress *Octavianus* would fain have made up matters with *Fulvia* in an amicable manner; but she would hearken only to the dictates of her own resentment and the insinuations of *Manius*, her husband's agent, who assured her, that nothing but a war could force *Antony* from the arms of *Cleopatra*, and bring him into *Italy*. *Fulvia* followed the pernicious advice of *Manius*, and, abandoning *Rome*, retired to *Præneste*, a city which had declared for her. There, forgetting her sex, she appeared with an helmet on her head and a sword by her side, assembled some legions, harangued them, gave the parole, and performed all functions of a general. *Octavianus*, fearing young *Pompey* might take advantage of the misunderstanding between him and *Fulvia*, sent a deputation to the camp of *Præneste*, exhorting the female general and her brother-in-law, who, tho' consul, served in a manner as her subaltern, to lay aside all animosities, and act in concert against their common enemies. The deputies, who were all of the senatorial order and common friends to the triumvirs, would have prevailed on *Lucius* to hearken to an accommodation, had he not been diverted from it by the implacable *Fulvia* and by *Manius*, whom *Antony* had appointed to manage his affairs in *Rome*, during his absence. He in a studied speech accused *Octavianus* of unfair dealing with respect to *Antony*, as if he designed to ingross the whole power of the triumvirate to himself, and reduce his colleague to the state of a private man, tho' the victory they had gained in the plains of *Philippi* was entirely owing to his valour: *And what other view*, said he, *can the ambitious youth have in rewarding, as he has done, with lands and possessions thirty-four legions instead of twenty-eight? His only aim is to form a strong party for himself, at the expence of innumerable unhappy wretches, who have been driven from their inheritances to make room for his private friends and partisans, who had no share in the late war, and consequently no claim to rewards of any kind: for their sake he has over-run and plundered all Italy, not sparing even the temples of the gods. He is now raising troops under pretence of making war upon Pompey; but it is manifest, he has something else in view, which ought to give us umbrage, since, in the present situation of affairs, that expedition cannot so much as be thought of for want of provisions and shipping. His real purpose is, without all doubt, to make himself formidable, and usurp a tyrannical power, not only over the people and senate, but even over his colleagues. If therefore he is sincerely disposed to peace, let him disband his troops, give an account of the immense sums which have passed through his hands, and for the future act in concert with those who have nothing in view but the public good*."

Octavianus, upon the report of his deputies finding a war unavoidable, began to draw together his legions, as did likewise *Lucius* and *Fulvia*. In the mean time, several manifestos and declarations were published by the opposite parties, and some very sharp letters passed between *Lucius* and *Octavianus*. The latter, seeing many of the veterans take party with his enemies, dispatched an express to *Salvidienus*, whom he had appointed his lieutenant in *Spain*, ordering him to hasten into *Italy* with the six legions under his command. *Salvidienus*, who had not yet reached his province, immediately turned back, repassed the *Alps*, and advanced with incredible expedition into *Cisalpine Gaul* to join *Octavianus*, who have left the capital and was assembling his forces in that province. *Caius Asinius Pollio* and *Publius Ventidius*, two of *Lucius*'s lieutenants, who were incamped at the foot of the *Alps*, followed *Salvidienus*, harassing him on his march, and cutting off his convoys, by which means they reduced him to great straits. At the same time, *Lucius*, having assembled a considerable body of troops, advanced to meet *Salvidienus* and attack him in front, while his two lieutenants fell upon his rear. By this means, *Octavianus*'s lieutenant must inevitably have been

been cut off with all his men, had not *Vipsanius Agrippa* with a choice body of veterans come seasonably to his relief, and, posting himself between him and *Lucius*, attacked the city of *Sutrium*. As the inhabitants of that place had signalized their attachment to the interest of *Lucius*, he flew to their assistance, which gave *Salvidienus* an opportunity of joining *Agrippa*, and seizing with him, after he had taken *Sutrium* by assault, all the passes and defiles leading to the two camps of *Pollio* and *Ventidius*. *Lucius*, after having attempted in vain to open himself a way sword in hand, resolved to retire into the city of *Perusia*, and wait there, as in a place of safety, for the arrival of his two lieutenants. But *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus*, following him close, invested the place, before he had time to reflect on the danger, to which he exposed himself and his troops. *Octavianus* was no sooner informed of the bad situation of *Lucius*, than he flew to *Perusia*, and in concert with his two lieutenants carried on the siege with great vigor; but as he found it impossible to take by assault so strong a place, garisoned by a whole army, he resolved to reduce it by famine; and with this view surrounded it with a line of circumvallation fifty six furlongs in compass. From his camp he drew lines quite to the *Tiber*, which he strengthened with ramparts, and flanked with towers at equal distances, that is, about sixty foot from one another. These towers he filled with archers, slingers, and all sorts of engines to prevent the enemy from receiving any convoys by water. *Lucius* on his side was continually harassing the workmen and the legions that covered them with brisk sallies, in which his men, who were for the most part gladiators, had all the advantage. In one of these sallies *Octavianus* himself narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands. In the mean time, *Fulvia* detached from her camp at *Præneste* *L. Munatius Plancus* with a numerous body of chosen troops, ordering him to join *Ventidius* and *Pollio*, and with their united forces oblige the enemy either to venture a battle, or raise the siege. *Plancus*, in spite of *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus*, whom *Octavianus* detached against him, joined *Ventidius* and *Pollio*, and together with them advanced as far as *Fulginium*, within a hundred and sixty furlongs of *Perusia*. *Lucius* was overjoyed at their approach, which they took care to signify to him by fires in the night and other signals. He did not in the least doubt, but they would exert their utmost endeavours, and make some great push for his relief. And such indeed was their design; but *Plancus*, after having viewed the advantageous situation of the enemy, declared, that they could not attempt the relief of the place without exposing their troops, for which they were responsible to *Antony*, to the greatest dangers. His opinion prevailed, and as none of them approved of *Lucius's* conduct, who had thus rashly engaged in a war without his brother's knowledge, they retired, leaving their general and his troops in the utmost despair. As the besieged were already reduced to the greatest extremity for want of provisions, they made a desperate sally, but were driven back into the city, after having fought with unparalleled bravery from nine at night till the next morning. *Lucius*, being determined to hold out to the last, took an inventory of all the provisions in the place, which he daily measured out sparingly to the soldiers and inhabitants of free condition, but allowed none to the slaves and servants of the army, though he kept them at the same time within the city, and had them narrowly watched, lest they should acquaint the enemy with the miserable condition to which the garison was reduced. This was sentencing an infinite number of innocent men to a most cruel death; a piece of inhumanity hardly to be matched in history! The unhappy wretches, reduced to this desperate condition, wandered about the works in quest of herbs, grass, and roots, some of them even feeding upon their own ordure and the flesh of their dead companions. At length the soldiers themselves, no longer able to bear the famine, with which they were daily more and more pinched, begged leave of *Lucius* to make a general sally, chusing rather to die, like brave men sword in hand, than to live under the miseries they endured. The general approved of their choice; telling them, that they had nothing to depend upon but their own valour, and that in their present circumstances they must either conquer or die. They resolved therefore to make a desperate push, and sally out by break of day, to avoid the disorders that might happen in the dark. Accordingly, having first provided a great number of spades, hooks, scaling ladders, and all sorts of necessary tools to break down the wall, with which *Octavianus* had inclosed the city, as soon as day began to appear, they rushed out like famished tygers, cut in pieces the enemy's advanced guards, filled the ditch in an instant, plucked up the palisades, and began to undermine the wall, while

Salvidienus, one of Octavianus's lieutenants, rescued out of danger by Agrippa.

Lucius Antonius besieged in Perusia.

Lucius's generals despair of relieving him.

The cruelty of Lucius towards the slaves.

The garison, reduced to great straits, make a desperate sally.

the rolling towers, which they had prepared for that purpose, and filled with archers and dart-men, discharged showers of darts and arrows upon the enemy. The ground was immediately covered with dead bodies, and nothing was heard but groans and cries of dying men. *Octavianus's* soldiers made a dreadful havock of the aggressors, their machines playing incessantly upon them from the ramparts, and overwhelming them with showers of arrows, darts, stones, &c. But though many of them fell, the rest, not so much afraid of death as of famine, continued fighting with an amazing resolution, and climbing up the wall, in spite of all opposition, drove the enemy from their posts. The dispute continued many hours with an obstinacy and fury hardly to be expressed, and *Lucius's* men, though they fought with all the disadvantage imaginable, would have gained a complete victory, had the forces been equal; but *Octavianus's* troops being far more numerous, and constantly relieved with fresh supplies, the besieged, weakened with hunger, overpowered with numbers, and quite spent with the length of the combat, were in the end driven from off the wall. These gallant men, though stunned with their fall, still strove to climb up again, encouraging with their words and gestures their companions, who had not yet given ground. At length *Lucius*, surpris'd at such extraordinary valour and fidelity, and knowing that their courage only served to destroy them, commanded a retreat to be sounded. Hereupon *Octavianus's* men gave loud shouts of joy, striking, according to the custom of the *Romans*, when they had gained a victory, their swords against their bucklers. This those brave men looked upon as an insult, and therefore getting together the few ladders that remained, they returned to the charge with new fury; and it was with the utmost difficulty, and not without tears, that *Lucius* prevailed upon them to retreat. *Octavianus* that night doubled his guards, and disposed several bodies of troops on the ramparts in such manner, that they could easily relieve each other in case of a sudden attack, which he apprehended.

Their gallant
behaviour.

*Lucius re-
solves to capi-
tulate.*

Goes in person
to treat with
Octavianus.

The barbarous
cruelty of
Octavianus.

Lucius, finding himself reduced to the utmost extremity without any hopes of relief, resolved at length to capitulate, and by that means save the lives of so many brave men. Accordingly he dispatched three of the chief officers of his army to treat with *Octavianus* in his name. The crafty general received the deputies in a very polite and obliging manner, and returned this answer to their proposals, that he willingly pardoned all those who had served under *Antony* against the murderers of his father; but as for the others, he insisted upon their surrendering at discretion. Thus he spoke to the deputies in common, but afterwards taking *Furnius*, one of them, aside, he told him, that he intended to extend his mercy to the whole army, a few only excepted, who out of hatred to him had been the occasion of all these disorders. Upon the report of the deputies many illustrious *Romans*, who had been always declared enemies to the triumvirate, fearing to fall into the hands of *Octavianus*, with whose cruel and inhuman temper they were well acquainted, exhorted *Lucius* to insist on the safety of all, and not to surrender upon any other terms, *Lucius* touched with compassion for so many brave men, whom he well knew *Octavianus*, if it were left to him, would sacrifice to his revenge, resolved to go out in person, and putting himself into the young conqueror's hands, intercede for his unhappy followers. *Octavianus* received him with great marks of esteem and affection, and promised, out of the regard he owed to him and his brother, impunity to all who had taken part with him, on condition they surrendered without further resistance, and put him in possession of the city. *Lucius*, depending on *Octavianus's* promise, ordered his men to march out the next day, and acknowledge the young conqueror for their general; which they did accordingly, and were incorporated into his troops. As for the inhabitants of *Perusia*, who had shewn an inviolable attachment to *Lucius*, he ordered those who composed the senate or council of the city, to be brought before him in chains, and sentenced them all to die, contrary to the articles of agreement and the promise he had made. Some of those unhappy men pleaded innocence, others begged mercy; but they had all one and the same answer, *Moriendum est, You must all die*. Accordingly, they were, to the number of three hundred, by his orders carried in chains to an altar raised to *Julius Cæsar*, and there inhumanly butchered, as victims to his manes, on the ides of *March*, the anniversary of his death. With them were sacrificed by the barbarous tyrant, *Caius Flavius*, *Clodius Bithynicus*, and *Canutius*, three illustrious senators of *Rome*, and zealous defenders of their antient liberties. The city

a city itself he delivered up to the lust and plunder of his soldiers; but one *Cestius*, surnamed *Macedonicus* from his having served a long time in *Macedon*, not caring to outlive the ruin of his country and the miseries of his fellow-citizens, by setting fire to his own house, occasioned the total destruction of that ancient and once powerful city. For, a high wind arising, the flames spread from house to house, and burnt with such violence, that in a very short time the whole city was laid in ashes. Such was the end of this unhappy war, commonly called the *war of Perusia*. As for *Pollio*, *Ventidius*, *Plancus*, and the other commanders of *Antony*, tho' they had still thirteen legions and fifteen hundred horse, they all withdrew, and took refuge in the maritime cities, waiting there for succours from *Antony*; but *Octavianus* pursuing them, *Afinius Pollio* went on board the fleet commanded by *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *Brutus's* admiral, carrying with him seven legions. *Plancus*, being pursued close by *Agrippa*, abandoned the two legions he commanded, and went to join *Fulvia* at *Præneste*. The legions went over to *Agrippa*, but *Plancus* together with *Fulvia* fled from *Præneste* to *Puteoli*, and from thence to *Brundisium*, where they both imbarqued and passed over into *Macedon*. The other commanders made their escape into *Sicily*, where they were kindly received by *Sextus Pompeius*, who, had he not been of a slothful and indolent temper, might have improved these divisions to his advantage, and with great ease made himself master of all *Italy*. For *Statius Murcus*, falling out with *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the other republican admiral, had joined him with two complete legions and twenty-four ships, carrying with him immense sums, which he had extorted from the maritime cities of *Asia*. Besides, he had received a strong reinforcement from *Cephalenia*, consisting of veterans who had escaped from the battle of *Philippi*. But the indolent *Pompey*, though in condition to invade *Italy* and crush the party of the triumvirs there, contented himself with ravaging the coasts, acting therein more like a pirate than a general^k.

Perusia reduced to ashes.

Lucius's generals dispersed.

AND now the other officers, who had served under *Lucius*, being driven with their forces out of *Italy*, *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, at the head of a few veterans and a great number of slaves, whom he had drawn together by promising them their liberty, undertook to maintain the interest, and support the ruined party, of *Lucius* in the neighbourhood of *Naples*. *Tiberius* was descended from one of the most illustrious families of *Rome*, and had been honoured with great employments by *Julius Cæsar*, who had a particular esteem for him. He had been his quæstor, and commanded his fleet in the war of *Alexandria*, when he distinguished himself on many occasions in a very eminent manner. He was afterwards created prætor, and raised to the high station of pontifex maximus. But notwithstanding all the favours he had received at *Cæsar's* hands, after his death he was not only for granting a general pardon to the conspirators, but exhorted the consuls to reward them, as the deliverers of their country and the avengers of their oppressed liberty. He had by a timely flight avoided the fury of the proscription, and, siding with *Lucius* at the beginning of this war, had shut himself up with him in the city of *Perusia*, whence he found means to make his escape into *Campania*, where he raised the army we mentioned above. But his raw and undisciplined troops being frightened at the approach of *Octavianus's* victorious army, they immediately dispersed, abandoning their general to the mercy of his cruel and implacable enemy. *Tiberius*, thus deserted by his forces, fled in disguise with his wife *Livia* and his son *Tiberius*, not yet two years old, to the sea-side, hoping he should find there some vessel to convey him over to *Sicily*. *Livia* was the daughter of *Livius Drusus Claudianus*, who was killed in the battle of *Philippi*, fighting for *Brutus* and *Cassius*. *Livius* was descended from the *Claudian* family, whence he had the name of *Claudianus*; but his branch had been long since adopted into the *Livian* family. The only person of distinction, who followed *Tiberius* and *Livia* in their flight, was *Caius Velleius*, the grand-father of the famous historian *Velleius Paterculus*, who had served with great reputation in the armies of *Pompey* and *Brutus*. But his great age and infirmities not suffering him to attend them over into *Sicily*, partly out of grief in parting with them, and partly through fear of falling into the hands of the merciless *Octavianus*, he put an end to his life with his own sword, and by that means prevented the vengeance of the bloody tyrant. As for *Tiberius* and *Livia*, *Octavianus* pursued them close; but they, after having escaped a thousand dangers, attended only by one domestic, found a small boat, which conveyed them over into *Sicily*.

Tiberius Claudius Nero maintains the party of Lucius in Campania.

Being abandoned by his troops, Tiberius retires with his wife Livia into Sicily.

^k APPIAN. *ibid.* p. 672, & seq. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 72---77. DIO, l. xlviii. p. 362---368.

The end of the
war of Perugia
Year of the
flood 2964.
Before Christ
35.
Of Rome
713.

Sicily. And here we cannot help reflecting with *Velleius Paterculus* on the strange turns of fortune, which ought to teach us, that as to future events our fears are often as groundless as our hopes. *Livia* was flying from an enemy, whose affections she was one day to gain and maintain to the hour of his death; and the infant she carried in her arms was to succeed *Octavianus*, and after him rule the *Roman* empire with an absolute sway. *Tiberius's* troops being dispersed, and he fled, *Octavianus* returned to *Rome*, which he entered in triumphant robes, and crowned with laurel. Public feasts were celebrated for several days together, and it was enacted by a decree of the senate and people, that *whenever any general should for the future merit a triumph, Octavianus should have a share in his honour*¹.

WHILE *Cæsar Octavianus* was making war in *Italy* with *Lucius*, and settling his affairs there with all the skill and address of an able politician, *Antony* was passing his time ingloriously at *Alexandria*; thinking of nothing but the enjoyment of those pleasures and diversions with which the queen entertained him, every day heightening the relish of them by the charms of novelty (D). But, in the mean time, all *Syria* and *Palestine* being grievously oppressed with the taxes that were imposed upon them, the

¹ APPIAN. DIO; VELL. PATERCUL. *ibid*.

(D) The poets have not given to *Omphale*, queen of *Lydia*, a greater ascendant over *Hercules*, than history gives to the fair *Egyptian* queen over *Antony*. Like a second *Hercules*, from the rough soldier and formidable conqueror, he became the slave of a bewitching woman, and the laughing-stock not of *Egypt* only, but of all the nations who had any knowledge of the *Roman* name. Out of complaisance to his admired idol, he exchanged the *Roman* for the *Greek* dress, piquing himself upon appearing among the effeminate *Asiatics*, who composed the queen's court, as one of them. Laying aside all other business, he was solely intent on pleasing and diverting *Cleopatra*, who never left him night nor day: she played at dice with him, drank with him, hunted with him, and when he thought fit to exercise the few troops he had with him, which he did more for her diversion than their improvement, she was always by him. Nothing was talked of at court but feasts, shews, revels, &c. Mirth, jollity and pleasures had banished all business, all serious thoughts. They gave their way of living a particular name, calling it the *inimitable life*. They treated one another by turns, on which occasion their expences were beyond all measure. *Plutarch* gives us two instances of *Antony's* extravagance, which he learnt of his grandfather *Lamprias*, who had them from one *Philotas*, a physician of *Amphyssa*. *Philotas*, being acquainted with one of *Antony's* cooks, was invited by him to see what sumptuous preparations he was making for supper. Coming into the kitchen, he was surprised at the prodigious variety of the most scarce and expensive things; but nothing struck him so much as the sight of eight wild boars roasting intire; Surely, said he, You have a great number of guests: but the cook, laughing at his simplicity, There are not above twelve guests, replied he,; but every dish must be served up just roasted to a turn, and if any thing is but one minute ill-timed, it is spoilt: for, added he, may be *Antony* will sup just now, may be not this hour, may be not these two hours, because he may perhaps have a mind to spend some time in drinking or talking; so that not one but many suppers must be had in readiness, it not being easy to guess at his hour. The same *Philotas* related, that being afterwards in the service of *Antony's* eldest son by *Fulvia*, and admitted with other domestics of a better rank to his table, when the young man did not dine with his father, it happened, that another physician, full of argument and noise, disturbed and tired the company with the impertinence of his talk. *Philotas*, no longer able to bear the empiric, put this sophi-

stical syllogism to him: *There is some kind of fever, wherein cold water is good; everyone who has a fever has some kind of fever; therefore cold water is good for all those who have fevers*. This sophism quite silenced the quack; at which young *Antony* was so pleased, that addressing himself to *Philotas*, and pointing to a side-board covered with rich plate, *Philotas*, said he, *all that is yours*. *Philotas* thanked him for his good-will, but could not conceive that the young man had a power of disposing of things to that value. He therefore went home without so much as thinking of the present. But he was very much surprised, when soon after his departure he saw all the plate brought home to his house by slaves followed by an officer of young *Antony*, who desired him to put his mark upon them. *Philotas* excused himself, fearing to accept from a young man a present of so great a value. But the officer, who brought it, *What ails the man?* said he, *don't you know that he, who makes you this present, is Antony's son, who could very well spare it, were it all gold? But if you will be advised by me, I would counsel you to accept of the value in money; for among the plate there may be some pieces of antiquity, or the work of some famous master, for which Antony may have a particular esteem*.

But to return to *Cleopatra*; she was daily contriving new diversions for *Antony's* entertainment; and the most inconsiderable trifles, when managed by her, received such an air as made them agreeable diversions. They often rambled about the streets in the night, hand in hand, *Cleopatra* dressed like an ordinary woman, and *Antony* like a slave, and in that disguise entering the public houses mixed with the mob. *Cleopatra* took great delight in these expeditions, as they gave her room to display her wit and humour in retorting the coarse raillery of the vulgar, and relating her adventures, which she did with an unparalleled grace. They frequently met with rough treatment, and sometimes with blows. This kind of behaviour, highly unbecoming a queen and a *Roman* magistrate, a general and a conqueror, who was at this time forty and upwards, seemed very strange to the graver and better sort of people; but the populace were highly pleased with their frolics, saying of *Antony*, that they had great obligations to him, for shewing them his comical countenance, and reserving his tragical one for the *Romans*. Of *Antony's* other follies, especially of the pleasant adventure that happened to him, while he was angling with *Cleopatra*, we have spoke in our history of *Egypt* (86).

a the *Aradians* killed those who were sent to gather them; and, thereupon, joining the *Palmyrenians* and several petty princes of *Syria*, called in the *Parthians*, which put the whole country into the utmost confusion. For the *Parthians* on this invitation passing the *Euphrates* under the command of *Pacorus*, their king's son, and *Labienus* a Roman general (E), overcame in a pitched battle *Saxa*, *Antony's* lieutenant in *Syria*, and forced him to take refuge in *Cilicia*. After this victory the two generals divided their army: *Labienus* with one part of it pursued *Saxa* into *Cilicia*, where he slew him, defeated his army, over-ran all *Asia-Minor*, and, forcing *Antony's* lieutenants to make their escape into the islands, brought all places under him as far as the *Helle-spont* and the *Ægean* sea. At the same time, *Pacorus*, with the other part of the army, reduced all *Syria* and *Phœnice* as far as *Tyre*, which city alone held out against him, the remains of the Roman forces in that country having got thither before him. An account of these successes was brought to *Antony* at *Alexandria*, and at the same time news of the ill state of his affairs in *Italy*, and of the unsuccessful war which his brother *Lucius* had waged there with *Octavianus*. Hereupon recovering, as it were, from a drunken fit, he resolved at length to leave *Cleopatra*, and march forthwith against the *Parthians*. With this view having got together two hundred ships, he sailed to *Tyre*; but finding, on his putting in there, all the country round in the hands of the enemy, and receiving at the same time most lamentable letters from *Fulvia*, he changed his mind, and resolved to postpone the war with the *Parthians*, and sail directly to *Italy*. Accordingly, he left *Tyre*, after having reinforced the garrison of that place; and, sailing by the islands of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes*, arrived at *Athens*, where he met *Fulvia*, whom he highly blamed as the chief cause of the late disorders. In this city he received certain advice, that *Octavianus* had made himself master of *Transalpine Gaul*, and forced the son of *Calenus* after the death of his father to deliver up to him eleven legions, which he commanded in that province. As *Transalpine Gaul* had been, by a private agreement between the two triumvirs after the battle of *Philippi*, yielded to *Antony*, he looked upon such a proceeding as an open declaration of war; and therefore putting to sea without loss of time, set sail for *Italy*, without shewing the least concern for *Fulvia*, whom he left sick at *Sicyon*. This neglect and scorn completed what his infidelity had begun; for she died in that city soon after her husband's departure. *Antony* in crossing the *Ionian* sea was met by *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the republican admiral, who, instead of opposing him, came on board his galley, and delivered up to him the command of his fleet, being induced thereunto by *Asinius Pollio*, who had fled from *Italy*, as we have related above, after the surrender of *Perusia*, and taken refuge on board *Domitius's* fleet (F). The two fleets thus joined came to an anchor on the coast of *Epirus*, and from thence set sail for *Brundisium*. In this city *Octavianus* had five legions, which shut the gates against *Antony*, refusing admittance, not to him, they said, but to *Domitius*, who was *Octavianus's* rival in *Italy*, and lays siege to *Brundisium*.

¹ DIO, APPIAN. *ibid.* & in *Parthicus*. FLOR. l. iv. c. 9. Epit. LIV. l. cxxvii. PLUT. in *Anton*. JOSEPH. *antiq.* l. xiv. c. 23.

(E) This *Labienus* was the son of *Titus Labienus*, who had been *Cæsar's* lieutenant in *Gaul*, and one of his most intimate friends; but afterwards going over to *Pompey*, he became one of his most inveterate enemies, and was slain fighting against him in the battle of *Munda* (87). His son, pursuing the same interest, was sent by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, a little before the battle of *Philippi*, in quality of ambassador to the *Parthian* king to solicit his assistance for that war; and was at the *Parthian* court, when the battle happened; by the ill success of which being discouraged from returning, he continued in that country, and having prevailed with king *Orodes* to undertake this war, he was sent with *Pacorus*, the king's son, to command under him (88).

(F) *Appian* tells us, that *Antony*, meeting *Domitius* in the *Ionian* sea, drew up his fleet in line of battle, and advanced in person against him with five galleys only. *Plancus*, who was then with *Antony*, did not approve of his conduct, telling him, that *Domitius*, who had a fleet much more powerful than

his, would neither submit, nor ever be reconciled, to him. *Antony*, without hearkening to his reasons, advanced boldly, and, as he drew near, one of his guards, who stood on the prow of his galley, cried out to *Domitius* to strike his flag to the triumvir, who was of a higher rank than he. At these words the republican admiral, as if he had been thunder-struck, submitted to the summons, saluted *Antony* as his general, and, coming on board his galley, delivered up to him the command of his fleet. This event is thus related by *Appian*, but we have chose to follow *Velleius*, who tells us with more appearance of truth, that *Pollio* had before-hand engaged *Domitius* to take party with *Antony*, by which signal piece of service he acquitted himself of the many obligations he owed him. To perpetuate the memory of this remarkable event, *Antony* caused a medal to be struck, or rather a piece of money to be coined, which is still to be seen, with the triumvir's head, and on the reverse the prow of a ship with the names of the two generals.

(87) *Cæsar. comment.* & *Plut. in Cæsar.* *biogr.* l. ii. c. 78.

(88) *Dio*, l. xlviii. p. 371. *Flor.* l. iv. c. 9. *Vell. Pa-*

Octavianus
and Antony
come to an
agreement.

They divide
the Roman
dominions.

Octavianus's declared enemy. Upon this refusal *Antony* immediately blocked up the place, and at the same time dispatched one of his officers to *Pompey* in *Sicily*, inviting that general to join interest with him against *Octavianus* and invade *Italy*. *Pompey* came readily into the proposal; made a descent, and took several cities on the coast, while *Antony* pursued the siege of *Brundisium* with great vigor. Hereupon *Octavianus*, having drawn together his legions, and detached *Agrippa* with a considerable body against *Pompey*, marched with the rest to the relief of the besieged city. But his veterans refusing to draw their swords against *Antony*, he was obliged to hearken to an accommodation, which at length was brought about by the interposition and management of *Cocceius*, *Pollio*, and the famous *Mecænas* (G). This dangerous breach being made up, and all past offences and affronts mutually forgiven, the soldiers of the two armies, to make the friendship of their generals more lasting, desired it might be cemented with the ties of blood, and proposed a match between *Antony* and *Octavianus*'s sister *Octavia*, who was lately become a widow by the death of *Marcellus*. *Octavianus* had a great veneration and tenderness for his sister; and to do her justice, none of her sex ever had a better claim to the esteem and veneration of mankind. For though she excelled all the women of her age, *Cleopatra* herself not excepted, in beauty, yet the charms of her person were far inferior to those of her mind. Though the queen of *Egypt* had so large a share in *Antony*'s heart, yet the match was no sooner proposed to him, than he agreed to it with unexpressible satisfaction, at least in appearance. After this the two triumvirs had an interview, in which, after mutual embraces and promises of lasting friendship, they came to a new partition of the *Roman* empire; by virtue whereof *Codropolis* (H), a town of *Illyricum*, was to be the boundary of their dominions; all from that place westward was allotted to *Octavianus*, and all eastward to *Antony*: so that the former had *Dalmatia*, the two *Gauls*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, and the latter all the eastern provinces quite to the *Euphrates*. *Africa* was left to *Lepidus*, who had been sent by *Octavianus* with six legions into that province some time before the arrival of *Antony*. It was agreed, that *Antony* should make war upon the *Parthians*, and *Octavianus* upon *Pompey*, if he refused to submit to reasonable conditions. *Italy* was left common to both the triumvirs for the raising of forces wherewithal to carry on these wars. To these conditions *Antony* added, that *Octavianus* should pardon *Domitius Abenobarbus*, and likewise all those who had borne arms against him in the war of *Perusia*. The two generals thus reconciled marched together to *Rome*, where the marriage between *Antony* and the incomparable

(G) *Caius Cilnius Mecænas*, well known from the verses of *Virgil* and *Horace*, was descended from the ancient kings of *Hebruria*, but contented himself with the degree of a *Roman* knight. The *Cilnian* family was, according to *Livy* (89), one of the most illustrious of *Hebruria*. As for the surname of *Mecænas*, it was probably borrowed from some place belonging to the family; at least *Varro* tells us, that all the *Latin* names ending in *as* denote some place. *Pliny* speaks of the wines of *Mecænatium*, and ranks them among the best of *Italy*: *Cæsenatia vina*, says he, & *Mecænatia* (90). This illustrious *Roman* was a man of great politeness and generosity, which towards men of letters knew no bounds, whence those, who ever since his time have set up for encouragers of learning, have in all ages been honoured with his name. *Sint Mecænates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones*, says *Martial*. But *Mecænas* was not only a generous patron to the learned; he was himself thoroughly acquainted with all the branches of polite literature, and would have proved an excellent orator, had he not been given too much to his pleasures. *Ingeniosus vir ille fuit*, says *Seneca* of him (91), *magnum exemplum Romanæ eloquentiæ daturus, nisi illum enervasset felicitas, imo castrasset*; and elsewhere (92), *Habuit Mecænas grande & virile ingenium, nisi ipse illud discinxisset*. After the battle of *Philippi* he interceded with *Octavianus* in favour of *Horace*, and obtained his pardon, though he had served under *Brutus* in quality of legionary tribune. He protected *Virgil*, and by his interest got his farm re-

stored to him, which *Octavianus*'s soldiers had seized. He was one of *Augustus*'s chief favourites, and served him to the last with the utmost fidelity. He was a man of great penetration and address in managing the most difficult affairs; but liked his pleasures too much to engage in business, when he could decline it without disgusting his master, the gaining of whose favour was the height of his ambition. Several writers, especially *Juvenal* and *Seneca*, reproach him, and not undeservedly, with luxury, indolence, and effeminacy. But of this truly generous and bountiful patron of learning, *Meibomius* has wrote an intricate volume under the title of *Mecænas*, to which we refer our readers.

(H) This city is called by *Appian* *Scodra*, the situation whereof agrees with that of *Codropolis*. *Scodra*, now known to the *Turks* by the name of *Escodar*, and to the *Italians* by that of *Scutari*, was anciently the capital of the country of the *Labeates*, a people of *Illyricum*, and is at present the chief city of *Albania*. It stands on the river *Drilo*, now the *Drino*, about sixty miles east of *Ragusa*. This city, which was the bulwark of *Illyricum* on the side of *Macedon*, and looked upon as one of the best fortified and most inaccessible cities in the world, is often mentioned by *Livy*, and the other *Roman* writers, who give an account of the war between the republic and *Gentius* king of *Illyricum*. *Florus* was certainly mistaken, when he placed *Scodra* in *Macedon*, and styled it the metropolis of that kingdom.

(89) *Liv. l. x.*

(90) *Plin. l. xiv. c. 6.*

(91) *Senec. epist. 19.* (92) *Idem epist. 92.*

able *Octavia* was solemnized with the utmost pomp and magnificence. When the ceremony was over, *Antony*, to give *Octavianus* an undeniable proof of the sincerity of his intentions, discovered to him, that *Salvidienus* (I), one of his lieutenants, had offered him his troops and his service, when *Octavianus* sent him into *Spain*, and that he had repeated the same offer at *Brundisium*. Hereupon *Octavianus* accused him of treachery before the senate, who declared him an enemy to the people of *Rome*, sentenced him to death, and ordered thanks to be publicly returned to the gods for the discovery of the treason. At the same time, *Manius*, of whom we have spoke above, was by *Antony's* orders put to death, as having been the chief author of the late disturbances ^m.

In the mean time, *Pompey*, who was master at sea, keeping all the ports of *Italy*, blocked up with his numerous fleets, *Rome* was reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions, especially of corn, which was become so dear, that the people were ready to starve. Hereupon *Antony* pressed his colleague either to come to an accommodation with *Pompey*, or oblige him by a vigorous war to recall his fleet, and leave the sea open for trade and navigation. *Octavianus* was more inclined to war, *Pompey* having lately taken from him the islands of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*; but as he wanted money to carry it on, with *Antony's* approbation he laid two taxes on all the inhabitants of *Rome* and *Italy*, the one of four drachmas and a half for every slave, the other on all legacies. This so provoked the populace, already pinched with hunger, that they rose in opposition to these edicts, assaulted *Octavianus* in the forum, and would have torn him to pieces, had not *Antony* hastened to his assistance with a body of troops, which was incamped at the gates of the city. The rabble was soon dispersed, and several of them killed, and their bodies thrown into the *Tiber*; but, as the famine still continued, the populace, notwithstanding the punishment of a few, grew daily more outrageous. *Antony* therefore, fearing a general insurrection, wrote to *Lucius Scribonius Libo*, who was then in *Sicily* with *Pompey* his son-in-law, inviting him to *Rome* to treat there of an accommodation between *Octavianus*, *Pompey*, and himself. *Pompey* was overjoyed at this proposal, as was also *Staius Murcus*; but *Menas*, whom some writers call *Menodorus*, one of *Pompey's* enfranchised slaves and a sea officer of great experience and bravery, not only opposed it, but with groundless insinuations intirely estranged *Pompey* from *Murcus*, who pressed him with great earnestness to make up all differences with the triumvirs, and restore *Italy* to its former tranquillity. Hereupon *Murcus* retired to *Syracuse*, where he was murdered by some slaves, whom *Pompey* afterwards caused to be executed to clear himself from the murder. It was, however, commonly believed, that *Menas* had put him to death by *Pompey's* orders. But, notwithstanding *Menas's* opposition, *Pompey* allowed *Libo* to go to *Rome*, in compliance with *Antony's* invitation, where he persuaded *Octavianus* and *Antony* to come to an interview with *Pompey*, that they might, in person and face to face, discuss their pretensions, and put an end to their differences. To this *Pompey* consented at the earnest request of his officers, and advanced with his fleet to the promontory formed by mount *Misenus*, where he and *Libo* in a galley, and the two triumvirs on a kind of mole made for that purpose, exposed their mutual claims and pretensions. *Pompey* demanded to be admitted into the triumvirate instead of *Lepidus*, whose authority declined daily. This demand seemed very reasonable to *Pompey*, but quite otherwise to *Antony* and *Octavianus*; so that, after a warm and long dispute, they parted without coming to any resolution. *Pompey*, who knew he had it in his power to reduce *Rome* and all *Italy* to the utmost extremity, and force the inhabitants to take up arms against the triumvirs, was for breaking off the conference and returning to *Sicily*. But *Libo* advised him to stay and continue the negotiations, at least

^m PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid. LIV. epit. l. cxxvii. DIO, l. xlviii. p. 375.

(I) *Salvidienus* was the son of a poor peasant, and spent his youth in looking after cattle. While he was thus meanly employed, his head one day appeared to his companions, as if in a flame. This he looked upon as a prognostic of some extraordinary good fortune, and therefore soon after lifted himself in the army, where by his valour he rose to the highest posts. He attended *Cæsar* in most of his wars, and as he had on all occasions distinguished himself in a very eminent manner, the dictator had

named him one of his consuls, who were to govern the republic in his absence, though *Salvidienus* had not yet been admitted into the senate. Upon the dictator's death, he out of gratitude sided with his son *Octavianus*, and had a great share in all his victories. But afterwards, thinking *Octavianus* did not reward him according to his deserts, he offered his service to *Antony*, who, by basely betraying him, was the occasion of his death.

Pompey's demands.

least by deputies, which he did accordingly. The second day he dropped his pretension to a place in the triumvirate, but proposed the following preliminaries : 1. That those, who had been concerned in the death of *Cæsar* should only be banished, and be at liberty to chuse for their exile what place they pleased. 2. That such, as had been proscribed on any other account whatsoever, should be allowed to return to *Rome*. 3. That the latter should be restored to the possession of their lands and fortunes. *Antony* and *Octavianus* absolutely rejected the two first articles, and only consented that those, who were not in the number of the conspirators, should be allowed to purchase their estates. Most part of those who were about *Pompey*, tired with so long and destructive a war, and dreading the fate of *Murcus*, declared, that they were willing to return to *Rome*, even upon the conditions proposed by the triumvirs; which so displeased *Pompey*, that in the transport of his passion he tore his robe, calling those, who submitted to such shameful conditions, vile traitors and cowardly deserters. *Menas*, said he, *is the only true friend I have in the world; Menas alone has given me wholesome and disinterested advice*. However, at the earnest intreaties of his mother *Mutia*, of *Julia*, *Antony's* mother, and of *Libo*, his father-in-law, he consented to a second interview, in which, after three days debate, the following articles were agreed to by the contending parties.

The articles of accommodation between the triumvirs and Pompey.

“ 1. That *Pompey* should be left in possession of *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and the adjacent islands, and should over and above have *Peloponnesus* yielded up to him. 2. That he should have the privilege of demanding the consulate, though absent, and of discharging that office by any of his friends. 3. That the dignity of pontifex maximus should be conferred upon him, and seventy thousand great sesterces restored to him out of his father's confiscated estate. 4. That such as had taken refuge with him merely out of fear, should be allowed to return and enjoy their whole estate; and that the proscribed persons, who were not guilty of *Cæsar's* death, should have only the fourth part of their estates restored to them. 5. That trade and navigation should be free; that *Pompey* should withdraw his troops from *Italy*; that he should suffer no inroads or descents to be made upon the coasts, nor build more ships. 6. That he should not for the future receive the slaves who fled to him; that those who had bore arms under him should be declared free, and that his legionaries, when the time of their service was expired, should have their share in the division of lands with those of *Antony* and *Octavianus*. 7. That he should immediately send to *Rome* the corn he had retained, oblige the *Sicilians* to pay annually what corn was due to the republic out of their island, and clear the seas of all pirates.” This treaty was signed by the three chiefs, and sent to *Rome* to be deposited there in the hands of the vestalsⁿ. They then agreed to treat each other in token of their sincere reconciliation; and it fell to *Pompey's* lot to make the first entertainment.

The triumvirs and Pompey treat each other.

Antony asked him where he designed to receive them? *In Carinis*, answered *Pompey* pleasantly: for the word *carinæ* in *Latin* signifies ships, and was likewise the name of a ward or part of the city, where *Pompey the Great* had a stately palace, which *Antony* had seized. *Antony* understood the raillery, but was not very quick at repartees. On the day appointed for the entertainment, *Pompey*, having brought his galley near the shore, and made a bridge to it from the promontory, received his two guests with great civility and politeness. And here *Octavianus* seemed to have forgot his usual wariness and circumspection; and this entertainment would have cost both him and his colleague dear, had not *Pompey* been endowed with a truly great and generous soul. For while they were at table, and *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, growing warm with wine, began to rally *Antony* upon his amours and fondness for the fair *Egyptian* queen, *Menas* approaching *Pompey*, *You have now a fair opportunity*, he whispered him in the ear, *of revenging the death of your father and brother, and making yourself master of the whole Roman empire; 'tis but cutting the cable, leave the rest to me*. The blow was sure, and the temptation violent, *Pompey's* fleet being drawn up in order of battle, and all the triumvirs forces ashore. However, the generous *Roman* scorning to purchase the empire of the world at the expence of his honour, after a short pause, *Menas*, said he, *may forfeit his word and reputation, but that is not becoming the son of Pompey*. 'Tis a great pity we have the characters of illustrious men only from historians, who, either out of fear or flattery, cry down the enemies of the princes, whose favour they courted. *Velleius Paterculus*, who wrote in the time of *Augustus*, and has in his history

Pompey's generosity.

a history miserably perverted truth, or utterly suppressed it, paints *Pompey* in the worst colours. But the greatness of mind which he displayed on this occasion against his own interest, is sufficient to bely that mercenary sycophant, and the other flatterers of the *Cæsars*, who ought to have had some regard to his memory in consideration of this generous action, which, in spite of all their disguises, and false representations, will recommend his name to the latest posterity. *Plutarch* relates this matter somewhat differently; for according to him *Pompey* returned this answer to the proposal of *Menas*; *This you might have done without imparting it to me; but now let us make the best of our present condition, for I cannot prevail upon myself to violate my faith once given.* From this answer it appears, that so great an advantage, joined to the pleasure of revenge, was a kind of surprise upon his generosity; but it served only to make it break out with greater lustre in rejecting a perfidious action, what profit soever might accrue from it^o. *Antony* and *Octavianus* treated *Pompey* in their turns with great demonstrations of seeming friendship; for the confirming of which, and cementing it with new ties, *Pompey*, who was sincere, proposed a match between his daughter and *M. Marcellus*, the son of *Octavia* by her former husband; which *Octavianus* con- Pompey's daughter betrothed to M. Marcellus Octavianus's nephew. fessing to, they both entered into the usual engagements, *Pompey* for his daughter, and *Octavianus* for his nephew, who was at that time but an infant. This is the famous *M. Marcellus*, whom *Octavianus* had appointed his heir in case he had no issue male of his own, and whose virtues are so highly commended by the prince of the *Latin* poets^p. Before the three chiefs parted, they named consuls for the four following years, viz. *Antony* and *Libo* for the first, *Octavianus* and *Pompey* for the second, *Domitius* and *Sofius* for the third, and *Antony* and *Cæsar* for the fourth. The consuls of this year, in which the treaty was concluded, were *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* and *C. Asinius Pollio*, who had succeeded *L. Antonius* and *P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus*; but before their year expired, others, namely *L. Cornelius Balbus* and *P. Canidius Crassus*, on what account we know not, were substituted in their room^q.

AND now all differences being composed, and for a while an end put to the civil wars, *Pompey*, taking his leave of *Antony* and *Octavianus*, returned to *Sicily*, and the other two to *Rome*, where they were welcomed with loud acclamations of the people, overjoyed to see themselves at length delivered from a cruel famine, which had begun to rage with great fury in the capital, and all the provinces of *Italy*. The joy of the people was doubled upon the return of many illustrious citizens, who had been proscribed by the triumvirs, or forced to fly their country through fear of falling into *Octavianus*'s hands after the surrender of *Perusia*. Among these were *L. Aruntius*, *M. Junius Silanus*, *C. Sentius Saturninus*, *M. Titius*, *M. Claudius Tiberius Nero*, *M. Cicero*, the son of the orator, and many other citizens of great distinction; who after having assured *Pompey* of their eternal acknowledgments, returned to their native country, where they were received with those marks of esteem and affection which were due to their merit. The praises of *Pompey*, who had the glory of saving so many worthy men, and restoring them to their former rank, were in the mouth of every true *Roman*. And now *Antony* and *Octavianus*, after a short stay at *Rome* (K), Octavianus took leave of each other, and quitting the capital, set out, the former for Greece, and the latter for Gaul. Some nations beyond the Alps having attempted to shake off the yoke, Octavianus, to whose share Gaul was fallen, marched against them in person, and having easily reduced them, repassed the Alps, and stopped in *Hetruria*. As for Antony, he dispatched *Ventidius* into *Asia* to put a stop to the inroads of the *Parthians*, but went himself no farther than *Athens*, where he spent the winter with his new wife *Octavia* in the same excesses of luxury, folly, and childish diversions,

as

^o APPIAN. *ibid.* PLUT. in *Antonio*. ^p Vide VIRG. *Æneid.* l. vi. v. 868, & seq. ^q DIO, l. xlix.

(K) While *Antony* and *Octavianus* staid together at *Rome* after the conclusion of the peace, they frequently diverted themselves with drawing lots, playing at dice, &c. when *Antony* was constantly the loser. As this gave him a great deal of uneasiness, one day, while he was quite out of patience, an *Egyptian*, who was with him, and was deemed very skilful in the calculation of nativities, told him, that though the fortune that attended him was bright and glorious, yet it was overshadowed by that of

Octavianus; he therefore advised him to keep himself at a distance from that young man: *For your genius, said he, dreads his. Yours is proud and brave, when absent from him, but in the presence of his unmanly and dejected.* This, no doubt, the impostor said to make his court to *Cleopatra* by forcing *Antony* to leave *Rome*, and return to *Egypt*; wherein he succeeded; for *Antony*, who put great confidence in the skill of the *Egyptian* astrologer, left *Rome* soon after (93).

Antony passes
the winter
at Athens in
idleness.

Punishes the
Athenians for
their flattery.

Resolves to
march into
the east.

His lieutenant
Ventidius
gains great
advantages
over the Par-
thians.

Antony be-
siegues Samo-
sata.

as he had done the former with *Cleopatra* at *Alexandria*. Laying aside the ensigns of his authority, he appeared at all the public games and exercises in the *Grecian* habit, like a private citizen of *Athens*. He often visited the academy, and the *Lyceum*, spending sometimes whole days in hearing the disputes and conferences of the philosophers. While he thus led an idle life at *Athens*, *Ventidius* his lieutenant was signalizing himself in the war, which he had been appointed to carry on against the *Parthians*. We have given elsewhere^r a distinct account of the remarkable victories gained over that warlike nation by the brave *Ventidius*, and therefore shall not trouble the reader here with a tedious repetition of the same transactions. When news was brought to *Antony* of the signal advantages gained by his lieutenant, he gave a public entertainment to all the *Greeks* of any rank, exhibited sports and shews, and presided at them in person as moderator. As he loved wine, he was wonderfully pleased with the title of *Bacchus*, which divinity he took upon him to personate in a procession he made upon the joyful tidings of the success of his arms in the east. During these public rejoycings the *Greeks* set no bounds to their flattery; they fell prostrate before the pretended *Bacchus*, beseeching him to marry *Minerva* the tutelar deity of their city. *Antony*, displeased with this gross flattery, consented to the match, but asked a thousand talents for the portion of the goddess. Your father *Jupiter*, answered one of the *Athenians*, required no fortune with your mother *Semele*. 'Tis true, replied *Antony*; but *Jupiter* was rich, and I want money. *Antony* would abate nothing of the sum, which was levied upon all the inhabitants, who revenged themselves, according to their custom, with satires and lampoons, of which his amours with *Cleopatra* were the chief subject. But he laughed at their jests, and took their money, though *Dellius*, to mortify them the more, gravely represented to him, that he acted therein against the *Roman* laws, which allowed three years for the payment of a portion^s.

In the mean time news was brought to *Antony* of a second victory gained by *Ventidius* over the *Parthians*, for which he made great rejoycings; but being informed at the same time, that *Pacorus* was making vast preparations with a design to invade *Syria* anew, and thinking it no ways consistent with his reputation to continue idle at *Athens*, and suffer his lieutenant to rob him of the whole glory of this war, he assembled his troops early in the spring, and reassumed with the marks of his dignity all the majesty of a *Roman* general. When his army was ready to march, he made himself a garland of the olive-tree consecrated to *Minerva*, and filled a vessel with the water of the *Clepsydra* to carry along with him (L). At length he left *Athens* after having made a grand entertainment for all the inhabitants of that populous city, and marched with all his forces into the east. But before he got thither, *Ventidius* gained a third victory far more glorious than the other two; whereby he fully revenged the death of *Crassus*, and redeemed the honour of the *Roman* name, which had suffered much ever since the battle of *Carrhæ*: for *Pacorus* himself, with above twenty thousand of his best men, was slain in this battle, of which we have given a particular account in our history of the *Parthians*^t. Had *Ventidius* pursued all the advantages of this victory, he might have extended the bounds of the *Roman* empire to the banks of the *Tigris*; but not thinking it prudent to push his good fortune any further, for fear of giving *Antony* umbrage, he turned his arms against those who had revolted in *Syria* and *Phœnice* during the late war. Pursuant to this design, when *Antony* arrived, he was besieging *Samosata*, the capital of *Commagene*, whither *Antiochus*, king of that country, had retired. *Antony* on his coming thither dismissed this brave commander, and sent him to *Rome* to demand of the senate and people the honours of a triumph, being glad to get rid of a subaltern, whose glory eclipsed that of his general. *Antiochus* from the beginning of the siege had offered to *Ventidius* a thousand talents for his pardon, and promised an intire obedience and submission to all *Antony's* commands. But as *Antony* was then on his march, *Ventidius* ordered him to send his proposals to him; which he did accordingly; but *Antony* rejecting them, the besieged dreading his resentment, defended the place with such vigour and intrepidity, that the

^r Vide Hist. Univerf. Vol. IV. p. 308. ^s PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. ibid. & DIO, ibid. ^t Vide Hist. Univerf. Vol. IV. p. 308.

(L) This was a fountain in the citadel of *Athens*, and was called *Clepsydra*, as being sometimes full of water, and sometimes empty, like those vessels which were antiently in use among the *Greeks*, and also the

Egyptians, to measure time by the running out of the water. *Antony* imagined that this water would not a little contribute to the success of his arms.

a the Roman general began to repent his not accepting the first offer, and was in the end glad to come to an accommodation with *Antiochus* for three hundred talents, that he might raise the siege with honour, which otherwise he feared he should be forced to do in a shameful manner, his soldiers being highly displeased with his dismissing *Ventidius*, under whose conduct they had gained so many signal victories^u. After this, *Antony*, having appointed *Sofius* his lieutenant in *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Palestine*, left the army under his command, and returned to *Ostavia* at *Athens*. He returns to Athens.

In the mean time new disputes arising between *Pompey* and *Ostavianus*, the latter was wholly intent on making the necessary preparations for war, being determined to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered to invade *Sicily*. The late treaty of peace had regulated their pretensions, but not their ambition; and that animosity between *Julius Cæsar* and *Pompey the Great*, which had laid waste the Roman world, was still subsisting in the minds of their children. The apparent subject of their quarrel was *Peloponnesus*, which had been yielded to *Pompey*, as we have observed above, in virtue of the treaty. *Ostavianus* pretended that the tributes, owing from that province to the republic before the treaty, were due to the triumvirs, and that *Pompey* ought to be responsible for them. On the other hand *Pompey* maintained, that they had yielded him that country free from all charges. As a breach was likely to ensue, *Pompey* caused his old galleys to be refitted, and several new ones to be built. This was contrary to the late treaty, and therefore a plausible pretence for *Ostavianus* to invade *Sicily*. With this view he reinforced his army with new levies, and assembled what ships he could on the coasts of the *Adriatic* and *Tyrrhenian* seas. *Pompey*, informed of these preparations, blocked up the ports of *Italy* anew, and in a short time reduced the populous capital to its former condition. The people, threatened again with a famine, began to complain, and seemed disposed to rise, if their grievances were not soon redressed. *A fine peace indeed!* said they, *what have we gained by it but to have four tyrants instead of three?* But *Ostavianus*, who had a numerous army on foot, continued his preparations for war both by sea and land, without hearkening to the complaints of the discontented populace. He wrote to *Antony*, desiring him to leave *Athens* for a while, and pass over into *Italy*, that they might confer together about the most proper measures for the crushing of *Pompey*, their common rival. He likewise acquainted *Lepidus* with his design, who was then in *Africa*, which had fallen to his share in the last division of the Roman dominions, exhorting him to get ready his fleet with all possible expedition, that they might act in concert, and both invade *Sicily* at the same time. *Antony* in compliance with his request came to *Brundisium*, but not finding him there at the time appointed, he returned to *Athens*; whether out of some distrust he had of *Ostavianus*, or because he was frightened by certain prodigies, is uncertain (M). Whatever his reasons were, he reimbarqued and returned to *Athens*, leaving a letter for *Ostavianus*, wherein he exhorted him to stand to the conditions of the last treaty. As for *Lepidus*, who was a man of a lazy and indolent disposition, he spent the whole summer in making preparations, and did not leave *Africa* till the following year; so that the whole burden of the war fell upon *Ostavianus*, whose boundless ambition would allow him no rest, till he had got rid of so powerful a rival, and made himself master of the wealthy island he possessed. However, in the height of his cares, and warlike preparations, he found no small relief in the agreeable conversation of *Livia*, with whose charms and refined wit he was so taken, that in the end he divorced his own wife *Scribonia* (N), and married her, though then big with child, her husband *Claudius Tiberius Nero* not daring to withstand the inclinations of so powerful a lover. *Livia* had one son by *Tiberius*, who bore his father's name, and was, three months after her marriage with *Ostavianus*, New disputes between Pompey and Ostavianus.
Rome reduced again to great straits.
Ostavianus falls in love with Livia, and marries her.

^u PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN, in Parthic. DIO, l. xlix. p. 405.

(M) One of his centries was devoured by wolves, no part of his body being left intire, except his face, which was a very bad omen. The inhabitants of *Brundisium* told him, that at break of day they had seen a wolf come out of his tent.

(N) *Scribonia* was the sister of *Scribonius Libo* father-in-law to *Pompey*. *Ostavianus* married her with a political view, which was to divert *Pompey* by that alliance from siding with *Antony*, who seemed inclined to espouse the quarrel of his brother *Lucius*, and his wife *Fulvia*; *Libo* with *Saturninus* and some

other senators had already attempted to conclude a league between *Antony* and *Pompey*. *Ostavianus* therefore, to gain *Libo*, who had a great ascendant over his son-in-law, married his sister, and had by her the famous *Julia*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel of this history. But as in that marriage he had consulted his interest, and not his inclination, he divorced her to marry *Livia*, who was accounted the most agreeable woman of her age.

Octavianus, brought to bed of another, named *Drusus*. But of these two children, ^a and their mother *Livia*, we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the sequel of this history. The charms of *Livia*, however powerful, were not able to divert *Octavianus* from the pursuit of his ambitious views. He continued with the same ardor his war-like preparations, recalled the legions he had left in *Transalpine Gaul*, and assembled a great number of vessels in the ports of *Hebruria*, and at *Ravenna* on the *Adriatic* sea. But as his fleet was not yet in a condition to cope with that of *Pompey*, he must have put off his *Sicilian* expedition till the return of *Antonv*, and the arrival of *Le-*

Menas Pompey's freedman goes over to Octavianus. famous freedman of *Pompey*, an officer of great valour and experience in maritime affairs, being offended with his master for not revenging the death of some of his freedmen killed by the senators who were about him, revolted to *Octavianus*, and joining him with three legions, and the numerous fleet, which he commanded, delivered up to him the islands of *Corfica* and *Sardinia*, over which he had been placed by his indulgent master. *Octavianus* received the traitor with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and esteem, entertained him at his own table, allowed him the privilege of wearing a gold ring, and sitting among the *Roman* knights, and appointed him commander in chief of the fleet, which he brought with him. This *Pompey* looked upon as a declaration of war, and therefore immediately sent out *Menecrates*, another freedman, and a mortal enemy to *Menas*, with a numerous squadron, to ravage the coasts of *Italy*, which he did accordingly; but being met on his return by ^c a squadron of *Octavianus*'s fleet, commanded by *C. Calvisius*, and his antient rival *Menas*, a bloody engagement ensued, in which *Menecrates* and *Menas* distinguished themselves above the other commanders, the hatred, which they bore each other, animating them more than glory did others. They were both men of great courage and intrepidity, and therefore, regardless of all dangers, fought with a fury hardly to be expressed. At length, after a long and most obstinate dispute between the two rivals, *Menecrates* being dangerously wounded, *Menas* boarded his galley, and made himself master of it. Hereupon *Menecrates*, chusing rather to die, than fall into the hands of his mortal enemy, threw himself into the sea, and perished in the waves. Upon his death *Demochares*, another freedman, taking upon him the command of the fleet, ^d attacked *Calvisius*'s squadron so warmly, that he forced him to give way, took several of his galleys, sunk others, and drove the rest against the rocks near the shore, where most of them were dashed to pieces; so that *Calvisius* escaped by the favour of the night only with a few galleys, and took refuge with *Menas* in the bay of *Cumæ*^w.

Octavianus, who was then at *Tarentum*, where he had assembled a numerous fleet, upon the first news of this engagement, resolved to pass the straits of *Messana*, and join *Calvisius* and *Menas*, for whom he was in great pain. But being attacked in that narrow passage by *Pompey* and *Demochares*, who was returned to *Messana*, most of his ships were either sunk, or dashed to pieces against the rocks. *Octavianus* himself gained the shore with the utmost difficulty, where he narrowly escaped falling into ^e the enemy's hands, who having landed and surrounded him, thought themselves sure of their prey. But the knowledge he had of the country saved him; for being well acquainted with the defiles of a neighbouring mountain, by by-ways he reached the top of it, and there with a few attendants lay concealed. Having avoided one danger, he fell into another. A slave of *Æmilius Paulus*, whose father had been proscribed by *Octavianus*, seeing the triumvir without his usual guards, thought this a favourable opportunity of being revenged on him for his cruelty towards his old master; and therefore accosting him with a dagger, attempted to stab him; but missing his blow, as it was then very dark, he was immediately cut in pieces by the triumvir's attendants^z. While *Octavianus* lay concealed on the top of the mountain, far from all danger, *Cor-* ^f *nificius*, who commanded under him, still maintained the combat with great bravery; and having sunk *Demochares*'s ship, continued fighting, notwithstanding the great loss he had sustained, till sun-set, when *Calvisius* and *Menas* appearing unexpectedly with their squadrons, *Pompey* thought it adviseable to sound a retreat. The next morning *Octavianus* from the top of his mountain had the mortification to see most of his vessels stranded upon the coast, some of them half burnt, others still in a flame, and the sea to a great distance covered with the wreck. But what gave him the greatest uneasiness was to see the enemy's fleet advancing full sail against *Menas* and *Calvisius*, who

^w APPIAN. DIO, *ibid.*^z APPIAN. l. v. DIO, l. xlviii.

a who were no ways in a condition to withstand them. However, they drew up, but as they were ready to engage, a violent storm arose, and the sea began to run very high. Hereupon *Pompey* retired into the port of *Messana*; but *Octavianus's* ships were for the most part either sunk with all the men on board, or dashed to pieces against the rocks and the shore. As the storm lasted all night, *Octavianus*, to avoid so dismal a sight, went early next morning to *Vibonium*, or *Vibo*, a city of *Brutium*, fleet ship-wrecked. whence he sent orders to his lieutenants to guard with great care the coasts of *Italy*, lest *Pompey* should attempt an invasion. But he was so far from improving the advantages he had gained, by attacking his rival on the continent, that by an unpardonable negligence he suffered the poor remains of his shattered fleet to retire unmolested to *Vibonium* ^x.

b AND now *Octavianus*, finding himself without ships or money, and at the same time the people at *Rome* being ready to rise for want of corn, he dispatched *Mecenas* to *Antony*, soliciting his assistance against their common enemy. *Antony*, who was then in *Syria*, as we read in *Dio*, or at *Athens*, as *Appian* has it, promised to assist his colleague to the utmost of his power; and accordingly, having with all possible diligence assembled his fleet, he sailed for *Italy* with three hundred ships. But in the mean time *Octavianus*, receiving news of a complete victory gained by *Agrippa* over the Antony arrives in Italy. revolted *Gauls*, he began to think that he stood no more in need of *Antony's* assistance, and would willingly have dispensed with his civility. He thought him already too powerful, and therefore under various pretences would fain have declined going to meet him. These proceedings highly displeased *Antony*, who had for a long time been jealous of his colleague. However, as he designed to exchange with *Octavianus* part of his fleet, which would be of no use to him in his intended expedition against the *Parthians*, for land-forces, he waited a long time for him at *Tarentum*, though he had been refused admittance at *Brundisium*. At length he began to grow very uneasy, and to complain of *Octavianus* in most bitter and reproachful terms. Whereupon *Octavia*, who had attended him from *Greece*, though then big with child, prevailed upon him to send her to her brother, not doubting, but she should easily clear up all their jealousies and suspicions. As she was on her journey to *Rome*, she met her brother, and had a conference with him in the presence of his two friends *Mecenas* and *Agrippa*, whom she was willing to have for witnesses of what passed between them. After she had with great prudence and address answered the complaints of her brother against her husband, she conjured both him and his two favourites with tears in her eyes, to consider her circumstances, and not suffer her, instead of the most fortunate of women, to become the most miserable; for at present, said she, the eyes of the whole Roman people are fixed upon me, on account of the ties, which bind me to two of the greatest men in the world, being wife to the one, and sister to the other. If rash counsels prevail; and war ensues, I shall be miserable without redress; for on what side soever victory falls I shall be sure to be the loser. *Octavianus*, softened by the intreaties of a sister, whom he loved with the greatest tenderness, consented to an interview with *Antony*, for which a place was chosen between *Metapontum* and *Tarentum* upon a river bearing the name of the latter. *Antony* came thither the first, and as soon as he saw *Octavianus* advancing, he leaped into a boat, in order to go and receive him on the other side the river. *Octavianus*, not to be overcome by him in civility, did the same, so that the two boats met in the midst of the river. After they had embraced each other, they had a friendly contest on which side they should land. *Antony* was for landing on *Octavianus's* side, and *Octavianus* on *Antony's*; but *Octavianus* at length prevailed, under pretence of waiting on his sister, who was returned to *Tarentum*. They walked together to the town, where *Octavianus* spent the night without any other guards about his person, but those of *Antony*, who likewise went the next day without guards, and passed the night in *Octavianus's* camp. All little differences between them being made up in an amicable manner, it was agreed, that *Octavianus* should give *Antony* two of his legions to be employed against the *Parthians*, and that *Antony* in return should leave with him an hundred armed galleys. *Appian* says, that *Antony* yielded to *Octavianus* an hundred and fifty ships, and *Octavianus* to *Antony* twenty thousand men. Besides this, *Octavia* obtained for her husband twenty small ships, or, as *Appian* has it, ten triremes, of her brother, and of her brother a thousand foot for her husband. That their friendship and union might be more lasting, *Octavianus* betrothed his daughter *Julia*, whom he had by *Scribonia*, to *Antyllus*, *Antony's*

^x APPIAN. DIO. &c. ibid.

Antony's son; and they both agreed, the five years of the triumvirate being now expired, to prolong their authority for five years more, without consulting either the senate or people. After this *Antony* departed once more for *Syria*. *Octavia* accompanied him as far as *Corcyra*, whence, that she might not be exposed to the dangers of that expedition, he sent her back into *Italy*, to remain there till he had ended that war, committing her, and his children, both by her and his former wife *Fulvia*, to the care of *Octavianus* ^v. It is not unlikely, that *Antony* had already proposed returning to *Egypt*, and therefore was glad to get rid of *Octavia*, that she might not disturb him in the enjoyment of his beloved *Cleopatra*.

Octavianus
makes great
preparations
for war a-
gainst *Pompey*

Menas aban-
dons *Octavia*-
nus, and re-
turns to *Pom*-
pey.

Octavianus's
fleet ship-
wrecked a se-
cond time.

Lepidus lands
in *Sicily*.

Octavianus re-
fits his fleet.

Octavianus, upon the departure of his colleague, began to make vast preparations both by sea and land for his intended expedition against *Pompey*. He appointed *Agrippa* commander in chief of his navy, and that brave officer in a few months assembled with indefatigable industry a fleet able to cope with *Pompey's*. And now both the sea and land-forces being ready to enter upon action, *Octavianus* resolved to invade the island in three different places at the same time: *Lepidus*, whom he had sent for from *Africa*, was to land at *Lilybæum* on the south of the island; *Statilius Taurus*, who was at *Tarentum*, on the east side at cape *Pachynum*; and *Octavianus* himself on the western coast at cape *Pelorum*. As for *Agrippa*, he was with a numerous squadron to cruise off *Mylæ*, a city on the northern coast of the island, where *Pompey* was said to have assembled all his naval forces. *Menas* had already, out of his natural levity, abandoned the party of *Octavianus*, and returned to *Pompey* with his squadron, not thinking himself considered, as he deserved, by his new master. *Calvisius*, though an officer of great experience in maritime affairs, was not employed in this expedition, he having incurred the displeasure of *Octavianus*, for suffering himself to be over-reached by *Menas*, when he deserted to *Pompey*. And now all things being ready, *Octavianus's* fleets, though in different ports, set sail on the day agreed on, which was that of the new moon in the month of *July*, both that day and month being sacred to the memory of *Julius Cæsar*. But they had scarce put to sea, when a violent storm arising, defeated all *Octavianus's* measures. *Statilius Taurus*, foreseeing it, returned to *Tarentum* with the hundred and two ships he commanded; but the squadrons of *Octavianus*, *Lepidus*, and *Agrippa*, suffered much, that especially of *Octavianus*, who on this occasion lost six of the ships, which *Octavia* had given him, twenty-six others, and a great number of light vessels, called by the *Latins* *Liburnicæ*. His own ship with much ado made the bay of *Velia*, where, as in all dangers he had a particular care of his own person, he went ashore, leaving his friends and mariners to struggle all night with the winds and waves. When he reached the shore, and found himself out of danger, rage succeeded fear, and transported him to such a degree, that he could not forbear venting it upon *Neptune* himself, crying out, *I shall conquer at length; yes, I shall conquer, Neptune, in spite of thee*. *Lepidus*, who was come from *Africa* with twelve legions, and five thousand *Numidian* horse, on board eighty ships of war and a thousand transports, after having lost some of his vessels, landed at *Lilybæum* in spite of the opposition he met with from *Plennius*, whom *Pompey* had posted there with some legions and a great number of slingers and archers. All the other squadrons were driven back, and forced to make what ports they could. *Pompey*, looking upon these repeated shipwrecks in summer, when the sea is commonly calm, as visible tokens of the favour and protection of *Neptune*, returned him solemn thanks for his assistance, and was so elated with this unexpected success, as to style himself *the son of Neptune*. On the other hand, *Octavianus* thinking himself ill used by that deity, never forgave him; but caused his statue several years after to be removed from the circus, where the public games were celebrated. But his chief care at present was, to refit his fleet, recruit his forces, and prevent the disturbances which the news of this disaster might raise in *Rome*. Thither he dispatched *Mecænas*, who with his usual address soon calmed the minds of the people. At the same time, he went in person to the several ports, where his ships had taken shelter, and, by encouraging and amply rewarding the workmen, got his fleet refitted, and ready to put to sea again before the end of the summer. In this second attempt he was attended with better success than in the former; for *Messala Corvinus* landed safe with three legions, and encamped near *Taurominium* at a small distance from *Lepidus*; several other legions were set ashore, without meeting with any considerable opposition in

a in other places of the island, and *Statilius Taurus* made himself master of cape *Scylaceum* on the continent, which *Pompey* had seized. But on the other hand *Papias*, one of *Pompey's* admirals, falling in with a squadron, which was conveying four legions to *Lepidus*, attacked the transports, took some of them, sunk others, and obliged the rest to return to *Africa*. In this encounter two of *Lepidus's* legions were either taken, drowned, or cut in pieces. In the mean time, *Octavianus*, who was then with his fleet in the port of *Strongyle*, one of the *Æolian* islands, observing all the coast of *Sicily* on that side lined with *Pompey's* forces, left the command of the fleet to *Agrippa*, and returned to *Vibonium* to hasten the departure of the rest of his ships. Upon his departure, *Agrippa*, who longed for an opportunity of signalizing his valour, made himself master of *Hiera*, one of the *Æolian* islands, a place of the utmost importance. From thence he steered his course towards *Mylæ*, with a design to surprise *Demochares*, who had in that port a fleet of forty sail under his command. But being informed that *Papias* was advancing to the relief of *Demochares*, he thought it adviseable first to engage the former; which he did accordingly, and gained a complete victory, *Papias*, who behaved on this occasion with unparalleled bravery, having lost thirty galleys, and *Agrippa* only five. Upon the news of this victory, *Octavianus*, who was then at *Scylaceum*, thinking *Pompey* was blocked up by *Agrippa*, imbarqued the flower of his army, and landed in the neighbourhood of *Taurominium*, with a design to besiege that place. But, in the mean time, *Pompey* appearing unexpectedly on the coast with his fleet, both *Octavianus* and his troops were struck with such terror, that *Pompey* might have easily cut them in pieces. But he, as the day was already far spent, instead of attacking them without loss of time, retired with his land-forces to a neighbouring mountain, and there spent the night, which the enemy employed in fortifying their camp. Next morning by break of day *Octavianus*, not doubting but *Pompey* would attack his camp, left the defence of it to his lieutenants, *L. Cornificius*, *Titinius*, and *Carcus*, and went on board his fleet. But flying from one danger, he fell into another; for *Pompey*, not thinking it adviseable to attack his camp, which was well fortified, fell upon his fleet, and soon convinced his rival, that if he wanted conduct, he did not want courage. *Octavianus's* fleet was put to flight at the first onset, several of his ships were taken, and the rest, a small number only excepted, either sunk or burnt. As the battle was fought near the shore, such of *Octavianus's* men as could swim took refuge in the camp of *Cornificius*, but the rest were for the most part either drowned or taken. As for *Octavianus* himself, he made his escape in a boat, and leaving his troops ashore to shift for themselves, made *Abala*, a city on the coast of *Italy*, being attended only by one domestic. As he was quite spent with the fatigue he had undergone, and overwhelmed with grief and chagrin on account of his defeat, he lay down on the open shore, and fell into so sound a sleep, that he was carried without waking by some officers, who knew him, to a camp, which *Messala* had formed in that neighbourhood for the defence of the coast (O). His first care after he awaked was, to provide for the safety of the troops he had left in *Sicily* under the command of *Cornificius*. With this view he immediately dispatched a messenger to *Agrippa*, enjoining him to send forthwith a strong body of legionaries under the command of *Laronius* to their assistance. And indeed *Cornificius* was reduced to the utmost extremity. He could receive no provisions by sea, which was beset by the enemy's victorious fleet, and all convoys by land were intercepted by *Pompey's* *Numidian* cavalry. In this extremity he was forced to abandon his camp, without knowing what rout to take. At length he resolved to march towards *Mylæ*, which *Agrippa* had seized, but was so harassed all the way by the enemy's parties, that his men began to despair, and give themselves up for lost. *Cornificius* with his words and example supported their drooping courage, till they found themselves shut up by the enemy's troops in a narrow valley, called *the fiery brook*. As the ground was here covered all over with dust and ashes thrown out by mount *Ætna*, without any springs or rivulets, they must inevitably have perished with thirst, or surrendered at discretion, had not the succours sent by *Agrippa*, coming very seasonably, disengaged them from the desperate condition to which they were reduced. At the approach of the Roman legions, the *Numidians* retired, leaving *Cornificius* to pursue his march without

One of Pompey's squadrons defeated by Agrippa.

Pompey defeats a squadron commanded by Octavianus, who is in great danger.

His troops in Sicily reduced to great straits.

But relieved by Agrippa.

(O) An accident is said to have happened to him here, which, however frivolous, gave him great hopes of conquering at last. A large fish leaping out of the sea, fell at his feet; and this the augurs, who

were always consulted on such occasions, interpreted to betoken victory to him, as if the sea, by this tribute and submission, had acknowledged his power.

out the least disturbance. That general was so pleased with his retreat, that on his return to *Rome*, when he happened to sup at his friends houses, he always came home mounted, as it were, in triumph, on an elephant, having probably made use of that warlike animal in his retreat ².

Messana in-
vested by Octa-
vianus and Le-
pidus.

A general action
at sea be-
tween Pompey
and the two
triumvirs.

Pompey in-
tively defeated.
Year after the
flood 2968.
Before Christ
31.
Of Rome 717.

In the mean time, *Octavianus* returning to *Sicily*, had joined *Agrippa* in the neighbourhood of *Tyndaris*, where he was incamped with twenty-one legions, two thousand horse, and five thousand light-armed foot. From thence they both marched towards *Messana*, with a design to besiege that place, hoping thereby to draw *Pompey* to a battle, who had lodged all his military stores, provisions, and treasures, in that city. As they approached the place, *Lepidus*, whom *Octavianus* had acquainted with his design, joined them with all his sea and land forces. This triumvir, ever since his first landing in the island, had given *Octavianus* just reasons to suspect his intentions. He took indeed, upon his arrival, some small places on the coast, and besieged *Plennius* in *Lilybæum*; but afterwards acting only defensively, he suffered *Octavianus* to carry on the war by himself, without offering him the least assistance, as if he had maintained a private correspondence with *Pompey*. However, upon motives, which he discovered soon after, he approved of *Octavianus's* plan, and came to join him with all his forces before *Messana*, which city was closely invested both by sea and land. *Pompey*, having assembled into one body all the troops he had dispersed up and down the island, posted himself at a small distance from *Octavianus's* camp, and at the same time drew together his several squadrons, ordering them to watch the motions of the enemy's fleet, which blocked up the mouth of the harbour. After several motions and slight engagements between the fleets as well as the land-forces, *Pompey* challenged *Octavianus* to put an end to their differences by a sea fight with three hundred ships on a side. This proposal was no-ways agreeable to *Octavianus*, who had not hitherto been attended with any great success by sea. However, depending upon the valour and experience of *Agrippa* on one side, and on the other suspecting the fidelity of *Lepidus*, who had according to some twelve, according to others twenty, legions under his command, he accepted the challenge; and a day was appointed for the decisive action. Great preparations were made on both sides for an event, which was to decide the fate of the contending parties. When the day agreed on, and impatiently wished for, by the two generals, came, both fleets appeared early in the morning drawn up in battalia between *Mylæ* and *Naulocus*; upon which the two armies ran to the shore, there being then a kind of truce between them, to behold from thence the action, on which their fate in great measure depended. The signal was given, and the engagement began with that fury, which is peculiar to men, who are more animated by private hatred and party-rage, as happens in civil wars, than by motives of glory and conquest. *Agrippa* behaved with his usual bravery, and *Pompey*, knowing all lay at stake, distinguished himself from the beginning of the action to the end in a very eminent manner. Never was victory disputed with more obstinacy, the soldiers as well as officers of both parties fighting, after the example of their generals, with incredible resolution and intrepidity. The sea was covered to a great distance with dead bodies, and nothing was heard but shouts of the soldiers and mariners encouraging each other, or cries of men perishing in the waves. The victory continued long doubtful, but at length all yielded to the valour and superior conduct of *Agrippa*, *Pompey's* fleet was put to flight, and that unfortunate Roman obliged, in spite of his utmost efforts, to own himself conquered. Of his numerous fleet only seventeen vessels escaped, the rest being taken, burnt, or sunk ³. *Demochares*, one of his admirals, was taken prisoner, but laid violent hands on himself, to avoid the disgrace of being led in triumph. *Apollophanes*, his other admiral, yielded up himself and his galley to *Agrippa* in the very beginning of the action. What became of *Papias*, another of his freedmen, in whom he placed great trust, we know not, none of the ancients making any mention of him in the account they give us of this great action. As for *Menas*, he had long before the battle with his usual inconstancy and perfidiousness abandoned *Pompey* the second time, and gone over with his squadron to *Octavianus*, who received him, rather to weaken the enemy's party, than to strengthen his own; for knowing he was not a man to be trusted, he gave him no command, and displaced all the officers of the squadron he brought with him. This treacherous wretch, whose courage and experience were worthy of a more noble

² LIV. I. CXXIX. VELL. PATERCUL. I. III. C. 79. SUET. in OCTAVIO. APPIAN. I. V. DIO, I. XLIX. OROS. I. VI. C. 18. ³ LIV. VELL. PATERCUL. SUET. APPIAN. DIO. OROS. ibid. FLOP. I. IV. C. 18.

a noble mind; retired, if we believe *Horace*, with great wealth, and served afterwards in the post of a military tribune. The glory of this victory was intirely owing to *Agrippa*; for *Octavianus*, if *Antony* is to be credited, had not the courage even to look at the two navies drawn up in battalia, but in a great fright lay down in his galley with his eyes lifted up to heaven, like one beside himself, and continued in that posture, till *Agrippa* had put the enemy to flight. Some writers, to clear their hero from the reproach of cowardice, pretend, that at the time of the engagement he was overcome with so profound a sleep, that his friends with much ado waked him to give the word, and the signal for the charge. Be that as it will, it would seem very strange now-a-days, if the commander in chief of a fleet or army should say, by way of excuse for not discharging his duty during any memorable action, that he was asleep, and did not awake till the battle was over. *Octavianus*, however, did, in some degree, justice to the valour of *Agrippa*, honouring him with a blue standard, and a rostral crown, that is, a crown, whereof the flower-work represented the beaks of galleys. He deserved indeed a more substantial reward, having utterly destroyed the enemy's numerous fleet with the loss of three ships only of his own; but we shall soon see him raised to the greatest honours of the state, and distinguished by *Octavianus*, when absolute master of *Rome*, above all the subjects of the *Roman* empire. As for the unhappy *Pompey*, instead of repairing to his land-forces, and encouraging them with his presence, he left them at the discretion of the conqueror, and taking on board his daughter and some of his friends who were in *Messana*, together with the treasures he had lodged in that city, he passed the streights in the night, and steered his course towards *Asia* with seventeen galleys, the poor remains of a fleet of three hundred and fifty sail. His design was to throw himself upon the mercy of *Antony*, whose mother *Julia* he had formerly received and entertained with great civility, when she abandoned *Rome*, during the war of *Perusia*. Upon his retreat, *Tisienus Gallus*, one of his lieutenants, immediately submitted to the conqueror with all the forces under his command. As for *Plennius*, who commanded eight legions in *Lilybæum*, upon the first news of *Pompey's* defeat, he marched with incredible expedition to *Messana*, and threw himself into the place, before *Octavianus* or *Agrippa* had any intelligence of his design. But seeing there were no hopes of relief, he took the advantage of *Octavianus's* absence to capitulate with *Lepidus*, who granted him honourable conditions, and incorporated the troops he commanded among his own legions. *Agrippa*, whom *Octavianus* had left to carry on the siege with *Lepidus*, exclaiming against this unfair conduct, intreating him to wait till the arrival of his colleague, which at farthest would be, he said, next morning. But *Lepidus*, without hearkening either to his remonstrances or intreaties, received *Plennius* into his camp, and gave up the city to be plundered by his soldiers. *Octavianus*, arriving at break of day, sent some of his friends to his colleague's camp to complain in his name of these proceedings. *Lepidus*, who had now twenty-two legions under his command, answered with great haughtiness, that he would not suffer *Octavianus* to take upon him all the authority of the triumvirate, when he had an equal right to it. Upon this reply *Octavianus*, having first gained over by his emissaries the greatest part of *Lepidus's* officers, repaired to his camp attended with a strong body of horse, under pretence of making up matters with him in an amicable manner. He no sooner appeared, than *Plennius's* legions, whom he had already found means to debauch, flocked to him, offering him their service. *Lepidus*, alarmed at this unexpected attempt, fell upon *Octavianus* at the head of his guards, killed his shield-bearer close by him, wounded him, and obliged him to retire in some confusion. However, the next day *Lepidus* had the mortification to see himself abandoned by all his troops, who with their ensigns displayed marched out of their camp, in good order, to join his rival (P). The unhappy triumvir being thus left alone, quitted all the marks of his authority, and putting on a mourning robe, after having remained some time unregarded in the throng of those who made their submissions to *Octavianus*, threw himself at the feet of his colleague, and with great meanness begged his life, which was granted him with his estate, *Octavianus*

(P.) *Appian* tells us, that *Octavianus* went alone to the camp of *Lepidus*, depending on his own merit, and the authority he had gained by his victories, *Pompey's* soldiers looking upon him with respect and drawing round him. Hereupon *Lepidus* ordered his guards to disperse them, and fall upon *Octavianus*,

who, notwithstanding the wound he received, went to the place, where the eagles of the legions were kept, and taking one of them, exhorted the legionaries to follow him, which they did accordingly, abandoning their own general.

Octavianus despising him too much to take it from him. *Suetonius* is the only writer, who ^a says, that *Octavianus* banished him to *Circeii*, a small town on the coast of *Latium*. That he attained to be one of the supreme governors of the *Roman* empire was entirely owing to fortune, he being a man without any wisdom, valour, or activity; and therefore, after he had thus fallen from the high station, to which fortune had raised him, he was no more regarded, but ended his life in obscurity and contempt. Thus the whole authority of the triumvirate devolved upon *Antony* and *Octavianus*, who held the *Roman* empire divided between them, the former having all the east from the borders of *Illyricum* and the *Adriatic* gulph, and the latter all the rest ^b.

No *Roman* general was ever at the head of so powerful an army as *Octavianus* was ^b at this time in *Sicily*. He had under his command forty-five legions, twenty-five thousand horse, one hundred and sixty thousand light-armed foot, and besides six hundred ships of war, without counting the smaller vessels, which were without number. His power was now almost equal to his ambition; but they were both ^c checked by the insolence of his soldiers, who scarce ever failed to allay the joy which his victories gave him, and to put a stop to his further conquests. The war in *Sicily* being now at an end, the legionaries, reflecting on their great numbers and strength, began to mutiny, and demand in a tumultuous manner their discharge, and the same rewards which had been bestowed on those who had overcome *Brutus* and *Cassius* in the plains of *Philippi*. *Octavianus* endeavoured to appease the mutineers, by telling them ^d that he deferred giving them the rewards which were due to their valour, till the return of *Antony* from the east: adding, that the *Illyrians*, who had declared war, were to be conquered before any thing else could be done. But the mutinous legionaries refused to march, till he had satisfied their demands. Hereupon the general, being at a loss what to do, caused several crowns, bracelets, spears, &c. to be brought out for such of the soldiers as had distinguished themselves in the war, and scarlet robes for the officers; but a tribune, by name *Ofilius*, told him with a great deal of insolence, *That he might keep those bawbles for children; but as for his soldiers, nothing would satisfy them but money or land.* At these words the whole army shouted, and *Octavianus* in a great passion came down from his tribunal, and withdrew. The audacious tribune disappeared that night, and was never after seen or heard of, no-body ^e doubting, but he had been privately dispatched by *Octavianus*'s orders. This made the others more cautious, but not more tractable; for whenever *Octavianus* appeared, they cried out all with one voice, *Money, or our discharge*; insomuch, that he was at length obliged to dismiss those, whose time of service was expired, to the number of twenty thousand. The others he pacified with large promises, and a donative of five hundred drachmas a man, which he levied upon the *Sicilians*. After this, having settled the affairs of *Sicily*, he returned to *Rome*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy: the senate in a body met him at the gates, and conducted him to the capitol, followed by all the people crowned with garlands; from the capitol, after he had returned thanks to the gods for the success of his arms, they attended him to his palace. The next day he assembled the senate, according to custom, in the temple of *Bellona*, where in a studied speech, which he caused afterward to be published, he gave the conscript fathers an account of his expedition, and assured them, that he had undergone so many toils and dangers with no other view, but to restore peace and tranquillity to *Rome*. When he had ended his speech, he withdrew; and the senators, who were no more swayed with the love of liberty, but a spirit of slavery, and the meanest flattery, decreed him such honours as he himself ^f was ashamed to assume. However, he gave them leave to erect a statue of gold to his honour in the forum with this inscription; *To Cæsar, for having restored peace by sea and land*, and to appoint an annual feast to be celebrated on the day he had overcome *Pompey*. A triumph was decreed him, but he was satisfied with an ovation, which honour he enjoyed on the ides of *November* ^c. After his ovation, he assembled the people, and having returned them thanks for the honour they had bestowed on him, he lessened the taxes, and forgave those who had hired houses of the public all the rents they owed to the treasury. Thus he began to court the favour of the people at the expence of the public, being determined to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered of crushing *Antony*, as he had done *Pompey* and *Lepidus*, and assuming the whole

*Octavianus's
soldiers mutiny.*

*He discharges
some, and paci-
fies the others.*

*Honours de-
creed to Octa-
vianus by the
senate.*

^b APPIAN. l. v. p. 741. DIO, l. xlix. p. 398. SÜETONIUS in OCTAVIO. ^c APPIAN. l. v. p. 746. DIO, l. xlix. p. 400. SÜET. ibid. c. 22. OROS. l. vi. c. 18.

a whole power to himself. As the city as well as the country had been greatly infested; during the late troubles, with thieves and robbers, he charged *Sabinus*, one of his lieutenants, to pursue them with fire and sword, and established at *Rome* several companies for the guard of the city under the command of an officer, whom he styled *præfetus vigilum*. By this means peace and tranquillity were restored, not to *Rome* only, but to all *Italy*; which together with the plenty he procured, being now master of *Sicily*, gained the affections of the people to such a degree, that some cities went even so far as to erect altars to their benefactor, especially after one generous action, which inspired them with a high opinion of his prudence and good-nature. He had found among *Pompey's* papers a great many letters to him from some of the chief men in the senate. These he brought into the forum, and before all the people threw them unopened into the fire, protesting, that he sacrificed his private resentments to the good of the public. At the same time he solemnly declared, that his intention was to resign his authority as soon as *Antony* should return from the *Parthian* war. This declaration, however insincere, absolutely gained him the hearts and affections of the undiscerning multitude, who immediately chose him tribune of the people for his life, hoping this new dignity might induce him to lay down the more odious title of triumvir. He readily accepted the perpetual tribuneship, which rendered his person sacred and inviolable; but put off the suppression of the triumvirate till the return of *Antony*, dispatching in the mean time *Bibulus* to impart to him his resolution. After this *Octavianus* left *Rome*, and marched at the head of his army against the *Illyrians*, who had shaken off the *Roman* yoke.

He courts and gains the affections of the people.

He is chosen perpetual tribune of the people.

dURING these transactions at *Rome*, *Pompey* occasioned great disturbances in the east. From *Sicily* he sailed to the island of *Lesbos*, where he was informed of the bad success which had attended *Antony* in his expedition against the *Parthians*. Hereupon he began to entertain thoughts of taking *Antony's* post in the east, or at least of sharing with him the empire. With this view he sent ambassadors to the kings of *Pontus*, *Thrace*, and *Parthia*, soliciting their friendship, and offering them very advantageous terms. At the same time, he drew together what troops he could, giving out that he had no other design but to assist *Antony*, and defend himself against *Octavianus*. *Antony*, informed of these proceedings, commanded *Marcus Titius* to take upon him the command of the army that was quartered in *Sicily*, and watch the motions of *Pompey*. *Titius* was ordered to receive him with all possible marks of honour, if he yielded up himself and his troops; but to cut both him and his army in pieces, if he refused to submit. But *Pompey*, before the arrival of *Titius*, had pulled off the mask, and taken several cities of *Asia Minor*, among the rest *Nicæa* and *Nicomedia*. Hereupon *Titius*, taking with him *Furnius*, *Antony's* lieutenant in *Asia*, marched against him, and, having defeated his small army, obliged him to surrender at discretion. As soon as *Antony* had notice of his being taken, he wrote to *Titius* to put him to death; but soon after changing his mind, he sent a second letter, ordering his lieutenant to save him. But the second messenger arriving before the first, *Titius* perversely interpreting the last order he received to be the last that was sent him, put the unfortunate captive to death, being afraid, as he had formerly served under him, but abandoned him to side with *Antony*, lest he should be once in a condition, if his life were spared, to be revenged on him for his treachery. This rendered *Titius* so odious to the *Roman* people, who still retained a great regard for *Pompey* and his family, that they could never after bear the sight of him, but drove him out of the circus with hisses and curses; even while he was exhibiting to them games and shews at his own expence.

Pompey raises new troubles in Asia.

But is defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death.

It was believed, that the death of *Pompey* would have put an end to all civil wars. But the unbounded ambition of *Octavianus* and *Antony* soon involved the *Roman* state in new troubles. The passion *Antony* had for *Cleopatra*, and the extravagant presents of whole provinces, which he bestowed on her, served *Octavianus* for a spacious pretence to make war upon him, though his real motive was to get rid of a competitor so formidable, both for his valour and the high reputation he had gained among the soldiery. *Antony* had left *Octavia* in *Italy*, as we have related above, and passed into *Syria*, whither he invited *Cleopatra*, and gave her all *Phænice*, *Cæle-Syria*, *Cyprus*, and a great part of *Arabia* and *Judæa*. These profuse gifts much displeased the *Roman* people, who daily published scurrilous lampoons, censuring his conduct, and turning him

^d APPIAN. p. 747. DIO, p. 402. STRABO, l. iii. p. 141. LIV. epit. l. cxxxii. VALL. PATRICUL. l. ii. c. 82. & 97.

Antony's pro-
digality offends
the Roman
people.

Octavianus
stirs up the
people against
him.

Cleopatra pre-
wails upon An-
tony to send
back Octavia.

The virtuous
behaviour of
Octavia:

Antony gives
new occasion of
offence to the
Roman people.

him into ridicule on account of the scandalous life he led with *Cleopatra*. Soon after he marched against the *Parthians* with thirteen legions, ten thousand *Gaulish* or *Spanish* horse, and above thirty thousand light-armed foot. But this mighty army, which made all the east tremble, served only to render his retreat more shameful, as we have related at length in our history of the *Parthians*^e. As all the misfortunes he met with in that fatal expedition were owing to his passion for *Cleopatra*, which made him neglect the more proper measures, to follow those only, which might hasten his return to that bewitching woman, the *Romans* were highly incensed against him. But what most of all provoked them was his taking *Artabazes*, king of *Armenia*, in a most treacherous manner, as we have related elsewhere^f, and leading him in triumph into *Alexandria*, the *Romans* looking upon the ceremony of triumphing as appropriated wholly to their city. *Octavianus* took advantage of *Antony's* impolitic conduct, to estrange more and more the minds of the people from him; and when he found their spirits sufficiently exasperated, he resolved to send his sister *Octavia* to her husband, that he might have a plausible pretence to declare war, if he should offer her the affront of sending her back without seeing her. *Antony* was then returned from his *Parthian* expedition, and waited at *Leucopolis*, or, as *Plutarch* calls it, *Leucocome*, for the arrival of *Cleopatra*, whom he had sent for. The queen arrived at last, bringing with her cloaths for the soldiers, and vast sums of money to be distributed among them. Almost at the same time *Niger*, one of *Antony's* particular friends, arrived from *Octavia*, who was already come as far as *Athens*, with letters from her to her husband; wherein she acquainted him, that she had brought with her cloaths for his soldiers, a great many horses, and rich presents for his friends and officers, with two thousand chosen men well armed to recruit the prætorian cohorts. This was very unwelcome news to the queen, who knowing *Octavia* came only to dispute with her, and lay in her claim to, *Antony's* affections, and dreading the presence of so virtuous a rival, feigned a deep melancholy, and pretended to be dying for love of him. When she was near him, she beheld him with languishing eyes and a despairing countenance, like one beside herself with love. She let fall tears in his presence, and at the same time pretended to dry them up in haste, and unobserved, as if she were ashamed to have him a witness of her weakness. By these artifices the crafty queen gained the ascendant over *Antony*, and prevailed upon him to send word to *Octavia*, that she should not pursue her journey into *Syria*, but to return to *Rome*. After this he waited on *Cleopatra* back to *Alexandria*, where he passed the winter with that lewd woman in all manner of luxury, pomp, and voluptuousness.

Octavia being returned to *Rome*, her brother ordered her to quit her husband's house, since he had treated her so contemptuously: but the virtuous *Octavia* refused to obey him, saying, that though she had a great respect for her brother, yet she could not prevail upon herself to comply with his orders; and therefore conjured him not to force her to leave the house of a person, whom she would always honour as her husband in spite of his inconstancy: she intreated him to abandon her interest, and not make war upon *Antony* for an affront, which regarded her alone, since it would be a shameful thing to have it reported, that two of the greatest commanders in the world had involved the *Roman* people in a war, the one to justify his mistress, the other in resentment for his sister's ill usage. *Octavianus* could not help indulging her virtuous inclinations; he allowed her to continue in her husband's house, where she brought up his children with extraordinary care, without making any distinction between her own and those he had by *Fulvia*. She took under her protection all those whom her husband sent to *Rome* to sue for offices, assisted their pretensions with the authority her virtue gave her, and never left importuning her brother, till she had obtained for them what they desired. But nothing proved more prejudicial to *Antony's* interest than this deportment of *Octavia*; his injurious treatment of a woman of her rank, merit, and virtue drew on him the resentment of all the *Romans*, who were still more provoked at what he did about this time at *Alexandria*. For having feasted the whole people of that great metropolis, he assembled them in the gymnasium, and causing a throne of silver to be erected there with two seats of gold, the one for himself, the other for *Cleopatra*, and lower seats at their feet for his children, he proclaimed *Cleopatra* queen of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Africa*, and *Cæle-Syria*, and joined with her as her colleague *Cæsarion*, whom she had by *Julius Cæsar*. As for his own children

^e Hist. Univers. Vol. IV. p. 308, & seq.

^f Hist. Univers. ibid. p. 708.

a dren by *Cleopatra*, he gave to *Alexander Armenia, Media, Parthia*, and the rest of the eastern provinces from the *Euphrates* to the *Indus*; to *Cleopatra*, the twin sister of *Alexander, Libya* and *Cyrene*; and to *Ptolemy*, whom he surnamed *Philadelphus*, *Phœnice, Syria, Cilicia*, and all the countries of the *Lesser Asia* from the *Euphrates* to the *Hellepont*; and he conferred on each of them the title of *king of kings*. What seemed most remarkable in this solemnity was, that *Cleopatra* appeared drest like the goddess *Isis*, and *Antony* like the god *Osiris*; and from that time both frequently gave audience to the people, in the attire which was thought peculiar to those deities ^P.

b *Octavianus*, taking advantage of the general resentment against *Antony*, which this division of provinces occasioned at *Rome*, accused him before the senate and people of this and several other attempts highly injurious to the majesty of the Roman empire; which *Antony* being informed of, sent some of his friends to *Rome* to plead his cause, and accuse *Octavianus* in his turn. The chief articles he preferred against him were,

1. That he had not shared with him the island of *Sicily*, which was lately taken from *Pompey*: 2. That he had not made restitution of the ships he had lent him: 3. That having abrogated the power of *Lepidus* his colleague, he had appropriated to himself his army, his government, and his revenues: Lastly, that he had divided almost all *Italy* among his own soldiers, and reserved nothing for his. To these accusations *Octavianus* answered, that he had not dismissed *Lepidus* from his government, till he had made it appear that he was unfit to govern; that as to what he had got by the war, he would divide it with *Antony*, when he gave him his share of *Armenia*; and as for *Antony's* soldiers, they could not surely value or claim a few acres of land in *Italy*, after they had conquered all *Media*, and reduced the wealthy empire of the *Parthians* by the mighty exploits they had performed, under the conduct of their invincible general. *Antony* was so provoked at this biting jest, that though he had already marched as far as the river *Araxes* with a design to invade *Parthia*, he dropt that expedition, and ordered *Canidius*, one of his lieutenants, to march forthwith at the head of sixteen legions down to the coasts of the *Ionian* sea, and there keep himself in a readiness to pass over into *Europe* at a day's warning. As for *Antony* himself, he hastened with *Cleopatra* to *Ephesus*, where his lieutenants had got together eight hundred vessels, of which the queen furnished two hundred with twenty thousand talents and provisions for the whole army. *Antony* was advised by his friends to send back *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, there to expect the event of the war; but she, dreading a peace might be made in her absence, upon condition of *Antony's* receiving again *Octavia* and excluding her, prevailed upon *Canidius* with a large sum of money to represent to *Antony*, that it was not just to drive away a princess with disgrace, who bore so great a part in the charge of the war; that it would be highly impolitic to disoblige the *Egyptians*, who made up so considerable a part of his naval forces; and finally, that *Cleopatra* was not inferior to any of the kings who attended him, in prudence and good sense, as was manifest from her governing so mighty a kingdom by herself. It was owing to *Octavianus's* good fortune and *Antony's* evil destiny, that this counsel took place. *Cleopatra* was allowed to stay, and they both left *Ephesus*, and set sail for *Samos*, the place of the general rendezvous. Thither all the kings, princes, and nations from *Egypt* to the *Euxine* sea, and from *Armenia* to *Illyricum*, were ordered to send men, arms, and provisions. It was at the same time proclaimed, that all stage-players, dancers, singers, buffoons, &c. should repair to the same island; so that sometimes a ship, which was thought to be laden with soldiers and warlike stores, proved fraught with scenes, machines for the stage, musicians, and players. Thus, while the rest of the world was in tears, and great dread of the approaching war, joy, and all kind of pleasures reigned at *Samos*, as if they had abandoned all other places to reside there. Thither each city, within the limits of *Antony's* government, was ordered to send an ox to be offered in sacrifice; and the kings, who attended him, were in a perpetual dispute, who should make the most magnificent feasts: insomuch, that it became a common question among the spectators, *What will they do by way of triumph after the victory, since they make such rejoycings at the opening of a dangerous war?*

FROM *Samos*, *Antony* sailed for *Athens*, where he lived after his usual manner, spending his whole time in luxury and voluptuousness. *Cleopatra*, who accompanied him, being jealous of the honours *Octavia* had received at *Athens*, insinuated herself, with all the civilities imaginable, into the favour of the *Athenians*, who in requital decreed her honours

^P PLUT. in Anton. Dio; l. xlix. p. 415; 416. & lib. l. p. 421.

² PLUT. ibid.

He divorces
Octavia.

honours beyond the condition of mortals, and deputed several of the citizens to wait upon her at her house with the decree. At the head of this deputation was *Antony* himself, he being free of *Athens*: and, as he was chosen their speaker, he harangued the queen in the name of the people. While he was at *Athens*, *C. Sotius* and *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, the consuls of this year, were obliged to leave *Rome*, not thinking themselves safe there, after they had taken upon them to defend *Antony*. They both took refuge in *Athens*, and incensed *Antony* to such a degree against *Octavianus*, that he solemnly divorced *Octavia*, and sent proper officers to *Rome* to drive her out of his house. The virtuous *Octavia* obeyed without complaining, and retired to her own house with all his children, except *Antyllus*, his eldest son by *Fulvia*, who was with his father. She only lamented her hard fate, in seeing herself looked upon as one of the causes of a civil war. But men of penetration well knew, that there was only one true cause of the present breach, viz. *Octavianus*'s unbounded ambition, which, not satisfied with one-half of the *Roman* empire, aspired at the whole. But he had certainly been disappointed, had not *Antony*, according to his custom, spent so much time in idleness and debauchery, at *Samos* and *Athens*, with that bewitching woman, who at length was the occasion of his ruin. Had *Antony* come immediately to a final decision, he must unavoidably have carried the day, he having then with him a powerful fleet and a numerous army, whereas his rival had not yet made any preparations for a war; and besides all *Italy* was in a ferment, on account of the extraordinary taxes which he was forced to lay on the people, for the raising of the necessary sums; insomuch, that it was looked upon as one of the greatest of *Antony*'s oversights, that he put off the war till the next summer, by which time *Octavianus*, having quieted the people, put himself in a condition of disputing the empire, with forces equal to those of his enemy^r.

Antony is forsaken by several of his friends.

DURING *Antony*'s stay at *Athens*, many of his friends, being ill used by *Cleopatra* for opposing her design of attending *Antony* in the war, abandoned him, and came over to *Octavianus*, among the rest *Plancus*, and *Titius* his nephew. *Plancus* on his arrival at *Rome* accused *Antony* before the senate of several crimes, with so much venom and bitterness, that *Coponius* could not forbear saying to him, *Surely you never observed what you now lay to Antony's charge, till the evening before your departure*, reproaching him thereby either with baseness, in enduring those crimes so long, or with stupidity, in not finding them out sooner (Q). *Pollio*'s conduct was as generous, as *Plancus*'s was infamous. *Pollio* had abandoned *Antony*, and led a private life in *Italy*, ever since his first intrigues with *Cleopatra*; but yet, when *Octavianus* pressed him to serve under him in this war, he answered frankly, *I have served Antony better perhaps than he has rewarded me; however, as the favours I have received at his hands are more known than the services I have done him, to avoid the imputation of ingratitude, I will not take up arms against him, but quietly wait the event of the war, and be at the discretion of the conqueror*. *Antony* had made a will in favour of *Cleopatra*, and highly injurious and dishonourable to the *Roman* people, and lodged it with the vestals at *Rome*. *Plancus* and *Titius*, who had been privy to all his secret counsels and designs, gave notice of it to *Octavianus*, who immediately demanded it. The religious vestals answered, that they could not deliver it up, without a sacrilegious breach of the trust reposed in them; but that *Octavianus* might, if he thought fit, come and seize it himself; which he did accordingly; and having first read it over in private, and made marks upon those places which he thought most for his purpose, he called the senate, and caused it to be read to them. In this will *Antony* declared, that *Cæsarion*, *Cæsar*'s son

Octavianus makes use of Antony's will to stir up the people against him.

^r PLUT. *ibid*:

(Q). *Plancus* was one of *Cleopatra*'s most servile flatterers, and had been privy to all *Antony*'s intrigues, debasing himself to the meanest employments about him, even to the writing of his love-letters to the queen and to other women. Though he had been consul, commander in chief of an army, and governor of a province, he was not ashamed to appear at the *Egyptian* court among common actors, buffoons, and stage-players, all wretches, whose birth was as mean as their profession. At a public entertainment, to curry favour with the queen, he took upon him to personate *Glaucus*, and, having painted his body green, danced quite naked on the public

theatre, with a crown of reeds on his head, trailing behind him the tail of a huge fish. This behaviour, highly unbecoming a man of his age and quality, made him appear contemptible in the eyes of the *Egyptians* themselves. Besides, *Antony* abused and reproached him for some extortions, whereof he had been accused; which, as he was already despised by the *Egyptians*, he took so much amiss, that he laid hold of the first opportunity that offered to abandon *Antony*, and join *Octavianus*, who received him with great demonstrations of friendship and affection.

a son by *Cleopatra*, was born in lawful wedlock, and therefore was the true heir of *Julius Cæsar*. This was dispossessing *Octavianus* of the inheritance which he held, only as the adopted son of the dictator. By the same will he bequeathed most of the Roman territories, which were under his command, to *Cleopatra* and her children; and moreover ordered his body, where-ever he should die, though at *Rome* itself, to be sent into *Egypt* to *Cleopatra*, there to be buried, as she should direct. *Octavianus* insisted more especially on that part of the will which related to his funeral, and on his robbing the Roman people of their provinces, to enrich a foreign princess, who was an enemy to *Rome*. As these charges were undeniably made good from an authentic instrument, they estranged from him the minds of many, who had hitherto pleaded his cause with great zeal. Some of his friends, however, took his part, declaring, that they thought it an extraordinary and unprecedented way of proceeding to punish a man in his life-time, for what was not to be put in execution till after his death. Hereupon *Caius Calvissius* accused him of several other crimes, viz. that he had made a present to *Cleopatra* of the famous library of the kings of *Pergamus*, consisting of two hundred thousand volumes; that he had suffered the *Ephesians* to give her the title of their queen; that he had frequently at the public audience of kings and princes received love-letters from *Cleopatra*, and read them on his tribunal; that one day, when *Furnius*, an orator of great eloquence and authority among the Romans, was pleading before him, he left him and the audience in the middle of their cause to follow *Cleopatra*, who happened to pass by in her chair; that at a solemn feast he had risen from table, and trod upon her foot, which all the guests looked upon as the signal of a private meeting, &c. The heads of this accusation, however ridiculous they may seem at present, were seriously proposed by *Calvissius*, and appeared of such moment and weight to *Antony's* friends, that they sent one *Geminus* to him to let him know, that his affairs required him to be more circumspect, and that, unless he altered his conduct, he was in danger of being deprived of the office of consul, to which he had been named for the year ensuing, of being stripped of all his governments, and declared an enemy to the Roman people. The arrival of *Geminus* alarmed *Cleopatra*, who, looking upon him as one of *Octavia's* spies, ridiculed him, and made him the constant jest of the table, where she took care to have him always placed at the lower end. *Geminus* bore all her affronts and outrages with great patience, in hopes of finding at length an opportunity of talking with *Antony* in private. But he, instead of giving him a private audience, asked him one night at a full table, what had brought him to Athens? The business I come upon, said he, well deserves a serious consideration, and is not to be talked of over a bottle. One thing, however, I am charged by your friends to tell you, which you may hear as well drunk as sober; your affairs will bear a much better face, if you send back *Cleopatra* into Egypt. You have done very wisely, *Geminus*, answered the queen in a great passion, to tell us this important secret, without waiting till it was extorted from you on the rack. A few days after *Geminus*, dreading the effects of *Cleopatra's* displeasure, made his escape and returned to *Rome*, whither he was followed by many of *Antony's* friends, no longer able to bear with the ill usage they received from the imperious queen. Among these were *Marcus Syllanus* and *Dellius* the historian. The latter had said at an entertainment, where the wine was not to his mind, that *Antony's* friends drank vinegar, while at *Rome* *Sarmentus* was served with *Falernian* wine. This *Sarmentus* is mentioned by *Horace*, and was one of *Octavianus's* buffoons. *Cleopatra* took this raillery so ill, that she ordered *Dellius* to be privately murdered; but he being acquainted, by one *Glaucus* a physician, of her design, saved himself by flight and retired to *Rome*.

He is accused of several crimes by C. Calvissius.

The imperious behaviour of Cleopatra obliges several of Antony's friends to forsake him.

f AND NOW *Octavianus*, finding himself in a condition to encounter *Antony* with equal forces, no longer delayed declaring war; but caused it to be decreed only against *Cleopatra*, for fear of provoking *Antony's* friends, who were still very numerous and powerful. However, *Antony* was deprived of the consulate, and his government was taken from him, for suffering himself to be ruled by a woman. The decree implied besides, that *Cleopatra* had so bewitched *Antony* with her charms and potions, as to bereave him of his senses; and that *Antony* was not to manage the war against the Romans, but *Mardion* the eunuch, *Photinus* and *Iras*, *Cleopatra's* waiting-women, and *Charmion*, another of her maids, who were become *Antony's* counsellors and prime ministers of state. It is said, that this war was preceded by many signs and prodigies

* HORAT. l. i. satyr. 5. † PLUT. ibid. DIO, lib. l. p. 420. ‡ PLUT. ibid. DIO, p. 421, 422.

War declared against Cleopatra.

The forces of
Octavianus
and Antony.

digies (R), which were all interpreted very justly, but not before *Antony's* defeat. The forces of the contending parties were answerable to the empire they shared between them. *Antony* had under his command all the provinces from the *Euphrates* and *Armenia* to the *Ionian* sea and *Illyricum*, and from *Cyrene* to *Æthiopia*. *Octavianus's* government extended from *Illyricum* to the ocean, and comprehended all the coast of *Africa* that was opposite to *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*. Many kings followed *Antony's* fortune, and attended him in this war; namely *Bocchus* king of *Mauritania*, *Tarcondemus* or *Tarcondimotus* of *Upper Cilicia*, *Archelaus* of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus* of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates* of *Comagene*, *Adallas* of *Thrace*. These attended him in person: but *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, *Malchus* king of *Arabia*, *Herod* king of *Judea*, *Amyntas* king of *Lycaonia* and *Galatia*, only sent their quotas of forces. All these together made up an army of a hundred thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. His navy consisted of five hundred ships of war, some whereof had eight, and some ten, banks of oars. As for *Octavianus*, he had no foreign princes in his army, which amounted only to eighty thousand foot, but was as strong in cavalry as the enemy's. He had no more than two hundred and fifty ships, but those light, and well manned with sailors, rowers, and soldiers; whereas *Antony's* seemed built for ostentation, and, besides, were but very indifferently manned, his officers having been obliged, for want of mariners, to press in *Greece*, which had been exhausted long before, carriers, labourers, and even boys; and for all this his vessels had not their full complement^w.

They write
sharp letters to
each other.

BEFORE these two mighty fleets and armies came to engage, a paper war broke out, on what occasion we know not, between the generals, who wrote very sharp and reflecting letters to each other. *Octavianus* reproached *Antony* with the prodigality of his entertainments and his intrigues with *Cleopatra*. *Antony*, on the other hand, put *Octavianus* in mind of the famous entertainment of the twelve gods, at which he presided dressed like *Apollo*, while the other guests, women as well as men, appeared in the attire of gods and goddesses, and passed the night in the most infamous debaucheries (S). To this he added his hasty marriage with *Livia* against all rules of decency; his divorcing *Scribonia*, because she would not bear with the capricious humour of that new mistress; and on this occasion all the *Roman* ladies, with whom *Octavianus* had ever carried on intrigues, were brought upon the stage. *Antony* in one of his letters reproached him with the cowardice he had betrayed, in all the engagements at which he had been present, mentioning those shameful circumstances of which we have taken notice above. Hereupon *Octavianus* wrote to him, that it was childish to fight any longer with the pen; but that, if he would approach at the head of his army, he should be suffered to land in *Italy* without molestation, that his fleet should have safe ports, and his land-forces ground enough to incamp on and put themselves in order of battle. In return to these bravadoes, *Antony* challenged his rival to a single combat, though he was much older; and sent him word, that, if he declined the challenge, he was ready to meet him at the head of his army in battle-array in the plains of *Pharsalia*, where *Cæsar* and *Pompey* had formerly decided their quarrel. However, nothing was done this year; *Octavianus* assembled with his fleet and army at *Brundisium*, and *Antony* came as far as *Corcyra* to meet him; but, the summer being far spent and the tempestuous season of the year approaching, they both retired and put their armies into winter-quarters^x.

IN

^w PLUT. *ibid.* DIO, p. 422, 423.

^x PLUT. & DIO, *ibid.*

(T) The city of *Pisaurum*, where *Antony* had settled a colony, was swallowed up by an earthquake: a marble statue of *Antony* at *Alba* was observed to sweat for many days together. While he himself was in the city of *Patra*, the temple of *Hercules* was destroyed by lightning, and at *Athens* the statue of *Bacchus* was by a violent wind blown out of the *Gigantomachia*, and carried into the theatre. The *Gigantomachia* was a public edifice at *Athens*, where the battle of the gods with the giants was represented in painting. These two latter prodigies were looked upon as very bad omens for *Antony*, who pretended to derive his pedigree from *Hercules*, and made a profession of imitating *Bacchus*, causing himself for that reason to be called young *Bacchus*. The

same storm falling at *Athens* upon the statues of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, which had been dedicated to *Antony*, and were called *Antonii*, overturned them, without hurting others, that stood equally exposed. Some swallows built their nests in the stern of *Cleopatra's* admiral galley, called *Antonias*; but others drove them away and destroyed their nests (91.)

(S) This feast, which was called the *dodecatheon*, because the guests personated twelve gods and goddesses had made a great noise at *Rome*, and had been the subject of many satirical epigrams. *Antony* had never been guilty of more infamous and scandalous debaucheries, than *Octavianus* was on this occasion.

(91) Plut. in *Antono*.

In the mean time, the consular year expiring, *Octavianus* caused himself to be declared consul for the third time, and took *M. Valerius Messala* for his colleague in the room of *Antony*, who was to enjoy that dignity this year, according to the agreement made between the two triumvirs and *Pompey*, of which we have spoken above. *Messala* resigned the fasces on the calends of May to *M. Titius*, who had abandoned *Antony* together with *Plancus*, and *Titius* on the calends of October yielded his office to one *Cn. Pompeius*, of whose descent or services no mention is made in history.

As soon as the season would permit, both armies took the field, and the fleets put to sea. *Antony's* fleet sailed into the *Ambracian* gulph, between the islands of *Coryra* and *Cephalenia*, and his army incamped at *Actium* near his fleet. *Actium* was a small city on the south side of the mouth of the gulph in *Acarnania*. While *Antony's* fleet was at anchor there, *Octavianus*, crossing the *Ionian* sea, surprized *Toryne*, a small city near *Actium*. This unexpected attempt occasioned great confusion in *Antony's* camp, by reason only a few legions were yet arrived, and they had not news of the rest. But *Cleopatra*, to calm their fears, turned it into a jest; *Indeed*, said she, *we ought to tremble, now that Cæsar has taken Toryne* (T), alluding to the word *Toryne*, which in the language of that country signifies a ladle. The next morning, as soon as it was light, *Octavianus* appeared off *Actium* with his ships in order of battle. As *Antony's* legions were not yet arrived, he had but a small number of soldiers on board his fleet, and consequently must unavoidably have been defeated, had *Octavianus* attacked him. To divert him therefore for the present from engaging, which he knew was no difficult matter in the absence of *Agrippa*, he armed all his rowers and mariners, placed them on the decks, and sailed up into the mouth of the gulph, as if he intended to fall upon the enemy; which *Octavianus* no sooner observed, than he retreated, as *Antony* had expected. *Octavianus's* land-forces were incamped on the other side of the mouth of the gulph of *Ambracia*, at a place where *Octavianus* afterwards built, in memory of his victory, a city which he called *Nicopolis*, or the city of victory. While he lay there, *Antony*, who was well acquainted with the country, found means to cut off the water from his camp, which much distressed his army. In the mean time, the brave *Agrippa*, with a squadron and a considerable body of land-forces, ravaged the coasts of *Greece*, intercepted all the convoys that were coming to *Antony* from *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Asia*, and, making descents, stormed several cities, among the rest *Methona* in *Peloponnesus*, where *Bogud*, king of *Mauritania*, who had sided with *Antony* and defended the place, was killed, and the numerous garison cut in pieces. From *Methona* *Agrippa* sailed for *Leucas*, at a small distance from *Actium*, and in the sight of *Antony* made himself master of that island and the ships he found there. The cities of *Patrae* and *Corinth* were likewise forced to submit to him, after he had defeated *Q. Nasidius*, whom *Antony* had sent to stop the progress of his conquests. As he was returning from the coasts of *Greece* to join *Octavianus*, he fell in with *Sosius*, one of *Antony's* admirals, who had just put to flight *L. Tauresius*, whom *Octavianus* had sent out with a numerous squadron to watch the enemy's motions. *Agrippa* attacked him with his usual bravery, took some of his ships, sunk others, and dispersed the rest. In this engagement *Sosius* himself perished, and with him *Tracondimotus* king of *Cilicia*. At the same time, a great body of *Antony's* cavalry, commanded by himself, was defeated by a detachment of *Octavianus's* cavalry under the command of *Titius* and *Statilius Taurus*. These advantages, and the arrival of *Agrippa* with his victorious squadron, induced *Antony* to abandon in the night-time the camp which he had fortified over-against the enemy's, and retire to *Actium* on the other side of the *Ambracian* gulf, where the greatest part of his army lay. While he continued at *Actium*, several persons of distinction, seeing his fleet so unfortunate in every thing that was undertaken, and himself spending his whole time with *Cleopatra*, abandoned him and went over to *Octavianus*. Among these were the kings *Amyntas* and *Dejotarus*, and *Cneius Domitius Abenobarbus*, the last year's consul, who, notwithstanding his affection to *Antony*, could no longer bear with the haughty and insolent behaviour of *Cleopatra*. The unexpected desertion of *Domitius*, whom *Antony* looked upon as one of his best friends, stung him to the heart:

γ Plut. ibid.

(T) It is impossible to preserve the beauty of this allusion in our language. *Toryne*, which in this place is made use of as the name of a town, signifies likewise a ladle; and the witticism lies there, as if *Cleopatra* had said, *We ought indeed to tremble now that Octavianus has taken a ladle from us.*

heart: however, his carriage to him was very generous, and much against the will of *Cleopatra*; for he sent after him his whole equipage, with his friends and servants; which so sensibly touched *Domitius*, who was sick of a fever when he fled, that he soon after died, his distemper being increased by the grief of abandoning a man, who by kindness requited his infidelity and desertion. The flight of *Domitius* proved extremely prejudicial to *Antony's* interest, most men believing, that a person of his understanding and penetration would never have abandoned him, had he not thought the ruin of his party inevitable. *Antony* now began to distrust even his best friends, and caused some of them upon bare suspicions to be put to death; namely *Jamblicus*, a petty king of *Arabia*, who expired upon the rack, and *Q. Posthumus*, a senator of distinction.

Canidius advises *Antony* to dismiss *Cleopatra*, and retire.

At length *Canidius*, commander in chief of *Antony's* forces, arrived with the rest of the legions, and soon after his arrival, as he saw the danger nearer, changed his mind with relation to *Cleopatra*. He advised *Antony* by all means to send her back, and retire himself into *Thrace* and *Macedon*, there to decide the quarrel in the open fields with his land-forces; the rather, because *Dicomes*, king of the *Getae*, was ready to join him with a great army. *It will not, said he to Antony, be any disparagement to you to quit the sea, and leave Octavianus master of it, who in his wars with Pompey has gained so great experience in maritime affairs. But it will be renouncing both sense and reason for you, who are one of the most experienced land-officers in the world, to make no other use of your well disciplined and stout troops, than to disperse them on board several ships, and render them useless in the defence of a navy. What can be more ridiculous, more absurd, than to depend upon the sea and winds for a victory, which the valour and experience of your soldiers, whom you have tried in so many dangers, leave you no room to doubt*

But *Antony* resolves upon a fight at sea.

of by land? *Antony* was very much inclined to follow the advice of his prudent and faithful general; but *Cleopatra*, whose words were oracles with him, biassed him the other way, and obliged him, against his own judgment, to hazard the empire and his life in a sea-fight. The perfidious and cowardly queen already entertained thoughts of flying, as *Plutarch* informs us, and was deliberating, not how to be assisting to *Antony* in obtaining the victory, but how she might, when all was lost, make her escape with greatest safety. *Antony*, being now determined to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement by sea, went often from his camp to the place where his fleet lay at anchor, sometimes alone, and sometimes attended only by some of his particular friends, as suspecting no danger. One of *Octavianus's* slaves, having by chance observed him, ran immediately to his master, and told him, that he had seen *Antony* walking, without any distrust and slenderly attended, from his camp to the seaside. Hereupon *Octavianus* the same night ordered a party of chosen men to cross the gulph, which at the entrance was but a mile over, and lie in wait for *Antony* on the narrow neck of land which led from his camp to the sea. His orders were put in execution with such secrecy, and the whole affair so well conducted, that had it not been for the impatience of some soldiers, who started up too soon, they had seized on *Antony*, and put an end to the war without shedding a drop of blood; for they took the officer who just walked before him, and it was with the utmost difficulty that *Antony* himself got off.

Antony in danger of falling into the enemy's hands.

AND now *Antony* being determined, out of a shameful complaisance for *Cleopatra*, and against his own opinion as well as that of all his officers, to try his fortune by sea, began to make the necessary preparations for an action, on the success whereof depended the empire of the *Roman* world. As he was well acquainted with the effeminacy of the *Egyptians*, he was afraid they would turn their backs as soon as the fight began; and therefore he set fire to all their ships, except sixty, which he spared, that they might serve as a guard for the queen. Out of the other squadrons from *Syria*, *Greece*, *Cilicia*, the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and *Phoenice*, he chose the best galleys from three ranks of oars to ten. The rest he condemned to the flames for want of mariners. While he was reviewing the troops that were to imbarque, an old experienced officer, who had fought often under him, and had his body covered all over with scars, called to him aloud, and addressed him thus: *O my noble general, why do you mistrust these wounds and this sword, so as to put your confidence in rotten wood? Leave the water to the Egyptians and Phoenicians, men born and nursed up in that element; but give us Romans the land, where we are accustomed to brave death, and make*

^a PLUT. *ibid.* VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 34. DIO, lib. l. p. 427, 428.

^b PLUT. *ibid.*

^c PLUT. DIO, *ibid.*

^a *our enemies fly before us.* Antony returned no answer; only, by his looks and the motion of his hand, he seemed to bid him be of good heart, though he himself was far from being satisfied with the posture of his affairs, as manifestly appeared from his behaviour towards the pilots, who were for leaving their sails behind; but Antony obliged them to take them with them, saying, *We must not let one enemy escape*; which was putting a good face upon a bad cause.

AND now both fleets were ready to engage; but a violent storm, which continued for four days together, prevented them. On the fifth, the sea being calm, they advanced towards each other in good order. Gellius Publicola commanded Antony's right wing, Cælius the left, and Marcus Octavius and Marcus Justeius the main body. ^{The disposition of the two fleets.}

^b On Octavianus's side, Agrippa was placed in the centre, having Larius on his right, and Aruntius on his left. As for Octavianus and Antony, they were both, according to some writers, in the right wing of their respective fleets; according to others, they chose no particular place for themselves; but went each in a light vessel from one division to another, encouraging their men, and putting them in mind of their former exploits and victories (U). This day, said Antony to his men before the engagement, *I expect the empire of the world from your valour, and promise you rewards answerable to so noble a conquest.* Octavianus gave no less hopes to his men, and with more confidence, having been animated by a happy omen, which he caused to be published throughout the fleet (W). Antony ordered the commanders of his ships to receive

^c the enemy without stirring, but lying still as at anchor, and to keep within the mouth of the gulf. Agrippa was not for attacking him in that posture; and therefore kept about eight furlongs distant from the enemy till noon, when a gentle gale springing up, Antony's men, impatient of further delays, and trusting to the bulk and height of their ships, put their left wing in motion. Agrippa beheld this with great satisfaction, and ordered his right wing to bear back, on purpose to draw the enemy as far out of the streights as possible, that his galleys, which were light and nimble sailors, might have an opportunity of surrounding Antony's heavy ships, whose bulk and want of hands in proportion to their rates made them unwieldy and unfit for service. On this side the action began; but in a different manner from what was

^d then used in sea-fights: there was no boarding, or running one ship against another, Antony's vessels being, on account of their size, incapable of a violent motion, and, on the other hand, Octavianus's ships not daring to approach them for fear of splitting against their sides, which were armed with strong square pieces of wood fastened together with massy pins of iron; so that this engagement resembled a land-fight, or rather the attack of some strong place. Octavianus's soldiers attacked the enemy with pikes, javelins, darts, and several inventions of fire, which they threw among them, while Antony's men defended themselves with showers of darts and arrows, which they discharged from their wooden towers. In the mean time, Agrippa ordered Aruntius

The battle of Actium.

Year of the flood, 2973.

Before Christ

26.

Of Rome 722.

c PLUT. *ibid.* DIO, p. 428.

(U) According to Plutarch, Antony commanded the right wing in conjunction with Publicola. The same writer places Octavianus in his right wing, Agrippa in the left, and Aruntius in the centre (95). The right wing of the Julian ships, says Velleius Paterculus (96), was committed to M. Larius, the left to Aruntius, and to Agrippa the charge of the whole. Caesar was present every where. The command of Antony's fleet was committed to Publicola and Sosius. As to the land-forces, it is agreed on all hands, that Taurus commanded in chief on the side of Octavianus, and Canidius on Antony's. Antony had on board his fleet twenty thousand legionaries and two thousand archers (97); Octavianus eight legions and five prætorian cohorts. As to the number of the ships, Florus tells us, that Octavianus's fleet consisted of four hundred sail, and Antony's only of half that number; but what was wanting in number, adds that writer, was made up in bulk; for all Antony's ships had from six to nine ranks of oars; and besides, they were so raised with turrets and decks, that they resembled castles and cities, making the sea

groan under them, and the wind out of breath to move them (98). But, as to the number of Antony's ships, Florus is contradicted by Octavianus himself, who left written in his commentaries quoted by Plutarch, that he took three hundred of the enemy's ships (99).

(W) We are told, that as Octavianus was going out of his tent at break of day to visit his fleet, he met a countryman driving an ass. Being moved with curiosity, or rather superstition, he asked the man's name. My name, replied he, is Eutyches, and my ass is called Nicom. The first of these names in Greek signifies happy, and the other conqueror. This seemed so lucky an omen to Octavianus, that he no longer doubted of victory; and when afterwards he erected a trophy in that place, with the beaks of the ships he had taken, he caused two statues of brass to be erected, one representing the man, and the other his ass (100). Pliny adds (1), that as Octavianus was sacrificing before the battle, the victim was found to have a double liver.

(95) Appian. *ibid.*

(96) Vell. Pat. *ibid.* l. ii. c. 85.

(97) Plut. *ibid.*

(98) Flor. l. iv. c. 11.

(99) Plut. *ibid.*

(100) Idem *ibid.* Suet. in Octav. c. 96.

(1) Plin. l. xi. c. 37.

The flight of
Cleopatra.

Who is follow-
ed by Antony.

The gallant be-
haviour of An-
tony's troops.

His fleet is
overcome.

Aruntius to extend his left wing, and endeavour to hem in the enemy; which made *Publicola* advance to prevent it; but as by this motion he left the main body unguarded, *Agrippa* bore in upon it and put it in disorder. However, the victory still remained doubtful, *Antony's* soldiers, who were all chosen men, defending themselves with incredible valour, and making a dreadful havock of all who attempted to approach them. The fight lasted several hours, with as fair a prospect of success for *Antony* as for *Octavianus*, the mariners and soldiers on board the two fleets being encouraged by the shouts of their respective armies, who waited the event of the engagement drawn up in battle array, the one on the north side, and the other on the south side, of the *Ambracian* gulf. While the two parties were thus contending, with great fury and obstinacy, for victory, *Cleopatra's* sixty galleys, crowding all their sails, advanced unexpectedly between the two fleets. This sudden motion equally surprised both navies. *Antony*, whose centre was already in disorder, expected some gallant action from the queen, who had brought him into the present danger. He was therefore struck with amazement, when he saw the whole *Egyptian* squadron, instead of falling upon the enemy, tack about, and with a fair wind steer their course towards *Peloponnesus*. Thus historians relate the flight and desertion of the *Egyptians*, without giving any other reason for their abandoning, in so base and shameful a manner, the party they had embraced, than the timorousness of their queen, who could no longer bear the noise and terror of the battle. What they add is still more surprising. *Antony* had given too many proofs of his courage ever to be suspected of cowardice; and on this occasion not only the empire of the world, but his life, was at stake: neither had he any reason to despair of success; but, on the contrary, the intrepidity and resolution with which his men maintained the combat seemed to promise him certain victory; for tho' his centre had been put into some disorder by *Agrippa*, yet that brave and experienced commander, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, could not gain the least advantage over them, each of *Antony's* great ships defending themselves against many of his, and keeping them at a distance with incessant showers of darts, arrows, stones, &c. which did great execution. But here *Antony* betrayed a weakness hardly to be imagined, and confirmed, as *Plutarch* observes, the ancient saying, that *a lover's soul lives in another body*; for, love getting the better of his ambition and of all other regards, he no sooner saw the queen's ship under sail, than, forgetting the duty of a general and renouncing the empire of the world, as if he had nothing more to apprehend than her absence, he threw himself into a galley of five ranks of oars, and, attended only by two domestics, *Scellius* and *Alexander* the Syrian, he abandoned his men, who were generously sacrificing their lives in his service, to follow a base woman, who had long since begun, and was now accomplishing, his destruction. As soon as he came up with *Cleopatra's* galley, he was taken on board; but, without so much as seeing her, he placed himself at the stern, and there, leaning his elbows on his knees and his head on both his hands, as one confounded with anger and shame for his ill conduct, he continued a good while in that melancholy posture^d.

THE gallant behaviour of *Antony's* troops on this occasion cannot be sufficiently admired and commended; for tho' their general had abandoned them, and the report of his flight was spread all over the fleet, yet they fought with the same ardour and intrepidity as if he had been present, and would in all likelihood have gained the victory, which they disputed till late at night, if a stiff gale, which blew hard a-stern, had not dispersed their vessels, and given the enemy an opportunity of falling upon them, while in disorder and destitute of a leader to rally them. Three hundred ships yielded to the conqueror; but there were not above five thousand of the enemy slain in the whole action, as *Octavianus* himself left recorded in his commentaries quoted by *Plutarch*^e (X). *Antony's* land-forces shewed no less fidelity and affection for their general, than his marines had done. They could not be brought to believe, that a general, who had nineteen legions intire and twelve thousand horse, could basely desert them; and *Antony* above all, who had so often seen fortune in all her shapes,

^d PLUT. *ibid.* DIO, lib. l. p. 439. 440. FLOR. l. iv. c. 11. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 85. ^e PLUT. in Anton.

(X) And yet *Orosius* writes, that, on *Antony's* side, thousand wounded, of whom one thousand died of twelve thousand men were killed and six or seven their wounds (2).

(2) *Oros.* l. vi. c. 19.

as *Plutarch* expresses it, and been so accustomed to changes. They therefore expected he would soon appear from some part or other, and, putting himself at their head, give them an opportunity of shewing their fidelity and zeal for his interest and service. When they were at last thoroughly persuaded that he was fled and had deserted them, they nevertheless kept in a body, tho' quite surrounded both by sea and land, for seven days together, without hearkening to the advantageous offers made them by *Octavianus*. At length, being abandoned by *Canidius* and all their chief officers, *And his land-* who privately made their escape, they listened to the conditions which *Octavianus* forces submit. offered them, and were incorporated among his legions. Such was the famous sea-fight of *Actium*, so much spoken of by the ancients, especially the poets of that time^f. It was fought on the second day of *September* of the year 722 of *Rome*, *Cæsar Octavianus* and *Messala Corvinus* being consuls. As *Octavianus*, by this ever memorable victory, became sole master of the whole *Roman* empire, *Dion* ^g; *Suetonius*, and after them *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius*, reckon from this time the years of *Octavianus's* empire or reign.

AFTER this defeat, the auxiliaries, who had served under *Antony*, retired to their respective countries, and afterwards made their peace with the conqueror, on the best terms they could. Some of the princes he deposed, others he continued in their former state; but imposed upon them, as well as upon all the free states which had sided with *Antony*, heavy fines, whereby those unhappy countries were reduced to a most deplorable condition. As for the *Romans*, *Octavianus* pardoned some at the earnest intreaties of his friends and his mother *Mucia*; others he punished with the utmost severity, following therein the natural bias of his temper. Among the latter was the son of the famous *Curio*, who had distinguished himself among the most zealous partizans of *Cæsar* the dictator, and had lost his life in maintaining his interest in *Africa*, as we have related above. His son followed the fortune of *Antony*, and therefore, being taken prisoner at *Actium*, *Octavianus*, without any regard to the important services of his father, caused him to be put to death^h. As to *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, *Octavianus*, the next morning after the battle, finding his victory complete, *Octavianus's* *conduct to-* detached a squadron of light galleys in pursuit of them; which *Antony* no sooner saw *wards the con-* rowing up to him, than he commanded his pilot to tack about and face them. Here- *quered.* upon they all gave back, except one commanded by *Eurycles* the *Laconian*, who, making up to *Antony's* vessel with great fierceness and intrepidity, from off the deck shook his lance at him in a threatening manner, *Who art thou*, cried *Antony* from the stern, *who hast the boldness to pursue me thus? I am*, answered he, *Eurycles the son of Lachares, brought hither by Cæsar's fortune to revenge my father's death.* This *Lachares* had been condemned to death by *Antony* for a robbery. However, the *Lacedæmonian*, not caring to engage so renowned a commander, attacked another galley, and took her, with a ship, on board of which was a great deal of rich plate and furniture. *Eurycles* retired, well satisfied with his prize; and, upon his retreat *Antony* returned to his former melancholy posture, and continued so three days, without seeing the queen till he reached *Tænarus* in *Laconia*. There *Cleopatra's* women brought them to see each other, and converse as formerly, *Antony* shewing himself as fond of her as ever, *He continues* even at this time, when he had all the reason in the world to detest and abhor her, as *his fondness for* the only cause of his ruin. At *Tænarus* he had an account of the total defeat of his fleet; but, believing his legions still held out, he wrote to *Canidius* to retreat with them through *Macedon* into *Asia*, proposing to renew the war there. As he was himself determined to retire into *Africa*, he gave one his largest ships, laden with vast *His generosity* sums of money and gold and silver vessels of an inestimable value, to his friends, *towards his* desiring them to share it among them, and provide for their own safety; but they *friends.* refusing it with tears in their eyes, and declaring that they would always follow his fortune, he comforted them with all the goodness imaginable, complaining of his cruel destiny, which put him out of a condition of giving them such tokens of his acknowledgment and gratitude, as they had given him of their fidelity and affection. He added, that he could not, without doing them the greatest injury, suffer them to be involved in his misfortunes; and therefore he absolutely commanded them to abandon him in his evil destiny, and consult their own safety. He wrote to *Theophilus*, governor of *Corinth*, desiring him to provide for their security, and keep them concealed, till such time as they could make their peace with *Octavianus*. After this, *Antony*

^f Vide *VIRGIL*. l. viii. *Æneid*. *OVID*. metamorph. l. xv. *HORAT*. epod. 9. & *PROPERT*. l. iv. leg. 6. ^g *DIO*, l. iv. p. 590. & l. li. in init. ^h *DIO*, l. li. p. 443, 444.

Antony retired to *Africa*, whence he sent *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, and soon after followed ^a her thither. But of the reduction of *Egypt* by *Octavianus*, of the unhappy end of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and the affecting circumstances of their death, we have given a very particular account in our history of *Egypt*ⁱ, to which we refer our readers. All *Antony*'s statues were thrown down and intirely demolished, both in *Egypt* and at *Rome*. His memory was declared infamous by the servile senate, and a decree was passed, enacting, that none of his family should ever after bear the name of *Marcus*. He died in the fifty-third, or, as some write, fifty-sixth, year of his age, leaving behind him seven children by his three wives, *Fulvia*, *Octavia*, and *Cleopatra*; for he married the queen after his divorce with *Octavia*. What became of *Alexander* and *Ptolemy* his sons by *Cleopatra*, we find no-where recorded; but for his daughter *Cleopatra*, the virtuous *Octavia* brought her up with her own children, and married her to *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, one of the most learned and virtuous princes of his age. *Antyllus*, his eldest son by *Fulvia*, was betrayed by his governor *Theodorus* to *Octavianus*'s soldiers, who by his orders put him to death. *Julius Antonius*, the younger brother of *Antyllus* by the same mother, became one of *Octavianus*'s chief favourites, *Octavia*, whose generosity for that unfortunate family was without bounds, having bestowed on him *Marcella*, one of her daughters by her first husband; but he afterwards indiscreetly engaged in a scandalous intrigue with *Julia*, *Octavianus*'s only daughter, which cost him his life. *Octavia* had by *Antony* only two daughters, of whom the elder was called *Antonia Major*, and the younger *Antonia Minor*. The former married *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, by whom she had *Cneius Domitius*, who, by *Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus*, was the father of the emperor *Nero*. *Antonia Minor*, who inherited both her mother's beauty and virtue, was married to *Drusus*, the son of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, and son-in-law to *Octavianus*. From this marriage came *Germanicus*, who was deservedly esteemed the greatest general of his time, and the most accomplished person among the *Romans*, and *Claudius*, who reigned before *Nero*. *Caius*, surnamed *Caligula*, the son of *Germanicus*, did likewise govern the *Roman* empire; so that *Antony*'s family, in spite of their misfortunes, gave three emperors to *Rome*; whereas none of *Octavianus*'s posterity ever enjoyed that sovereign authority, for the attaining of which he had impiously trod under foot the most sacred laws of his country, and, by a thousand acts of cruelty and injustice, laid waste the *Roman* world.

Octavianus settles the affairs of Egypt, Asia Minor, &c.

He returns to Rome.

His triumphs.

BUT to resume the thread of our history: *Octavianus* having reduced *Egypt*, and settled the affairs of that kingdom, left *Alexandria* in the beginning of *September* of the present year of *Rome* 713, with a design to return, through *Syria*, *Asia Minor*, and *Greece*, to *Italy*. On his arrival at *Antioch*, he found there *Tiridates*, who had been raised to the throne of *Parthia* in opposition to *Phrabates*, and likewise ambassadors from *Phrabates*, who were all come on the same errand, viz. to solicit the assistance of the *Romans* against each other. *Octavianus* gave a friendly answer both to *Tiridates* and the ambassadors of *Phrabates*, without intending to help either; but rather with a design to animate the one against the other, and by that means to weaken both, so far as to render the *Parthian* name no longer formidable to *Rome*. After this, having appointed *Messala Corvinus* governor of *Syria*, he marched into the province of *Asia* properly so called, and there took up his winter-quarters^k. In the beginning of the next year, *Octavianus* entered his fifth consulate, and had the following colleagues, *Licinius Crassus* to the kalends of *July*, *C. Antistius* to the ides of *September*, and *M. Tullius*, the son of the famous orator, from that time to the end of the year. He spent the whole winter in settling the affairs of the several provinces of *Asia Minor* and the adjacent islands, and early in the spring passed into *Greece*, whence he set out for *Rome*, which he entered in the month *Sextilis*, afterwards called *August*,^f in three triumphs, which were celebrated for three days together. The first triumph was for his victories over the *Dalmatians*, *Pannonians*, and some *German* and *Gaulish* nations, whom he had conquered before his war with *Antony*. The second was for his naval victory at *Actium*; and the third for the reduction of *Egypt*. In the last, which was the most magnificent of the three, were led before the victor's chariot *Alexander* and *Cleopatra*, whom *Antony* had by the queen, and the image of the queen was carried in a bed of state, with an asp hanging at her arm. *Rome* was so much enriched with the immense treasures brought by *Octavianus* and his soldiers out of *Egypt*,

ⁱ Hist. Univers. Vol. III. p. 687.

^k Dio, l. li. p. 447.

^a *Egypt*, that the value of money fell from ten to four *per cent.* and the prices of every thing else rose in proportion ^l. After his triumph, the name of *emperor* was conferred upon him, not in the common sense, as it imported only a title of honour; but as it carried with it a sovereign power and an uncontrouled authority ^m.

AND now *Octavianus* was at the height of his wishes, sole sovereign, sole master, of the whole *Roman* empire. But, on the other hand, the many dangers which attend an usurped power, appearing to him in a stronger light than ever, filled his mind with a thousand perplexing thoughts. The natural aversion of the *Romans* to a kingly government, their love of liberty, and the ides of *March*, when his father *Julius* was murdered in full senate, by those very men, whom he thought the most devoted to his person, made him fear there might arise another *Brutus*, who, to restore liberty to his country, might assassinate him on his very throne. This he knew had happened to *Julius Cæsar*; whereas *Sylla*, after having laid down the authority he had usurped, died peaceably in his bed in the midst of his enemies. The passion of fear, which was so natural to him, outweighed in his soul the charms of a diadem, and inclined him to follow the example of *Sylla*. He was indeed very unwilling to part with his authority; but fear began to get the better of his ambition. However, before he came to any resolution, he thought it advisable to consult his two most intimate and trusty friends, *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, the former no less famous for his probity than his valour, and the latter a man of great penetration, and generally esteemed the most refined politician of his age. *Agrippa*, sensible only of that sort of glory, which is acquired by great and heroic actions, openly declared for a generous resignation. He enlarged on the many, and almost inevitable, dangers which attend monarchy, insupportable to a free people, and to men educated in a commonwealth. He did not forget the examples of *Sylla* and *Cæsar*, and closed his speech with exhorting *Octavianus* to convince the world, by restoring liberty to his country, that the only motive for his taking up arms was to revenge his father's death. *Mecænas*, on the other hand, remonstrated to him, that he had done too much to go back; that, after so much bloodshed, there could be no safety for him but on the throne; that, if he divested himself of the sovereign power, he would be immediately prosecuted by the children and friends of the many illustrious persons, whom the misfortune of the times had forced him to sacrifice to his safety; that it was absolutely necessary for the welfare and tranquillity of the republic, that the sovereign power should be lodged in one person, and not divided among many, &c. *Octavianus* thanked them both for their friendly advice, but shewed himself inclined to follow the opinion of *Mecænas*; whereupon that able minister gave him many wise instructions and rules of government, which are related at length by *Dion Cassius* ⁿ, and will ever be looked upon as a master-piece in politics. Among other things he told him, That he could not fail of being successful in all his undertakings, happy in his life-time, and famous in history after his death, if he never deviated from this rule, *viz.* to govern others as he would wish to be governed himself, had he been born to obey, and not to command. He added, That if, in taking upon him the sovereign power, he dreaded the name of king, a name so odious in a commonwealth, he might content himself with the title of *Cæsar* or *Imperator*, and under that name, which was well known to the *Romans*, enjoy all the authority of a king. This advice *Octavianus* followed, and from that time laid aside all thoughts of abdicating the sovereign power; but, to deceive the people into a belief that they still enjoyed their ancient government, he continued the old magistrates, with the same name, pomp, and ornaments, but with just as much power as he thought fit to leave them. They were to have no military power, but only their old jurisdiction of deciding finally all causes, except such as were capital; and tho' some of these last were left to the governor of *Rome*, yet the chief he reserved for himself. He paid great court to the people: the very name that covered his usurpation was a compliment to them; for he affected to call it the power of the tribuneship, tho' he acted as absolutely by it, as if he had called it the dictatorial power. He likewise won the hearts of the populace by cheapness of provisions and plentiful markets; he frequently entertained them with shews and sports, and by these means kept them in good humour, and made them forget usurpation, slavery, and every public evil; people in ease and plenty being under no temptation of inquiring into the title of their prince, or resenting acts of power, which they do not immediately

Octavianus entertains thoughts of resigning his authority.

But is dissuaded from it by Mecænas.

He continues the old magistrates.

He courts the people.

^l *Dio*, l. li. p. 458, 459. *Suet.* in *Octav.* c. 22. *Oros.* l. vi. c. 19. ^m *Dio*, l. lii. p. 493; 494. ⁿ *Dio*, l. lii. p. 464; &c.

And the Senate,
but divests
them of all
power.

He adorns the
city.

He makes a
feint to abdi-
cate his power.

But is compel-
led by the se-
nate to retain
it.

mediately feel. As for the senate, he filled it with his own creatures, raising the number of the conscript fathers to a thousand. He supplied several poor senators with money out of the treasury to discharge the public offices, and on all occasions affected a high regard for that venerable body; but at the same time divested them of all power, and reduced them to mere cyphers. To prevent them from raising new disturbances in the distant provinces, he issued an edict, forbidding any senator to travel out of *Italy* without leave, except such as had lands in *Sicily* or *Narbonne Gaul*, which at that time comprehended *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphiny*. To these provinces, which were near *Italy* and in a perfect state of tranquillity, they had full liberty to retire when they pleased, and live there upon their estates. Before he ended his sixth consulship, he took a census of the people, which was forty-one years after the last; and in this the number of men fit to bear arms amounted to four hundred sixty-three thousand, the greatest that had ever been found before* (Y). He likewise celebrated the games which had been decreed by the senate for his victory at *Actium*; and it was ordered, that they should be celebrated every fifth year, four colleges of priest being appointed to take care of them, viz. the pontifices, the augurs, the septemvirs, and quindécemvirs†. The more to gain the affections of the people, he disannulled by one edict the many severe and unjust laws, which had been enacted during the triumvirate. He raised many public buildings, repaired the old ones, and added many stately ornaments to the city, which at this time was, if we may give credit to some ancient writers, about fifty miles in compass, and contained near four millions of souls, reckoning men, women, children, and slaves. He attended business, reformed abuses, shewed great regard for the *Roman* name, procured public abundance, pleasure, and jollity, often appearing in person at the public diversions, and in all things studying to render himself dear to the populace‡.

AND now *Octavianus*, entering upon his seventh consulship with *M. Agrippa*, the third time consul, and finding all things ripe for his design, the people being highly pleased with his mild government, and the senate filled with his creatures, whose fortunes depended upon his holding the power he had usurped, went, by the advice of *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, to the senate-house, and there in a studied speech offered to resign his authority, and put all again into the hands of the people upon the old foundation of the commonwealth, being well apprised, that the greater part of the conscript fathers, whose interests were interwoven with his, would unanimously press him to the contrary; which happened accordingly: for they not only often interrupted him while he was speaking, but, after he had done, unanimously besought him to take upon him alone the whole government of the *Roman* empire. He, with a seeming reluctance, yielded at last to their request, as if he had been compelled to accept of the sovereignty. By this artifice he compassed his design, which was to get the power and authority, which he had usurped, confirmed to him by the senate and people for the space of ten years; for he would not accept of it for a longer term, pretending, he should in that time be able to settle all things in such peace and order, that there could be no further need of his authority; but that he might then ease himself of the burden, and put the government again into the hands of the senate and people. This method he took to render the yoke less heavy; but with a design to renew his lease, if we may be allowed the expression, as soon as the ten years were expired; which he did accordingly, from ten years to ten years, as long as he lived, all the while governing the whole *Roman* empire with an absolute and uncontrouled power. With this new authority the senate resolved to distinguish him with a new name. Some of the conscript fathers proposed the name of *Romulus*, thereby to import, that he was another founder of *Rome*; others offered other titles; but the venerable name of *Augustus*, proposed by *Munatius Plancus*, seemed preferable to all the rest, as it expressed more dignity and reverence than authority, the most sacred things, such as temples and palaces consecrated by augurs, being termed by the
Romans

* DIO, l. liii. p. 496. & Marmor. Capuana, Tom. III. Annal. PIGHI, p. 495. † DIO, ibid. p. 496. ‡ Idem ibid.

(Y) Mention is made of this census in the marble tables of *Capua* in these words: *In my sixth consulship with my colleague M. Agrippa, I numbered the people, and made a census after forty-one years, (that is, from the censorship of Cn. Lentulus and L. Gellius)*

in which four hundred sixty-three thousand citizens were numbered. Instead of this number, *Eusebius*, whom several modern writers have followed, has in his chronicle four millions one hundred and sixty-four thousand.

^a *Romans Augusta* (Z). *Octavianus* himself was inclined to assume the name of *Romulus*; but, fearing he should be suspected of affecting the kingdom, he declined it, and took that of *Augustus*^r, by which we shall henceforth distinguish him in the sequel of our history. Though the whole power of the senate and people was now vested in *Augustus*, yet, that he might seem to share it with the conscript fathers, he refused to govern all the provinces, assigning to the senate such as were quiet and peaceable, and keeping to himself those that, bordering upon the barbarous nations, were most exposed to troubles and wars, saying, He desired the fathers might enjoy their power with ease and safety, while he underwent all the dangers and labours; but by this politic conduct he secured all the military power to himself, the troops lying in the provinces he had chosen, and the others, which were governed by the senate, being quite destitute of forces. The latter were called *senatorial*, and the former *imperial*, provinces. The senatorial were, *Africa*, that is, the ancient dominions of *Carthage*, *Numidia*, *Asia* properly so called, or the ancient kingdom of *Pergamus*, *Greece*, styled by most historians *Achaia*, *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, *Macedon*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, the island of *Crete*, *Libya*, *Cyrenaica*, *Bitthynia*, *Pontus*, and that part of *Spain* called *Bætica*. The imperial provinces were, the rest of *Spain*, comprehending the provinces of *Tarracón* and *Lusitania*, all *Gaul* and *Germany*, *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Cilicia*, the island of *Cyprus*; and the kingdom of *Egypt*. Over the provinces of both sorts were set men of distinction, viz. such as had been consuls or prætors, with the title of *proconsul* and *proprætor*; but the government of *Egypt* was committed to a private knight, *Augustus* fearing lest a person of rank, depending upon the wealth and situation of that country, might raise new disturbances in the empire^s. All these governors held their employment only for a year, and were, upon the arrival of their successors, to depart their provinces immediately, and not fail to be at *Rome* within three months at the farthest^t. This division of the provinces was made, according to *Ovid*, on the ides of *January* (A); whereas he was vested by the senate and people with the sovereign power on the seventh of the ides of the same month, as is manifest from the *Narbonne* marbles^u; and from that time many writers date the years of his empire. Thus ended the greatest commonwealth, and at the same time began the greatest monarchy, that had ever been known; a monarchy, which infinitely excelled in power, riches, extent and continuance all the monarchies and empires which had preceded it; for it comprehended the greatest, and by far the best, part of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, being near four thousand miles in length, and about half as much in breadth. As to the yearly revenues of the empire, they have, by a modest computation, been reckoned to amount to forty millions of our money. But the *Romans* themselves now ran headlong into all manner of luxury and effeminacy. The people were become a mere mob; those who were wont to direct mighty wars, to raise and depose great kings, to bestow or take away great empires, were so sunk and debauched, that if they had but bread and shoes, their ambition went no higher. The nobility were indeed more polite than in former times, but at the same time idle, venal, vicious, insensible of private virtue, utter strangers to public glory or disgrace, void of zeal for the welfare of their country, and solely intent on gaining the favour of the emperor, as knowing, that certain wealth and preferment were the rewards of ready submission, acquiescence, and flattery. No wonder therefore, that they lost their liberty, without being ever again able to retrieve it.

The title of Augustus conferred upon him. His policy in dividing the provinces with the senate.

The end of the commonwealth, Year after the flood, 2977. Before Christ: 22 Of Rome 726.

C H A P.

^r Dio, ibid. p. 567. Flor. l. iv. Liv. l. cxxxiv. ^s Dio, ibid. p. 504, 505. Tacit. annal. l. i. p. 35. ^t Idem ibid. p. 506. ^u Vide inscript. Grut. p. 229.

(Z) So *Ovid* in the first book of his *fasti*:

(A) *Ovid*, speaking of this distribution of the provinces, addresses *Cæsar Germanicus* thus:

Sed tamen humanis celebrantur honoribus omnes:
Hic socium summo cum Jovis numen habet.
Sancta vocant Augusta patres: Augusta vocantur
Templa sacerdotum rite dicata manu.
Hujus & augurium dependet origine verbi:
Et quodcumque sua Jupiter auget opt, &c.

Idibus in magni castus Jovis æde sacerdos
Seminaris flammis viscera libat ovis;
Redditaque est omnis populo provincia nostro
Et tuus Augusto nomine dignus avus (3).

(3) *Ovid. fast. l. i.*

C H A P. XVII.

*The history of Rome, from the perfect settlement of the Roman empire to the death of Nero, the last of the family of the Cæsars.**The forces of the empire.*

THE first and chief care of *Augustus*, now absolute master of the whole Roman empire, was to satisfy his soldiers, and attach them more and more to his interest. With this view he dispersed them all over *Italy* in thirty-two colonies, that he might the more easily reassemble them in case of any sudden commotion. He kept twenty-five legions on foot, seventeen of which were in *Europe*, viz. eight on the *Rhine*, four on the *Danube*, three in *Spain*, and two in *Dalmatia*. The other eight were sent into *Asia* and *Africa*, four of them being quartered in the neighbourhood of the *Euphrates* and in *Syria*, two in *Egypt*, and two in the province of *Africa*, that is, in the ancient dominions of *Carthage*. These were constantly maintained, even in the most peaceable times, by *Augustus*, and for some ages by his successors, their whole number amounting to 170,650 men. In the neighbourhood of *Rome* were always quartered twelve cohorts, that is, about ten thousand men, nine of which were called *cohortes prætorie*, or *prætorian cohorts*, and the other three *cohortes urbanæ*, or *city cohorts*. They were established to guard the emperor's person, and maintain peace and tranquillity in the city. The prætorian guards had, as we shall see in the sequel of this history, a great share in all the changes and revolutions of the empire, till the reign of *Constantine the Great*, who dismissed them all in the year 312 of the christian æra.

The policy of Augustus.

BESIDES these numerous and well disciplined land-forces, *Augustus* kept constantly at sea two powerful fleets, the one riding at anchor near *Ravenna* in the *Upper* or *Adriatic* sea, to command and defend *Dalmatia*, *Greece*, *Cyprus*, *Asia*, and the rest of the eastern provinces; the other at *Misenum* in the *Lower* or *Mediterranean* sea, to awe and protect *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africa*, and the western provinces. They were likewise to keep the seas clear of pirates, to convoy the vessels which brought to *Rome* the annual tributes from the provinces beyond sea, and to transport corn and other provisions, necessary for the subsistence and relief of the city. As to the civil government, he reformed many of the ancient laws and enacted new ones; but therein affected to do nothing, without the advice and approbation of the conscript fathers. The comitia were held as formerly in the field of *Mars*; but such only were chosen for the great offices, as *Augustus* had before-hand recommended to the centuries. In short, the same officers of state, the same names, pomp, and ornaments were continued, with all the appearance of authority, but without the least power^w. However, the senate pretended to be so well pleased with his government, that they honoured him with the title of *Pater patriæ*, or *Father of his country*. Towards the end of this year, *Augustus*, having settled affairs in the capital, left *Italy* and passed into *Gaul*, with a design to attempt the reduction of the *British* islands; but being informed, on his arrival at *Narbonne*, that the *Salassi* at the foot of the *Alps*, and the *Cantabri* and *Astures* in *Spain*, had shaken off the yoke, he sent *Terentius Varro* against the former, and marched in person against the latter, after having entered his eighth consulship, in which he chose for his colleague *Titus Statilius Taurus*, one of his lieutenants. However, before he left *Gaul*, he took a census of the inhabitants of the three provinces into which that country was then divided, and which is the first we read of made out of *Italy*^z. On his arrival in *Spain*, he defeated the *Cantabri* in a pitched battle near *Vellica*, at a small distance from the *Iberus*, and obliged them to retire with their wives and children to one of their highest mountains, called by the ancients *Vindius*, and by the moderns the

*He is styled Pater patriæ.**The first census out of Italy.*^w DIO, *ibid.* p. 511. SÆT. in OCTAVIO. c. 26.^z DIO, l. liv. p. 535. TACIT. *annal.* i. c. 39. SÆT. l.

^a the mountain of *Asturias*. But, in the mean time, *Augustus* falling sick, the whole management of the war was committed to *C. Antistius*; who having defeated the united forces of the *Cantabrians* and *Asturians* in a great battle, forced them to take refuge on another inaccessible mountain, which he surrounded with a wide and deep ditch fifteen miles in compass, and fortified at proper distances with castles and turrets. By this means, all the avenues and passes being shut up, those unhappy people were reduced to the utmost extremity for want of provisions; yet so great was their love of liberty, that, instead of yielding, they endured for a long time miseries hardly to be expressed, the women devouring their own children, and the young men the old, to support the necessities of nature. After many unsuccessful attempts to force the Roman intrenchments, the *Asturians* were at length for throwing themselves upon the clemency of the conqueror; but were therein opposed by the *Cantabrians*, who maintained, that they ought all, like brave men, die sword in hand. This dangerous contention was carried so far, that, after a sharp conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the *Asturians*, to the number of ten thousand, were driven to the intrenchments of the *Romans*, whom they begged in a most moving manner to receive them upon what terms they pleased. But *Tiberius*, the emperor's son-in-law, refusing to admit them into the camp, some of those unhappy wretches fell upon their own swords; others lighting great fires, threw themselves into them, and perished in the flames; and some put an end to their lives by drinking the juice of a venomous herb, which grew in the forest they possessed ².

The Cantabrians and Asturians defeated.

They fall out among themselves.

Great numbers of the Asturians perish with famine.

^c In the mean time, the consular year being expired, *Augustus*, who still resided at *Tarracon*, whither he had retired in the beginning of the campaign, entered there on his ninth consulship, and chose for his colleague *M. Junius Silanus* ³. This year was remarkable for the total reduction of *Spain*, after it had, for the space of two hundred years and upwards, given the *Romans* constant employment, and obliged them to keep there numerous armies. The *Cantabrians*, whom *Antistius* kept closely intrenched, were at length forced to surrender at discretion, to the number of twenty-three thousand. Of these ten thousand were incorporated among the *Roman* auxiliaries to be employed against the *Asturians*, the rest were disarmed, and sold to the best bidder; but most of them laid violent hands on themselves, despising their lives, after the loss of their liberty and arms ⁴. *Cantabria*, now *Biscay*, being thus intirely reduced, *Augustus* divided his army into two bodies; the one he detached, under the command of *Titus Carisius*, into *Lusitania*, whither some of the *Asturians* had retired, and the other he led himself into their country. The *Asturians* in *Lusitania* were in a battle, which lasted two days, and was one of the most bloody that had ever been fought, intirely defeated by *Carisius*, who could not help owning, that the *Asturians* equalled in valour the *Romans* themselves. On the other hand, *Augustus* and *Antistius* entering the country of those brave, but unfortunate, people, cut most of them in pieces, and made themselves masters of all their cities and strong-holds. Thus were the two most warlike nations of *Spain* forced at length to receive the yoke, and bear it, without being ever after able to recover their ancient liberty. *Augustus*, before he left the country, built several cities to keep the rebellious *Spaniards* in awe, among the rest *Cæsar Augusta*, now *Saragosa*, and *Augusta Emerita*, now *Merida*, so called because it was founded by *Augustus*, and peopled by his veterans called in *Latin* *Emeriti* ⁵. He likewise built a stone-bridge over the *Iberus*, to facilitate the march of the *Roman* troops from one province to another.

The Cantabrians utterly subdued.

And also the Asturians.

^e This year several wars were carried on with equal success in other parts. *Marcus Crassus*, one of *Augustus*'s lieutenants, overcame the *Mærians*, a fierce and savage people beyond the *Danube*. *M. Vincius* gained considerable advantages over some nations of *Germany*, for which the title of *Imperator* was conferred upon *Augustus*, under whose auspices *Vincius* had fought. *Terrentius Varro*, surnamed *Murena*, reduced the *Salassi*, and obliged them to submit to such terms as he thought proper to impose upon them. After they had delivered up their arms, *Varro* sent forty thousand of their youth to *Eporedia*, now *Ivrea*, where they were condemned to slavery for the term of twenty years. *Augustus* divided their lands among the soldiers of his guard, and founded in the new colony a city, which he called *Augusta Prætoria*, now known by the name of *Aosta* ⁶. The whole glory of this expedition was ascribed to *Augustus*, tho' he was then in *Spain*, and a stately monument erected by a decree of the senate to

The Salassi subdued.

² OROS. l. vi. c. 22. ³ SUET. in Octav. c. 26. ⁴ OROS. ibid. DIO, l. llii. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. ⁵ SUET. in Octav. DIO, ibid. p. 514. ⁶ OROS. ibid. DIO, SUET. ibid. Epit. LIV.

to his honour in the midst of the *Alps*, on which were engraved the names of forty-three nations inhabiting those mountains, who were said to have been subdued by him, and brought under the *Roman* yoke^d.

Cornelius Gallus banished.

WHILE *Augustus* was waging war with the rebellious *Spaniards*, *Cornelius Gallus*, to whom *Virgil* inscribed his tenth and last eclogue, was condemned to perpetual banishment by the senate, for having spoken with too much liberty of *Augustus*. He had been appointed by the emperor, who loved and esteemed him on account of his fine genius, the first governor of *Egypt*, which he oppressed in a most tyrannical manner, stripping the most wealthy cities of the country, particularly the famous city of *Thebes*, of all their ornaments, and laying heavy taxes on the inhabitants. Puffed up with pride, he ruled more like an absolute monarch, than a subordinate magistrate, erecting statues to himself in the chief cities of that kingdom, and inscribing his own name and feats on the pyramids. Such extraordinary proceedings obliged *Augustus* to recall him, to brand him with infamy, and forbid him his house and the provinces under his command. Hereupon *Gallus* uttered many disrespectful speeches against the emperor; for which, as well as for his rapines, extortions, and other misdemeanours, he was, by the unanimous suffrages of the senate, condemned to banishment; but he prevented the execution of the sentence, by falling on his own sword^e.

He lays violent hands on himself.

Augustus, whose favour he had gained by his military exploits and the elegance of his poetical compositions, is said to have wept, when he received in *Spain* the news of his death, complaining, that he alone was not allowed to set what bounds he pleased to his resentment. However, he returned thanks to the senate for the zeal they had shewn on this occasion for the safety of his person and the glory of his name^f. This year died *Amyntas* king of *Pisidia*. He had been secretary to old king *Dejotarus*, and raised by *Marc Antony*, whom he served with great fidelity, to the throne, which *Augustus* suffered him to enjoy, but would not allow him to transmit it to his posterity; so that *Pisidia*, with *Galatia* and *Lycaonia*, upon his death, were reduced to a *Roman* province, and first governed by *M. Lollius* in quality of proprætor^g.

Pisidia, Galatia, &c. become a Roman province.

DURING *Augustus*'s stay in *Spain*, *Agrippa*, who had remained in *Rome*, was no less employed in adorning with magnificent structures that stately metropolis, than others were in extending its dominions. Among the many public edifices he built at his own charges, the most remarkable were, the porch and temple of *Neptune*, the hot baths, called *Thermæ Agrippæ*, and the *Pantheon*, a celebrated temple, so named, according to *Dion*, from the many images of the gods with which it was embellished, or rather from its arched roof, which resembled the heavens. This wonderful structure was finished this year, in the ninth consulship of *Augustus*, and is preserved intire to this day. While *Augustus* continued at *Tarracon*, his health not allowing him yet to set out on his return to *Rome*, he had the satisfaction to see the most remote nations of the north and the east, that is, the *Scythians*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Indians*, and the *Seres* (B), courting his friendship with embassies and rich presents^h. *Florus* tells

The Pantheon.

The Sarmatians, Scythians, &c. sent embassadors to Augustus.

^d DIO, p. 513, 514. PLIN. l. iii. c. 20. ^e STRABO, l. xvii. p. 819. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xvii. DIO, l. liii. p. 512. EUSEB. in Chron. ^f SUET. in Octav. c. 66. DIO, ibid. ^g DIO, p. 514. EUTROP. l. vii. SEXT. RUF. in brev. EUSEB. in chron. ^h FLOR. l. iv. c. 12. SUET. ibid. c. 21. OROS. l. vi. c. 21. EUTROP. l. vii.

(B) The *Seres*, the same people whom we now call the *Chinese*, are thought to have been the first who made silk; whence *silk* was called *serica*, and a *silken garment sericum*, by the *Greeks* as well as by the *Latins*. From the country of the *Seres*, that is, from *China*, silk was brought into *Persia*, and from *Persia* into *Greece* and *Italy*. It was first brought into *Greece* on *Alexander*'s conquering *Persia*, and from thence into *Italy* in the flourishing times of the *Roman* empire. It was for a long time very dear in these western parts, being weight for weight of equal value with gold; for the *Persians*, to keep this manufacture to themselves, would not allow the silk-worms to be carried out of *Persia*, or any one to pass from thence into the west, who were skilled in the management of them. But the emperor *Justinian*, who died in the year of the christianæra 565, looking upon it as a great hardship, that his subjects should purchase this manufacture of

the *Persians* at so dear a rate, sent two monks into *India*, to learn there how the silken manufacture was managed, ordering them to bring with them on their return some silk-worms, that he might set up the manufacture in his own dominions. These monks on their return told him, that the silk-worms could not be brought so long a journey, but the emperor understanding from them that their eggs might, he sent them back for them; and by this means great quantities of these eggs were brought to *Constantinople*. From these eggs have been propagated all the silk-worms and silk trade, which have been since that time in *Europe*. The ancients were so ignorant how silk was made, that they believed it was produced, like cotton, from trees. For a long time it was worn only by women, it being thought a great instance of luxury and effeminacy for a man to wear a silken garment. In the beginning of the reign of *Tiberius*, a law was made,

^a tells us, that the *Seres* were four years on their journey, and that they presented *Augustus* with pearls, precious stones, and elephants. The fame of *Cæsar's* moderation in the midst of his victories was that chiefly prompted those distant nations, if we believe *Suetonius* ⁱ, to solicit his friendship. This year ended with two marriages, viz. of *Cleopatra Selene*, the daughter of queen *Cleopatra* by *Antony*, with *Juba* king of *Getulia*; of whom we have spoken above, and of *Julia*, *Augustus's* daughter by *Scrubonia*, with *Marcellus*, his sister *Octavia's* son by her first husband, a youth of extraordinary accomplishments, and already adopted by *Augustus*, who had no hopes of issue by his wife *Livia*, whom he passionately loved. As the emperor was still kept in *Spain* by the bad state of his health, the ceremonies used by the *Romans* on such occasions were performed with all imaginable pomp and magnificence by *Agrippa* ^k.

^b THE ensuing year, *Augustus* entered upon his tenth consulship, having *C. Norbanus Flaccus* for his colleague; but whether he was then in *Spain*; on his journey, or at *Rome*, is uncertain. Upon his return to the capital, which happened in the end of the preceding year or the beginning of this, the senate conferred a greater authority upon him than ever, freeing him from the obligation of all laws, and empowering him to govern the republic according to his arbitrary will and pleasure. At the same time, by a solemn oath they approved of all his acts, and decreed, that *Marcellus*, tho' then not above sixteen years of age, should, on account of his extraordinary merit, have a place in the senate among those of the prætorian rank, and that he might stand for the consulate, ten years sooner than he was allowed by the laws. It was likewise ordained in favour of *Tiberius*, son-in-law to *Augustus*, that he might stand for the curule officers, five years sooner than the usual time. These decrees were no sooner passed, than *Marcellus* was made ædile, and *Tiberius* quæstor ^l. This year was remarkable for an expedition against the southern *Arabs*, undertaken by *Ælius Gallus*, a *Roman* knight, and the third governor of *Egypt* under *Augustus*. The emperor being informed, that *South Arabia* abounded in gold, silver, and other riches, resolved either to make them his friends by treaties, and so open a way for commerce with them, or by conquest to make them his subjects. He had also this farther view, viz. in case he should, either as a friend or conqueror, get footing in that country, to open himself an easy way for the subduing of the *Troglodites*, their country being separated from *South Arabia* only by the narrow streights, now called the streights of *Babelmandel*, through which the *Arabian* gulf discharges itself into the southern ocean. For the carrying on of this expedition, *Augustus* furnished *Gallus* with ten thousand men; *Herod* king of *Judæa* sent him five hundred drawn out of his own guards; and *Obodas* king of the *Nabathean Arabs* a thousand more; under the command of *Syllæus* his chief minister. *Syllæus* undertook to be *Gallus's* guide in this expedition; but with no other view than to betray him, and make the undertaking miscarry. *Gallus* had proposed to march through the country of the *Nabatheans*, and from thence into *South Arabia*, or *Arabia Felix*; but *Syllæus* falsely informing him, that there was no safe passage thither by land, he built a hundred and thirty transports at *Cleopatriis*, a port at the bottom of the *Arabian* gulf or *Red sea*, and, putting his army on board of them, sailed for *Leucocome*, a maritime city of the *Nabatheans*, on the other side of that sea. As this was a very dangerous navigation, on account of the many rocks and shelves which are in that part of the *Arabian* gulf, and *Syllæus* conducted them the worst way through it, he was fifteen days in his passage, and lost a great many ships. Upon his landing, his whole army was seized with a distemper common in that country, which obliged him to continue inactive, at *Leucocome* and in that neighbourhood, the remaining part of the summer and the following winter. Early next spring, he set out from *Leucocome*, and, after a most painful march of six months southward, being led by the treacherous *Syllæus* through ways almost impassable, he arrived at length on the borders of *Arabia Felix*. Upon

New honours conferred on Augustus.

The unsuccessful expedition of Ælius Gallus into Arabia Felix.

He is betrayed by Syllæus.

ⁱ Suet. ibid.

^k Dio, ibid. p. 515.

^l Idem ibid.

ne vestis serica viros fœdaret, that is, that no man should dishonour himself by wearing a silken garment (4); and *Lampridius* reckons it one of the most infamous parts of *Heliogabalus's* character, that he was the first man who wore *holosericum*, that is, a garment which was all of silk (5).

(4) Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 33. idololat. l. iv. c. 90. & Salmaf. in notis ad Tertullian. de pall. ad Solin. & ad bist. August.

(5) Vide Prid. connect. & Voss. in etym. ad vocem Sericum, & de

He defeats the
Arabs, and
takes several
cities.

He drops the
enterprize, and
returns to E-
gypt.

Upon his approach, *Sabus*, king of the country, fled, abandoning his metropolis, called by *Strabo* the city of the *Agrans*, which *Gallus* took by assault. From thence he continued his march southward, and arrived the sixth day at a river, where he was met by a numerous body of *Arabs*, who had assembled with a design to dispute his passage; but *Gallus*, falling upon them, cut ten thousand of them in pieces, with the loss of two men only. He then, without further opposition, made himself master of *Annestus*, *Asca*, *Magusum*, *Tommacum*, *Labeccia*, *Mariaba*, a city six miles in compass, *Athrula*, where he left a garrison, and *Caripeta*. From *Caripeta* he penetrated farther into the country, and, after some days march, came to *Marfyabæ*, a city of the *Rhamanites*, who were governed by a petty prince named *Ilajarus*. He besieged the place; but was obliged, after several unsuccessful attempts, to drop that enterprize for want of water. In the mean time, his men being seized with various distempers, occasioned by the heat of the climate and the unwholsomeness of the air, water, and herbs of the country, and great numbers of them dropping off daily, he thought it adviseable to march back into the country of the *Nabathæans*, and from thence pursue his rout into *Egypt*. Accordingly, having by this time discovered the treachery of *Syllæus*, he set out on his march homeward, under the conduct of more faithful guides, and came in six days to *Anagrana*; whence, after having put to flight king *Sabus*, who attempted to harass him on his march, he pursued his journey to *Negra*, called also *Hygra*, a maritime city of the *Nabathæan* country, which he reached in sixty days; whereas he had spent six months in marching from thence to the confines of *Arabia*. At *Negra* he imbarqued his troops, and having crossed the *Arabian* gulf in eleven days, he landed at *Myos Hormus* on the *Egyptian* side; and from thence, by the way of *Coptus*, led back the poor remains of his army to *Alexandria*, after having spent two years in this unhappy expedition. In the several skirmishes he had with the enemy, he lost only seven men; but the far greater part of his forces perished, either by famine or diseases^m. Some of the medicinal compositions, which he invented against the distempers that reigned in his army, are mentioned by *Galen*, and among the rest treacle, which on his return he presented to *Augustus*, telling him, that it had saved the lives of many of his soldiersⁿ. The bad success, that had attended *Ælius* in this expedition, deterred both him and others from any further attempts on that country; so that the inhabitants of *Arabia Felix* in the east, and the *Scots* in the north, as we shall observe hereafter, were the only people who continued to enjoy their liberties to the downfall of the *Roman* empire, while all the other nations of the then known world groaned under the yoke.

Candace, queen
of Ethiopia,
invades Egypt.

But is defeated
by Petronius,
who takes several
of her cities.

WHILE *Ælius Gallus* was employed with part of the *Egyptian* army in this expedition, *Candace*, queen of *Ethiopia*, invading the province of *Thebais* in *Upper Egypt* with a great army, surpris'd the cities of *Syene*, *Elephantina*, and *Phyllis*, carried the *Romans* who garisoned them into captivity, overthrew *Augustus's* statues, and laid waste the whole country. Hereupon *C. Petronius*, at that time governor of *Egypt*, having with all imaginable expedition got together a body of ten thousand foot and eight hundred horse, marched against the warlike queen, and coming up with her in the neighbourhood of *Pselcha*, a city of *Ethiopia* on the banks of the *Nile*, obliged her to give battle, defeated her army, tho' thirty thousand strong, and made himself master of *Pselcha*, a city of *Ethiopia* on the side of *Egypt*. From *Pselcha* *Petronius* penetrated above eight hundred miles into the country; and after having passed those deserts, where the whole army of *Cambyfes* is said to have been by a sudden storm buried in the sand, he took, without opposition, the cities of *Premnis*, *Aboccis*, *Phturis*, *Cambyfes*, *Atteva*, and *Stadifis*; which last place stood near the cataracts of the *Nile*. Encouraged with this success, the *Roman* general advanced to *Napata*, which *Dion* calls *Tenape*, the metropolis of the kingdom, which he took and destroyed, and from thence marched forward, till at length being able to proceed no farther by reason of the great deserts, nor stay there any longer on account of the excessive heats of the climate, he was obliged to turn back. Having therefore put a garison of four hundred men into *Premnis*, one of the strongest fortresses of *Ethiopia*, and supplied it with provisions for two years, he returned to *Alexandria*, carrying with him many thousand captives, whom he sold for slaves, except one thousand, in which number were the chief commanders of *Candace's* army; and those he sent as a present to *Augustus*. The queen of *Ethiopia*, upon the first notice of the departure of the *Romans*, having

^m DIO, *ibid.* p. 516—524. STRABO, l. xvi. p. 780. & l. ii. p. 118. & l. xvii. p. 820. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xv. c. 12. & de bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 16. PLIN. l. vi. c. 28. ⁿ GALEN, de antidot. l. ii.

^a having assembled new forces, attacked with great vigor the garison they had left at *Premis*; but *Petronius* returning with a quickness and expedition hardly to be imagined, she was obliged not only to raise the siege, but to conclude a peace upon terms very advantageous to the *Romans*. However, *Augustus* afterwards remitted the tribute, which she was, pursuant to the treaty, to pay yearly to the *Roman* people, and restored to her all the cities which *Petronius*, had seized [°]. *The queen concludes a peace with the Romans.*

^b DURING these transactions in the east, the *Asturians* and *Cantabrians* attempted anew the recovery of their liberty; and having by a stratagem surprised a considerable body of *Romans*, put them all to the sword. But *Ælius Lama*, whom *Augustus* had left governor of that part of *Spain*, soon revenged their death, laying waste the whole country with fire and sword, and cruelly massacring most of their young men who were able to bear arms: by which means he reduced them in less than a month to an intire subjection [°]. *The Cantabrians and Asturians rebel, but are soon reduced*

^c THE following year, *Augustus*, being in his eleventh consulship with *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, fell into a dangerous distemper, which brought him to the point of death. When he thought himself past recovery, he sent for the curule magistrates and the chief men of the senatorial and equestrian order, who came immediately to attend him, not doubting, but he designed to name in their presence his successor, and intail the empire on his family. They were therefore greatly surprised to see the dying emperor, without uttering a single word, put into the hands of his colleague *Calpurnius* *Augustus at the point of death.*

^d *Piso* his last will, and with it a book of his own writing, which contained a distinct and minute account of all the towns, provinces, allies, forces, riches, and taxes of the whole *Roman* empire. The contents of his will, which was to be opened only after his death, were never known; but, from his not naming a successor and his delivering to the chief magistrate, in so critical a juncture, an account of the revenues and forces of the empire, they all concluded, that his design was to put the commonwealth once more into the hands of the senate and people. His ring he delivered in the presence of all to *Agrippa*, signifying thereby, as was then interpreted; that if they desired to be governed by one man, they could not chuse a person more fit for so great a trust than *Agrippa*. As for *Marcellus*, his son-in-law, his nephew, and his son by adoption, whom every one expected he would name for his successor, he seemed to have entirely forgot him. This unexpected behaviour of *Augustus* at the point of death, when his sincerity could not be reasonably questioned, gained him the affections of the people, above any thing he had hitherto done in their behalf. They thought him more worthy of being solemnly deified and ranked among the gods, in regard of the disinterested love he shewed for his country, than his father *Julius* on account of all his warlike exploits. But the apotheosis of *Augustus* was put off for many years; for *Antonius Musa*, a famous *Greek* physician, and brother to *Euphorbus* physician to *Juba* king of *Mauritania*, by cooling potions and the use of the cold bath, restored him to his health, to the great real, or seeming, satisfaction of the senate and people, who immediately ordered a statue of brass to be erected to *Musa* over-against that of *Æsculapius*, a distinction never before granted to any freed-man. He was also allowed to wear a gold ring, and all persons of his profession were for ever, out of gratitude to him, exempted from all manner of taxes and tributes [°]. The recovery of *Augustus* occasioned great rejoicings in the city; medals were struck, many of which have reached our times, and the most magnificent sports exhibited that had ever been seen in *Rome*. We are told, that some fathers, then on their death-beds, commanded their children to sacrifice victims in their name by way of thanksgiving to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, with this inscription, *The day of our death was the day of Augustus's recovery* [°]. *Antonius Musa restores him to his health.* *Rejoicings at Rome for his recovery.*

^e The emperor, as soon as he was in a condition to appear abroad, went to the senate-house, and, after having thanked the fathers in most obliging terms for the concern they had shewn during his illness, and the joy they had expressed on his recovery, he opened his will, and offered to read it to the assembly, in order to convince them, that he had appointed himself no successor, but left them at full liberty either of re-establishing the ancient form of government, or chusing for themselves a sovereign; but they all cried out with one voice, That they would not by any means suffer him to take that trouble, which was to no purpose, since they were, without any further proof, fully convinced of the sincerity of his intentions, and his disinterested zeal for the public welfare [°].

THE

[°] STRABO, l. xvii. p. 820. DIO, l. liv. p. 524, 525. PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. [°] DIO, p. 523, 524.
[°] Idem, p. 517, & seq. [°] SUET. in Octavio. [°] SUET. & DIO, ibid.

Misunderstand-
ing between
Marcellus and
Agrippa.

New honours
heaped upon
Augustus.

Tiridates at
Rome.

Augustus's an-
swer to his em-
bassadors, and
to those of
Phraates.

THE behaviour of *Augustus* during his illness occasioned a misunderstanding between *Marcellus* and *Agrippa*. The former thinking himself injured by his uncle, who had preferred to one of his own family a man of a mean descent, a mere soldier of fortune, expressed his resentment, not against the emperor, but against his favourite, treating him on several occasions with great contempt. On the other hand, *Agrippa* was not a man to bear with any ill usage. The emperor therefore, to prevent the evil consequences of their mutual jealousies, thought it adviseable to part them; and accordingly appointed *Agrippa* governor of *Syria*, who immediately left *Rome*, but went no farther than *Mitylene* in the island of *Lesbos*, whence he sent his lieutenants to govern the provinces committed to his care.

AND now *Augustus*, thinking his authority sufficiently established, resigned the fasces, after having held them nine years together, to *P. Sestius*, a man of an unblemished character, but a constant and faithful friend to *Brutus*, under whom he had served in the battle of *Philippi* in quality of proquaestor, and whose memory he still revered, keeping his picture in his house, and commending on all occasions the zeal of that brave patriot for the welfare of his country. The senate was so affected with this impartial conduct of *Augustus*, in preferring a man of *Sestius*'s character to many of his own friends, who aspired at the same dignity, that they heaped new honours upon him, declared him perpetual proconsul of the *Roman* empire, impowered him to assemble the senate when he pleased, and, what he valued above all other prerogatives, allowed him to exercise the authority of the tribuneship, and enjoy all the privileges annexed to that dignity, not only within the walls of *Rome*, but in the most distant provinces. Such an ample and unlimited power was without precedent; but the emperor readily accepted it, as it rendered his person sacred, and secured him against all outrages and insults, whether in words or actions. His successors never parted with this power; but, after the example of *Augustus*, caused it to be recorded in public registers in these terms; *Tribunitiæ potestatis primum, secundum, &c.* Thus were the *Romans*, by raising the authority of their emperors, daily rivetting their own chains. In the consulate of *Cn. Calpurnius Piso* and *L. Sestius*, *Phraates* king of *Parthia* being restored to the throne by the *Scythians*, *Tiridates*, whom the *Parthians* had chose in his room, being obliged to save himself by flight, came to *Rome*, with the chief men of his party, to solicit the assistance of *Augustus*, promising to hold the kingdom of him, in case he was restored by his means to the throne. On the other hand, *Phraates*, hearing he had fled to *Rome*, sent ambassadors after him to defeat his designs, and to demand of *Augustus* the delivery of his rebellious slaves, as he styled them, and the release of his son, whom *Tiridates* had put into his hands at *Antioch*, when he passed through that city on his return to *Italy* after the reduction of *Egypt*. *Augustus* introduced the ambassadors of the contending parties to the senate; but after they had pleaded the cause of their respective princes before the fathers, without consulting them, he answered the ambassadors himself in the same manner as he had done before at *Antioch*, viz. That he would not deliver *Tiridates* into the hands of *Phraates*, nor assist either of them against the other. However, to gratify both in something, he gave *Tiridates* leave to live at *Rome*, ordering him out of the public treasury an allowance suitable to his rank, and sent back to *Phraates* his son, on condition that he should restore all the captives and ensigns taken from *Crassus* and *Antony*. This *Phraates* promised; but did not perform till three years after*. This year *Marcellus* was seized with a hectic fever, which *Antonius Musa* undertook to cure; but the remedies he prescribed, the same which had saved the life of *Augustus*, were commonly believed to have occasioned his death, which happened in the nineteenth year of his age, to the inexpressible grief of *Augustus*, his mother *Octavia*, and the *Roman* people, whose hearts he had won by his extraordinary accomplishments, obliging behaviour, and uncommon modesty. Tho' this year proved very sickly, and many were carried off by the reigning distempers, yet the ambitious *Livia* was generally charged with the death of that hopeful youth, whom she was believed to have dispatched by means of *Antonius Musa*, to make room for *Tiberius* and *Drusus* her own children. His funeral obsequies were performed with the utmost magnificence in

* DIO, l. liii. p. 518. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 91. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xi. c. 13. SUET. ibid. c. 66.
DIO, ibid. p. 518, 519. Vide NORIS de Cenotaph. Pisana, & L. Cæf. p. 191. & ANTON. Pæc.
critic. in annal. Baronii, p. 109. * DIO, ibid. JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 5.

a in the *campus Martius*, *Augustus* himself, who was his nearest relation, pronouncing; according to custom, his funeral oration^y.

THE next year, *M. Claudius Marcellus Æternus* and *L. Arruntius* being consuls, a dreadful plague raged in *Rome* and all the other cities of *Italy*; which, as the lands were left untilld, was attended with a general famine. The *Tiber* overflowed, and laid great part of the city under water. Lightning fell on the *Pantheon*, and there dashed to pieces several statues, &c. The populace imagining, that the gods visited them with these, and threatened them with greater calamities, because they had suffered *Augustus* to lay down the consulate, surrounded the senate-house, and threatened to set fire to it, unless the fathers immediately created him dictator. The
b conscript fathers readily complied with their request; whereupon the people repaired in great crouds to the house of *Augustus*, with twenty-four axes and fasces, intreating him to accept of the dictatorship; but he wisely declined the envy and danger of that title, having already all the power and authority annexed to it. However, that he might not seem to despise the favours of the people, he accepted the office of general purveyor, which had been formerly conferred on *Pompey the Great*, and took care to supply the city with great plenty of provisions, appointing annually two persons for that purpose, who had discharged the prætorship two years before. As to the office of perpetual censor, he could by no means be prevailed to take it upon him; but named to that important employment *Paulus Æmilius Lepidus*, brother to the triumvir, by whom he had been proscribed, and *L. Munacius Plancus*, formerly one of *Antony's* most zealous partizans; but *Lepidus* dying soon after, and *Plancus*, who was a man of a most infamous character, being no ways qualified to censure the vices of others, *Augustus* took upon himself to perform the functions, tho' he declined the title, of that magistracy, and enacted many excellent laws relating to the reformation of manners, which gained him the love and esteem of the whole city. He suppressed several private assemblies, and reformed others; from the ædiles he transferred the care of the public shews and sports to the prætors, whom he reduced to ten, and would not allow them to exhibit the usual sports at their own charges, but obliged the people to contribute a small sum for their own diversions, and paid the
d rest out of the public treasury. As the ædileship was the first step to public honours, the young noblemen often spent their whole fortunes, and reduced themselves to beggary, by the expensive shews with which they entertained the people, in hopes of being raised by their suffrages to the superior magistracies; and it was to obviate this abuse, that *Augustus* committed the celebrating of the games to the prætors, and would have the charges attending them divided between the people and the public treasury. To the curule ædiles he committed the care of extinguishing fires, allowing them for that service six hundred slaves, who were bought and maintained at the public expence. He likewise ordered by a particular edict, that none should exhibit the shew of gladiators without leave from the senate, and then only twice a year, and
e with no more than one hundred and twenty combatants. As many persons of rank, women as well as men, had of late debased themselves to act and dance upon the stage, *Augustus* restrained such scandalous practices, by forbidding, under the severest penalties, any of the senatorial or equestrian order to appear on the stage, and extending this prohibition to the children and grand-children of senators^z. In these regulations he exerted the power and authority of an absolute prince and legislator; but in other things used great condescension, affecting to appear in courts of judicature like a private person, and even to plead for his friends, or attend them when cited before the prætors or other judges. This complaisance often drew insults upon him from the adverse parties, as it happened in the case of one *M. Primus*, who was accused
f of having made an irruption into the country of the *Odrysians*, while he was governor of *Macedon*. *Primus* maintained, that he had been ordered by *Augustus* to make war upon the *Odrysians*; whereupon *Augustus*, appearing soon after in court, was asked by the prætor, Whether *Primus's* plea was true or no? The emperor answered, That *Primus* was certainly mistaken, since he was very sure he had given no such orders. This open and positive declaration left no room for any reply; which so provoked *L. Murena*, who pleaded for *Primus*, that he could not help asking the emperor with great boldness and anger, *What business he had there? and what had brought him to a place where he was neither expected nor wanted?* The public good, replied

Augustus wisely declines the dictatorship, and the office of perpetual censor.

Enacts several excellent laws.

His moderation.

^y DIO, p. 517, 519. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 93. TACIT. annal. 2. VIRG. Æneid. l. vi, ^z DIO, ibid. p. 521—524. SÆT. ibid.

Conspiracy a-
gainst Augus-
tus.

Is discovered
and the conspi-
rators punished.

The provinces
of Cyprus and
Gaul delivered
up to the senate.

Disturbances in
Rome on ac-
count of the
elections.

replied *Augustus* with great calmness and moderation. This deportment gained him the esteem of many; but others, who were enemies to *Augustus* in their hearts, and wished to see the ancient form of government restored, laid hold of this opportunity to stir up *Murena*, and to enter into a conspiracy with him against the tyrant of *Rome*, as they styled him. *Murena* and *Fannius Cæpio*, the former a man of an unblemished character, and the latter the greatest debauchee in *Rome*, took upon them the whole management of the plot, for the execution of which a day and place was already appointed. But, in the mean time, *Murena* disclosed the whole to his sister *Terentilla*, and she to her husband *Mecænas*, who gave notice of it to the emperor, after having advised his brother-in-law and the other conspirators to abscond, till such time as he should obtain, as he hoped to do, their pardon. But *Augustus* would not hearken to the intreaties either of *Mecænas* or *Proculus*, who was brother to *Murena*, and in such favour with the emperor, that he had been long in suspense, whether he should bestow his daughter *Julia* on him or *Marcellus*. As *Augustus* proved inflexible, the conspirators were summoned to take their trials, and not appearing, interdicted by a majority of suffrages fire and water, throughout the whole extent of the *Roman* empire. *Cæpio* was conveyed in the night-time by a faithful slave to the *Tiber* in a basket, and put on board a small vessel which landed him at *Ostia*. From *Ostia* the slave conducted him safe to *Laurentum*, and from thence to *Cumæ*, where he was betrayed by another slave to a centurion, who cut off his head and carried it to *Rome*. *Murena* was discovered in *Rome*, and assassinated by *Augustus*'s emissaries. As the conspirators were absolved by the votes of some of the judges, the emperor, fearing such criminals might for the future go unpunished, enacted the two following laws, viz. That all guilty persons who refused to appear, should be condemned to the same punishments, which would have been inflicted upon them, if they had been regularly tried and convicted; and that for the future the judges in criminal cases should deliver their opinions, not in writing, but openly and by word of mouth. Lest the severity he shewed on this occasion, and the new laws he enacted, might estrange the minds of the people from him, he took no notice of the odd behaviour of old *Cæpio*, who not only set at liberty the slave who had conveyed his son out of *Rome*, but sentenced the other to be crucified, after having caused him to be led through all the streets of *Rome* with a writing, which expressed the cause of his punishment. At this time, *Augustus*, out of complaisance to the senate, whom his severity towards two men of rank might have provoked, delivered up to the conscript fathers the provinces of *Cyprus* and *Narbonne Gaul*, which, from this time, began to be ranked among the proconsular provinces, and to be governed by magistrates sent thither by the senate^a. This same year, the *Cantabrians* and *Asturians* revolted anew; but were soon brought under subjection by *C. Furnius*. Many of the *Cantabrians*, finding they could not shake off the yoke, chose rather to lay violent hands on themselves than to bear it; so deep was the love of liberty imprinted in the hearts of that brave people^b!

AND now *Italy* and all the provinces in the west enjoying a profound tranquillity, *Augustus* resolved to take a progress into the east, and with this view set out for *Sicily* towards the end of the year, leaving the people at full liberty to chuse for consuls whom they pleased. At the time therefore appointed for the great elections the centuries met, and with one consent raised to the consulate *Augustus*, and gave him *M. Lollius* for his colleague; but he refusing to accept of that dignity, and even to name another in his room, the centuries met a second time, when such disorders were raised in the comitia, by the ambition of two competitors, *L. Silanus* and *Q. Æmilius Lepidus*, that the wiser citizens thought it proper to acquaint *Augustus* therewith, and solicit him to return to *Rome*, and with his presence put a stop to the contests and divisions, which the opposite factions had raised in the city. *Augustus* heard the account of these disturbances with a secret satisfaction, hoping they would convince the most zealous and obstinate republicans, that they were no longer capable of governing themselves as formerly. However, lest the quarrels of two such men, who had a great number of clients and were allied to most of the chief families in *Rome*, should produce a civil war, he sent for the candidates, reprimanded them severely, and commanded them to keep at a distance from *Rome* till the election was over. But this did not restore tranquillity to the city; the friends of the two competitors supported their respective interest with the same warmth as if they had been present; but

^a Dio, l. liv. p. 523. & l. liii. p. 504.

^b Idem-ibid.

but at length *Lepidus's* party prevailed, and he was chosen consul. However, *Augustus*, to prevent such disturbances for the future, as he could not be always at *Rome* himself, judged it necessary to create a new magistrate, whose province should be to maintain peace and tranquillity in the metropolis. *Agrippa* seemed to him the most proper person for so great a command. He therefore dispatched a messenger to him, ordering him to quit the island of *Lesbos* and repair to him in *Sicily*. On his arrival, to procure him more respect and authority in his new employment, he commanded him to divorce *Marcella*, tho' daughter to *Octavia* and *Augustus's* niece, and to marry his daughter *Julia*, the widow of *Marcellus*. We are told, that *Mecænas* promoted this match, by suggesting to *Augustus*, when he consulted him about it, that since he had already made *Agrippa* so great and powerful, he ought either to cut him off, or unalterably attach him to his interest by marrying him to his daughter^b. The marriage was celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence, and *Agrippa* immediately after took his leave of *Augustus*, and set out for *Rome*, where he discharged his new office with great applause, being equally beloved by the senate and people.

Agrippa made governor of Rome.

He marries Julia, Augustus's daughter.

IN the mean time; *Augustus*, having settled the affairs of *Sicily*, passed over into *Greece*, where he shewed particular marks of his favour to the *Lacedæmonians*, on whom he bestowed the island of *Cithæra* and five cities, as a reward for the kindness they had formerly shewn to *Livia*, when she fled with her husband and son out of *Italy*. The *Athenians* he punished for having erected statues to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and afterwards sided with *Antony*. He took from them the island of *Ægina* and the city of *Eretria*, forbidding them for the future to sell the right of citizenship, which brought them in vast sums, the *Romans* themselves glorying in being free of *Athens*^c. From *Greece* *Augustus* sailed to *Samos*, and there wintered.

EARLY in the spring, *M. Apuleius* and *P. Silius Nerva* being consuls, *Augustus* left *Samos*, and crossed over into *Asia*, settling the affairs of the provinces through which he passed, in as absolute a manner as if they had belonged to himself and not to the senate. He deprived the *Cyzicans* of their liberty, for having whipt and put to death some *Roman* citizens. The same punishment he inflicted on the inhabitants of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, judging this the most effectual method of putting an end to the factions, which reigned in these two cities, and were attended with frequent murders. As he drew near the borders of *Parthia*, *Phraabates* king of that country, dreading a foreign war, as he was universally hated by his subjects, not only sent back to him all the ensigns and captives taken by the *Parthians*, in their wars with *Crassus* and *Antony*, but yielded to all the conditions which *Augustus* required, giving four of his sons with their wives and children as hostages for the performance of them^d; whereupon *Justin* observes, that *Augustus* did more by the greatness of his name, than any other commander could have done by a long and bloody war^e; but *Tacitus* tells us, that not the fear of *Augustus*, but the diffidence *Phraabates* had of his own people, induced him thereunto^f; and with him agree *Strabo*^g and *Josephus*^h (C). However, *Augustus*, no less proud of having thus recovered the *Roman* eagles and captives, than

Phraabates sends back to him the Roman eagles and ensigns.

^b DIO, *ibid.* p. 525. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 93. SUET. in OCTAVIO.

^c JUSTIN. l. xlii. c. 5.

^f TACIT. *annal.* l. ii. c. 1.

^e DIO, *ibid.*

^d DIO,

^g STRABO, l. vi. p. 288.

^h JOSEPH. *antiq.* l. xviii. c. 3.

(C) So far as we can gather from their writings, the whole matter seems to have passed in the following manner: A very beautiful *Italian* woman, named *Thermusa*, having been formerly sent by *Augustus* to *Phraabates* as a present, the king entertained her first as his concubine, and afterwards, on her bringing him a son, married her, and declared her queen. In this station she gained an absolute ascendant over him, which she made use of to secure the succession to her son. With this view she proposed to *Phraabates* the putting of his other sons, whose names were *Sarospades*, *Cerospades*, *Phraabates*, and *Vonones*, into the hands of the *Romans*. *Phraabates*, not thinking himself safe against his subjects, so long as there were any of the race of *Arfaces* of an age fit to govern, readily complied with the queen's proposal; and accordingly, when matters

were made up between him and *Augustus*, and hostages demanded for the securing of the terms of that agreement, he delivered his four sons into the hands of *Augustus*, who carried them to *Rome*, where they remained many years. As for *Thermusa's* son, who was named *Prabatices*, he was bred up to succeed his father in the kingdom. The *Parthians* were so superstitiously addicted to the race of *Arfaces*, that *Phraabates* well knew they would bear him, so long as they had no other of that family of an age fit to be set up to reign in his room; and this was, according to *Strabo* and *Josephus* (6), the reason why *Phraabates* so readily yielded up his sons to the *Romans*; but at length his destruction came from what he thus projected for his safety, as we have related in our history of the *Parthians* (7).

(6) Vide *Strab.* & *Joseph.* *ubi supra.*

(7) Vide *Hist. Univers.* Vol. IV. p. 314.

than if he had overcome the *Parthians* in battle, sent orders to the senate to shut up ^a the temple of *Janus*, which he had opened on his setting out for the east, and to offer sacrifices, by way of thanksgiving to the gods, for the success which had attended him in this expedition. To perpetuate the memory of an action, which he looked upon as the most glorious of his whole reign, on his return to *Rome*, he caused a temple to be built in the capitol to *Mars the Avenger*, upon the plan of that which had long before been built in honour of *Jupiter Feretrius*. In this new temple were hung up the military ensigns, which the king of *Parthia* had restored, as monuments of the homage which that proud monarch had paid to *Augustus* ⁱ. At the same time *Augustus* settled the affairs of *Armenia*. *Artabazes*, king of that country, having been taken prisoner by *Antony* and carried to *Alexandria*, as we have related above, *Artaxias* ^b his son, whom *Dion* calls *Artabazes*, succeeded him. But he having made himself obnoxious to his subjects by a most tyrannical and oppressive reign, they complained of him to *Augustus*, desiring to have *Tigranes*, his younger brother, who was then at *Rome*, to reign over them in his stead. *Augustus* complied with their request, and sent *Tiberius*, the son of *Livia*, who had attended him into the east, with an army into *Armenia*, to drive out *Artaxias* and place *Tigranes* on the throne. But *Artaxias* being killed by his own subjects before the arrival of *Tiberius*, and *Tigranes* thereupon admitted, without opposition, to succeed him, the young *Roman* had no opportunity of signalizing himself by any military exploits. However, he crowned the new king with great pomp and magnificence, placing the diadem upon his tribunal, and obliging *Tigranes* to receive it of him, as if he had been indebted to him for his kingdom ^k. *Velleius Paterculus*, the great flatterer of *Tiberius*, tells us, that, entering *Armenia* at the head of his legions, he reduced the whole country, and obliged the *Armenians* to receive *Tigranes*, whom he calls *Artavasdes*, for their king. He adds, that the *Parthians* were so terrified at his approach, and the fame of his name and exploits, that they sent back to *Augustus* the *Roman* ensigns and captives ^l. But all other writers ascribe the recovery of the ensigns to *Augustus*, and agree, that *Tiberius* performed nothing worth mentioning. This year, *Julia*, who had had no children by her first husband *Marcellus*, brought *Agrippa* a son, who was named *Caius*, and on whose birth-day a perpetual sacrifice, with other solemnities, was decreed by ^d way of thanksgiving to the gods ^m. Towards the end of the summer, *Augustus* left *Syria*, and being attended by *Herod*, king of *Judea*, to the sea side, he imbarqued and sailed for *Samos*, where he passed the ensuing winter. In the mean time, the consular year being expired, *Augustus* was named consul in the assembly of the people, and *C. Sentius Saturninus* given him for his colleague. But *Augustus* declining that office, the factions revived, and the *campus Martius* was turned into a field of battle, many persons being killed in the fray; insomuch, that *Augustus*, to put a stop to the disorders that were raised on this occasion by the ambitious competitors, was obliged to name a colleague to *Sentius* of his own authority. The person he pitched upon was *Q. Lucretius Vespillo*, who had been formerly proscribed by the triumvirs, but ^e at this time served under *Augustus* in quality of lieutenant. These two magistrates together with *Agrippa* maintained peace and tranquillity in the city, by punishing with the utmost severity the ring-leaders of the late tumult ⁿ.

Augustus appoints Tigranes king of Armenia.

Who receives the crown of Tiberius.

Caius Cæsar born.

A second embassy to Augustus from the king of India.

WHILE *Augustus* resided at *Samos*, he received a second embassy from the king of *India*, soliciting an alliance with him. The ambassadors, as we are informed by *Nicolas of Damascus*, who saw them as they passed through *Antioch*, delivered to *Augustus* a letter in the *Greek* tongue, wherein the king of *India* told him, that though he reigned over six hundred kings, yet he had so great a value for his friendship, that he sent his embassy on so long a journey on purpose to desire it of him; that he was ready to meet him in what place soever he pleased to appoint; and that upon the first notice he would assist him to the utmost of his power in whatever was right. This letter he subscribed by the name of *Porus king of India*. The six hundred kings, whom he boasted to reign over, were the *rajās*, or petty princes, who governed the kingdom under him, several of whose descendants remain to this day, who, paying an annual tribute to the *Great Mogol*, govern their subjects with an absolute authority. Of the ambassadors, who first set out from *India*, three only reached the presence of *Augustus*, the others dying by the way. Of the three surviving one was *Zarmar* a gymnosophist, who following *Augustus* to *Athens*, there burnt himself

ⁱ SUET. *ibid.* Dio, p. 526.
ⁿ Dio, *ibid.*

^k Dio, *ibid.*

^l VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 94.

^m Dio.

a in his presence, as *Calanus*, another of that sect, had formerly done in the presence of *Alexander*, it being customary for the gymnosophists to put an end to their lives, by throwing themselves on their funeral piles, when they thought they had lived long enough, or apprehended some misfortune^o. Among the presents which they brought were huge vipers, serpents ten cubits long, a river tortoise three cubits long, a partridge bigger than a vultur, and several tygers, the first that had ever been seen either by the *Greeks* or *Romans*^p. *Augustus* early in the spring left *Samos*, after having declared the inhabitants free, and returned to *Rome*, where he was received with loud acclamations and all possible marks of honour, his bringing back the military ensigns and prisoners taken in the *Parthian* wars being what the *Romans* valued beyond the greatest victories. *Augustus* himself took so much pride in having thus retrieved the glory of the *Roman* name among foreign nations, that he caused a great number of medals, many of which have reached us, to be struck with this legend on the reverse, *Signis receptis*. The poets of his time made, as is well known, his recovering of the ensigns and prisoners, the common topic of their flatteries^q. Three triumphal arches were decreed him by the senate, an altar was erected to *Fortune* with this inscription, *Fortunæ reduci*; and it was ordained, that the day of his arrival in the capital should be annually solemnised with sacrifices, sports, shews, &c. and distinguished by the name of *Augustalia*, or the feast of *Augustus*. This year died the prince of the *Latin* poets in the fifty-first year of his age, having bequeathed a considerable part of his great wealth to *Augustus* and *Mecænas*, his two chief patrons and benefactors. He had designed to attend *Augustus* into the east, but was obliged by the bad state of his health to remain at *Naples*, whence he passed over to *Athens* to meet *Augustus* on his return from the island of *Samos*. The emperor received him with uncommon marks of kindness and esteem; but he, leaving *Athens* soon after to visit the antiquities of *Megara* in the hot season of the year, fell sick there, but nevertheless imbarqued for *Italy*, and reached *Brundisium*, where he expired soon after his arrival. As he had not yet put the last hand to his *Æneid*, he ordered by his will that inimitable performance to be burnt; but *Augustus* saved *Troy*, we may say with an ancient poet, from a second conflagration, and by that means preserved for all future ages a most perfect pattern of epic poetry. *Virgil's* body was, according to his own appointment, conveyed to *Naples*, and there laid in a monument erected for that purpose on the road from *Naples* to *Puteoli*. On the monument was engraved a distich wrote by the poet himself, wherein he gave a modest account of his birth, his death, the place of his burial, and his works (D)^r.

Augustus returns to Rome.

Virgil died.

BUT to return to *Augustus*; as there reigned at this time in *Rome* a general depravation of manners, and the city was in a manner over-run with all kinds of vices, the senate prevailed upon *Augustus* to accept the office of censor for five years. At the same time, they conferred upon him the consular power for life, ordaining, that he should always have twelve axes and fasces carried before him, and should sit in a curule chair between the consuls. At the same time, they entreated him to make new laws, offering to bind themselves by oath to the observance of them. But the emperor refused an oath, which he judged useless, intimating, that if his laws were good, they would observe them without that tie; if not, their oath would be ineffectual^s. And now the presence of *Agrippa* being no longer necessary in *Rome*, *Augustus* dispatched him into *Gaul* to stop the incursions of the *Germans*, who, having passed the *Rhine*, committed horrible disorders in the countries subject to *Rome*. But, at the approach of so renowned a commander, they repassed the river, and sheltered themselves in their woods. Hereupon *Agrippa*, having settled the affairs of that country, and left a sufficient number of troops to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, the boundary between *Gaul* and *Germany*, passed from thence into *Spain*, where the *Cantabrians*, notwithstanding their former losses, had raised new disturbances. Most of their youth had a few years before been taken prisoners, and sold for slaves to the neighbouring nations; but, having found means to break their chains, they had cut the throats of their masters, and returning into their own country, fortified themselves there, and attacked with incredible fury the *Roman* garrisons. *Agrippa* marched against them with

Augustus censor.

Agrippa marches against the Germans.

His expedition against the Cantabrians.

^o DIO, p. 527. STRABO, l. xv. p. 719, 720. ^p STRABO, ibid. ^q Vide Fast. l. v. HORAT. l. iv. od. 15. &c. ^r Vide TIB. DONAT. in vita Virgilii. ^s DIO; Suet. ibid.

(D) The distich is as follows :

Mantua me genuit : Calabri rapuere ; tenet nunc
Parthenope : cecini pascua, rura, ducos.

with great expedition, but, on his arrival in their country, he met with so vigorous a resistance from that brave and gallant people, that his soldiers began to despair of ever being able to reduce them. As the *Cantabrians* had waged war with the *Romans* for two hundred years and upwards^a they were well acquainted with their manner of fighting, no ways inferior to them in point of courage, and now become desperate, as well knowing, that if they were conquered, after having so often attempted to recover their liberty, they must expect the most severe usage and cruel slavery. Animated with this reflection, they fell upon the *Romans* with a fury hardly to be expressed, put them to flight in several rencounters, and defended themselves; when attacked by the enemy, with such intrepidity and resolution, that *Agrippa* afterwards owned, that he had never, either by sea or land, been engaged in a more dangerous expedition. That brave commander was obliged to use intreaties, menaces; and to brand some of his legionaries with ignominy, before he could bring them to enter the lists with so resolute and formidable an enemy. But having at length with much ado prevailed upon them to try the chance of an engagement in the open field, he so animated them by his own example, that, after a most obstinate dispute, he gained in the end a complete victory, which indeed cost him dear, but put an end to that destructive war. All the *Cantabrians* fit to bear arms were cut in pieces, their castles and strong-holds were taken and razed, and their women, children, and old men, none else being left alive, were obliged to abandon the mountainous places and settle in the plain. Thus *Agrippa* completed the reduction of a brave nation, which had kept the *Roman* arms employed for the space of two hundred years; that is, ever since the time of *Scipio Africanus*, the first *Roman* who made war in *Spain*. The final reduction of *Cantabria* and the quieting of all *Spain* was judged both by the senate and *Augustus* well worthy of a triumph; but *Agrippa* modestly declined that honour, ascribing the whole glory of so successful an expedition to *Augustus*; under whose auspices he had fought. He was well acquainted with the jealous humour of the emperor, no ways renowned for military achievements; and therefore, to avoid giving him the least umbrage, he artfully lessened his own glory for fear of eclipsing his, which, he knew, might be attended with dangerous consequences^b. *Agrippa* on his return to *Rome* applied himself wholly to the embellishing of the city with new edifices, and supplying it with great plenty of water, which proved no less ornamental to that great metropolis, than convenient and useful to the vast multitudes of people who flocked thither from all parts of the then known world. The waters, *Virgo*, *Julia*, and *Tepula*, were by him conveyed, at his own expence, into the city, by aqueducts, of a most magnificent structure, and for the most part supported by large and beautiful columns of marble. The aqueducts of the waters, *Appia* and *Marcia*, which conveyed into *Rome*, we may say, whole rivers, were by him repaired at a vast charge. In short, to *Agrippa* chiefly is *Rome* indebted for that great plenty of wholesome water, which it enjoys to this day, perhaps above all the cities in the world; and to this *Augustus* alluded, when he pleasantly answered the people, who complained to him of the scarcity and dearth of wine, that *Agrippa* had taken care they should not die of thirst^c. Towards the end of this year, *Augustus* granted a triumph to *Lucius Cornelius Balbus* for having subdued the *Garamantes*, a people of *Africa*, hitherto unknown to the *Romans*. *Balbus* made himself master of that country, which lay between *Africa* properly so called, that is, the ancient dominions of *Carthage*, *Lower Æthiopia*, and *Getulia*, extending by that means the limits of the *Roman* empire as far as the river *Nigris*. Such an important conquest *Augustus* judged well worthy of a triumph, which was accordingly granted to *Balbus*, though he was not so much as a native of *Italy*, but born at *Gades* in *Spain*, and lately admitted to the rights of a *Roman* citizen. He had the glory of being the first foreigner who was honoured with this mark of distinction, *Augustus* wisely overlooking ancient customs, to honour and reward valour without distinction in men of all nations^d. This year *Ælius Gallus*, præfect of *Egypt*, made a progress into the upper parts of that country, as far as *Syene* and the borders of *Ethiopia*, in which *Strabo* the geographer attended him, who tells us, that at *Thebes* he saw the statue of *Mæmnon*, which, according to the poets^e, saluted the sun at his first rising with an harmonious sound. He adds, that being one morning

^a Dio, p. 528. Suet. in Octavio.^b Cassiod. l. vii. epist. 6. Front. in aqueduct.^c Fasti

Capit. Dio, ibid. Plin. l. v. c. 5. Solinus, c. 32.

Perieg. v. 249. & alios.

^d Vide Juvenal. satyr. 15. Dionys. in

^a on the place, he heard the sound without knowing how it was produced, but suspected it came from some of those who were there present, and not from the statue ^y.

THE next year, *P. Cornelius Lentulus* and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, either brothers or relations, being consuls, *Augustus* prorogued his authority for five years more, the first ten years of his sovereign power being near expired. This, he well knew, would stir up the zealous republicans against him; and therefore, dreading the fate of his father *Julius*, he took care never to appear in public, but armed with a breast-plate under his robe; and, to deprive them of all hopes of ever seeing the ancient form of government restored, he made *Agrippa*, as it were, his partner in the sovereign power, conferring upon him an authority almost equal to his own, and the high prerogative of the tribune-ship for the space of five years; so that the few republicans, who still remained, being well apprised, that if they should cut off *Augustus*, *Agrippa* might easily step into his place and revenge his death, as he was greatly adored both by the people and soldiery, gave over all thoughts of any further attempts for the recovery of their liberty ^z. The first thing *Augustus* undertook after the prorogation of his power was, to reform the senate, many persons of no birth and of infamous characters, having been admitted into that venerable body, during the confusion of the civil wars. In order to purge the senate of so many unworthy members, he agreed with *Agrippa*, whom he took for his colleague in the censorship, to reduce the number of the fathers from a thousand to six hundred; but, to avoid the odium of chusing them all himself, he named only thirty, empowering each of them to elect five: of the five each of them named one only was to be chosen, and he by lot; so that thirty only were elected at a time; but as soon as that election was over, five others were named by each of the thirty electors, and one of the five chosen by lot as before. Though each of the thirty electors had bound himself by a solemn oath not to elect any of his own relations, or persons unworthy of that rank, yet in some of their tablets were found the names of men of most infamous characters, while others of known probity were excluded. This unjust partiality induced *Augustus* and *Agrippa* to change the method of election, and since they could not depend upon others, to name the rest themselves to the number of six hundred; wherein to do them justice, they proceeded with the utmost impartiality, chusing only men of merit, and by that means restoring the senatorial order to its former splendor. Those who were degraded, to the number of four hundred, were allowed to appear at the public shews with the ancient badges of their dignity, and to stand for the first offices, as if they had been still members of the senatorial order. But, notwithstanding this distinction, many of them were soon after put to death, for having, as it was supposed, conspired against the emperor; though *Tacitus* tells us ^a, that *Augustus* laid hold of this opportunity to get rid of such as he suspected of being republicans in their hearts, and secret enemies to absolute power. Some writers think he followed, in putting many of the degraded senators to death, the old maxim, that *a prince ought to cut off those whom he has once provoked*. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Augustus* for some time after betrayed a great fear of being assassinated, admitting no body to his presence, but after a narrow search, whether they had any arms concealed under their garments, and forbidding even the senators to approach his chair more than one at a time. This precaution gave the fathers an opportunity of making a proposal, which was highly agreeable to the timorous emperor. They offered to watch night and day at the door of his room each in his turn, to guard his person. But while they were consulting about their proposal, *Antistius Labeo*, a learned civilian and a man of great humour, pretending to sleep, snored very loud, and waking as it were all on a sudden, *Don't depend upon me*, said he, *to guard the emperor; for I shall be apt to fall asleep, and prove more troublesome to him than serviceable*. The senators could not forbear laughing, and *Augustus* ashamed of his cowardice, made them drop the proposal, when they were ready to confirm it by a decree ^b.

Augustus, having thus restored the senate to its ancient splendor, applied himself in the next place to the reforming of several abuses in the city. He decreed, that such as should be convicted of having purchased the suffrages of the people with money, should be excluded from all public offices for the space of five years. That the people, who used to sell their votes, might not be sufferers by this law, he caused large sums to be distributed among them, on condition, that they should not require any thing of the

Augustus heaps new honours upon Agrippa.

Reforms the senate.

Several of the degraded senators put to death for conspiring against the emperor.

Augustus reforms several abuses.

^y STRABO, l. xvii. p. 816.

^z DIO, p. 529.

^a TACIT. annal. l. x.

^b DIO, & SUEt. ibid.

Subjects the
Sibylline book
to a strict ex-
amination.

Lucius Caesar
born.

Augustus re-
jects the title of
Dominus or
Lord.

Entices players
to Rome, but
punishes their
licentiousness.

Augustus goes
into Gaul.

the candidates. To check the debauchery of the *Roman* youth, which at this time^a was greater than ever had been known, he laid heavy taxes upon such as continued unmarried after a certain age, and encouraged with great rewards the procreation of lawful children. He allowed the patricians and plebeians to intermarry; declaring, that though a patrician should marry a *liberta* or freed-woman, his children should rank among the patricians. However, he excepted the senators, whom he would not allow to marry under their rank; and because the *Hortensian* family had been by the civil wars reduced almost to beggary, he presented young *Hortensius* with a large sum, which put him in a condition of marrying a woman of distinction. The loose behaviour of the married women was what chiefly deterred the young *Romans* from marriage; but *Augustus*, who had himself debauched many; not sparing even the wife of his great friend *Mecænas*, refused to put a stop to that disorder, saying, that he left the care of married women to their husbands. Having reformed many abuses in the state, he applied his thoughts to matters of religion, calling in a great many prophetic books, which were then in vogue, and causing most of them, to the number of two thousand volumes, to be burnt as spurious, reserving only those which were commonly ascribed to some of the *Sibyls*. These also he subjected to a strict examination, and retained such only as were on this trial judged genuine; the rest he committed to the flames, but those that were judged genuine he caused to be copied by the pontifices themselves, and lodged them in two golden cabinets, which he placed in the temple of *Apollo* built by him in his palace^c. These *Sibylline* oracles were of great repute among the *Gentiles*, and often appealed to by the ancient *Christian* writers. This year, *Julia* brought *Agrippa* a second son, who was named *Lucius*; and *Augustus* adopted both him and his brother *Caius*, declaring them his successors, in order to put a stop to any attempts that might be made by the old republicans, for the recovery of their liberty^d.

THE following year, *C. Furnius* and *C. Julius Silanus* being consuls, the *secular games*, which had not been celebrated for a hundred years before, were exhibited, by *Augustus* and *Agrippa*, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence. In these games one of the players giving him the title of *Dominus*, that is, lord or sovereign, he shewed great marks of dissatisfaction, and the next morning published an edict, forbidding all persons under severe penalties to give him that title for the future. It was on occasion of these games that *Horace* wrote the Hymn, intitled, *Carmen Seculare*, which was sung at the sacrifice, that was offered to *Pluto* and *Proserpine* before the shews and spectacles of the circus, the theatre, and amphitheatre. Great part of this year was spent in public games and diversions, of which *Augustus* himself was a great admirer, especially of the tournament, or warlike exercise, called *Troy*, which he thought becoming the education of the young nobility. He was likewise a great encourager of wrestling, but would not allow women to be present at those games. He enticed to *Rome* with great rewards the best players and actors from all parts of the world, took them under his protection, and would not allow the prætors and ædiles to cause them, according to ancient custom, to be publicly whipt, when they had not performed to the satisfaction of the audience. But, notwithstanding the encouragement he gave them, he severely examined their morals, not allowing the least licentiousness in their lives or indecency in their actions. Being informed, that one *Stephanio* a comedian was attended by a woman in the disguise of a boy, he ordered him to be whipt through the three theatres, and banished the city. He likewise drove out of *Rome* *Pylades* a famous actor, for having behaved disrespectfully towards a *Roman* citizen, and because he was continually quarrelling with *Bathyllus*, an actor no less famous than himself, and greatly favoured by *Mecænas*. But he soon recalled him to gratify the people, and the comedian on his return, instead of thanking the emperor, told him, that it was his interest the people should be diverted by men of his profession, lest they should watch too narrowly his actions, or seriously reflect on their own condition^e.

THE ensuing year, *Augustus*, having got *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *P. Cornelius Scipio*, two persons wholly addicted to him, raised to the consulate, resolved to leave *Rome* for a while, and march with an army into *Gaul*, to quell some disturbances there occasioned by the avarice of *Libinius Enceladus*, who, being appointed by the emperor to gather the taxes in those parts, had obliged the people to pay them^f.

^c SVETON. *ibid.* DIO, p. 531—533.

^d DIO, *ibid.*

^e DIO, *ibid.*

them monthly, and by a deceitful account reckoned fourteen months in the year. However, the disturbances were not such as required the presence of the emperor. It was therefore commonly believed, that he undertook this expedition with no other view, but to enjoy the company of *Terentia*, or, as others call her, *Terentilla*, the wife of his friend *Mecenas*, without being disturbed in the enjoyment of his scandalous pleasures, either by her husband, or his own wife *Livia*. He took *Terentia* with him, and, because *Mecenas* could not help resenting this base treatment, he appointed *Statilius Taurus* governor of *Rome* during his absence, passing over his old friend, who had in more difficult times discharged that office with great applause. As for *Agrippa*, he dispatched him again into the east, to settle there some differences between the princes and states of *Asia*. *Augustus* no sooner passed the *Alps*, than the *Gauls* returned to their duty, but the *Sicambri*, *Usipetes*, and *Tencteri*, people of *Germany*, having passed the *Rhine*, defeated first a considerable body of *Roman* horse, and afterwards *M. Lollius*, proconsul of *Gaul*, from whom they took a standard. *Lollius*, though no great commander, found soon after an opportunity of retrieving his honour, by falling upon the *Germans* unawares, and driving them with great loss beyond the *Rhine*. Though all was now quiet in *Gaul*, yet *Augustus* spent the remaining part of this and all the following year, when *M. Lucius Drusus Libo* and *L. Calpurnius Piso* were consuls, in that province, not caring to return to the capital, where he well knew his criminal conversation with his friend's wife would give occasion to endless satires and lampoons, especially, after he had set up for a reformer of manners, and punished with the utmost severity less crimes in others. During his stay in *Gaul*, the inhabitants flocked to him from all parts of the country with complaints against *Encecladus*. He was by birth a *Gaul*, and formerly a slave of *Julius Cæsar*, by whom he had been taken in the *Gaulish* wars; but being afterwards manumitted by him, and having found means to insinuate himself into the favour of *Augustus*, he had been appointed by him receiver-general of all the taxes paid annually by his countrymen. In this employment he oppressed the *Gauls* in a most barbarous manner; insomuch, that *Augustus*, ashamed of having employed a man of so infamous a character, was determined to inflict upon him such punishment as should deter others from the like practices. But the crafty *Gaul* found means to appease the emperor, by delivering up to him the vast sums he had heaped up by rapine and extortion; and assuring him, that in plundering the *Gauls* he had nothing else in view, but to enrich the public treasury, and put his countrymen out of a condition of being ever able to shake off the *Roman* yoke. *Augustus* pleased with this defence, and more with the large sums, which were delivered to him upon the spot, not only absolved the iniquitous extortioner, but approved of his conduct, and, deaf to the complaints of the oppressed *Gauls*, continued him in his office.

Lollius defeated by the Gauls.

Augustus refuses to redress the grievances of the Gauls.

In the mean time, the *Rhæti* (E), having made an irruption into *Italy*, committed there dreadful devastations, putting all the males they met with to the sword, without

The Rhæti invade Italy.

* DIO, ibid. & SENECA. ludi p. 477:

(E) *Ptolemy* places the *Rhæti* between the *Rhine*, or the lake of *Constance*, called by the ancients *Lacus Brigantinus*, and the river *Lychus*, now the *Lech*; the *Vindelici* between the *Lychus* and the *Ænus*, now the *Inn*; and the *Norici* between the *Vindelici* and that mountain, or rather chain of mountains, which extends from the springs of the *Saave* and the *Drave* to the banks of the *Danube* in the neighbourhood of *Vienna*, and was known to the ancients by the name of *Mons Cæthius*, but to the moderns by many different names, such as the *Plesyz*, the *Hengstberg*, the *Dembberg*, the *Herzberg*, *Kalensberg*, &c. according to the different countries through which it runs. But according to *Strabo* and *Pliny*, whose opinion is by all modern geographers preferred to that of *Ptolemy*, the *Rhæti* inhabited only the *Alps*, and the valleys formed by those mountains; their country reaching no farther than the lake of *Constance*; from that lake to the conflux of the *Ænus* and the *Danube* extended *Vindelicia*, or the country of the *Vindelici*, and *Noricum*: from thence to the *Cæthian* mountains. In the country of the *Vindelici* were anciently some

cities of no small note, viz. *Augusta Vindelicorum*, *Juvavium*, or *Colonia Jovavia*, *Reginum* or *Regina castra*, *Batava castra*, *Abusena*, *Guntia*, *Campodunum*, *Abudiacum*, *Ifinista*, now *Ausburg*, *Salzburg*, *Regensburg*, *Passau*, *Abensperg*, *Gurtzberg*, *Kempton*, *Fueffen*, and *München*, now the metropolis of *Bavaria*; *Boiodurum* was the metropolis of that country in former times, so called from the *Boii*, who being driven out of *Boiohemia*, now *Bohemia* by the *Marcomanni*, under the conduct of *Maroboduus*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak anon, settled in *Boioaria* or *Boiovaria*, now called *Bavaria*. *Vindelicia* borrowed its name from the rivers *Vindo* or *Vinda*, now the *Wert*; and *Lycus*, which watering great part of it, and running the one to the east, the other to the west, of *Augusta Vindelicorum*, now *Ausburg*, join at a small distance from that city, and with one stream fall into the *Danube*. They are both mentioned by *Venantius Fortunatus* in the following verse:

Pergis ad Augustam, quam Vindo Lycusque fluant (8).

4 L

The

(8) *Venant. Fortunat. de S. Martino, l. iv*

Drusus is sent
against them,
and defeats
them.

The Vindelici,
Rhæti, and
Norici sub-
dued.
Year of the
flood 2989.
Before Christ
10.
Of Rome 738.

out distinction of rank or age ; nay, we are told, that when they happened to take women with child, they consulted their augurs whether the child was a male or female ; if they pronounced it a male, the mother was immediately massacred. Against these fierce nations was sent *Drusus*, the second son of *Livia*, a youth of extraordinary valour and great accomplishments. The young *Roman* behaved on this occasion with a prudence far superior to his years ; for he found means to draw the enemy to battle, gained a complete victory over them, and cut great numbers of them in pieces, with the loss of a very small number of his own men. Those who escaped the general slaughter, being joined by the *Vindelici*, took their rout towards *Gaul*, with a design to invade that province. But *Augustus*, upon the first notice of their march, detached *Tiberius*, who had attended him into *Gaul*, at the head of several chosen legions, to complete the slaughter, which his brother had begun : and indeed *Tiberius* was no less successful than *Drusus* ; for having transported his troops over the lake *Brigantium*, now the lake of *Constance*, he fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, gave them a total overthrow, took in that surprise and confusion most of their strong-holds, and obliged the whole nation to submit to what terms he thought proper to impose upon them. Thus were the *Vindelici*, the *Rhæti*, and the *Norici*, three of the most barbarous nations of *Germany*, by the valour of *Drusus* and *Tiberius*, brought under the *Roman* yoke^f. *Tiberius*, to keep in awe the country he had subdued, planted two colonies in *Vindelicia*, and opened a road from thence into *Noricum* and *Rhætia*. One of the cities, which he built for the defence of his colonies, he called by the name of his father *Drusus Drusomagus*, the other by the name of *Augustus Augusta-Vindelicorum*, which cities are now known by the names of *Mimminghen* and *Augsbourg*.

WHILE

^f DIO, p. 536. SUET. in Octav. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 39. HORAT. l. iv. Ode 4.

The chief cities of *Rhætia*, or, as some write it, *Rætia*, were *Tridentum*, *Curia*, *Feltria*, and *Bellunum*, now *Trent*, *Cibur*, or *Coira*, *Feltri*, *Bellano*. Some writers place *Verona* in *Rhætia* ; but *Strabo* reckons *Verona* among the cities of *Italy*. *Horace* mentions the victories gained by *Tiberius* and his brother *Drusus* over the *Vindelici* and *Rhæti*.

Videre Rhæti bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vinde ici——(9).

And elsewhere ;

Vindelici didicere nuper,
Quid Marte posses ; milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
Breunosque veloces, & arces
Alpibus impositas tremendis,
Dejecit acer, plus vice simplici.
Major Neronum mox grave prælium
Commisit, immanesque Rhætos
Auspiciis pepulit secundis (10).

The *Genauni* and *Bræuni* were inhabitants of *Rhætia*, as is plain from *Strabo* (11). For the better understanding of the ancients, it is necessary to observe here, that though *Rhætia* and *Vindelicia* were two distinct countries, yet they formed but one *Roman* province, called *Rhætia* ; and hence the ancients, when they mention *Rhætia*, or the *Rhætian* province, are to be understood as speaking of *Rhætia*, properly so called, and *Vindelicia* ; that is, of the countries lying between the lake of *Constance*, the *Danube*, the *Ænus*, and the territories of the *Carni*, of the *Veneti*, and of the *Insubres*. And hence it is, that *Tacitus*,

in speaking of *Augusta Vindelicorum*, calls it, the fairest colony of the *Rhætian* province (12) ; and *Horace* calls the *Vindelici*, *Rhæti Vindelici*, to distinguish them from the inhabitants of *Rhætia*, properly so called (13). In the time of the emperor *Adrian*, or rather of *Dioclesian*, the *Rhætian* province was divided into two, whereof the first was called *Rhætia Prima*, and comprehended *Rhætia Proper*, and the second, comprehending *Vindelicia*, *Rhætia Secunda* : the metropolis of the former was *Curia*, of the latter *Augusta Vindelicorum* (14).

Noricum, formerly a kingdom (15), and afterwards a *Roman* province, extended between the *Danube* and the *Alpes Noricæ* in the neighbourhood of *Trent*, from the *Ænus*, which parted it from *Vindelicia*, to the *Cetian* mountains its boundaries on the side of *Pannonia* ; so that ancient *Noricum* comprehended great part of *Austria*, the archbishoprick of *Salzburg*, and all *Stiria* and *Carinthia*. It was afterwards, probably in the time of *Dioclesian* (16), divided into two provinces, viz. *Noricum Ripense*, so called, because it extended along the *Danube*, lying on the south side of that river, which divided it from *Germany* properly so called ; and *Noricum Mediterraneum*, comprising that part which lay at some distance from the *Danube*. In the province of *Noricum Ripense* were the following cities of note, *Jovavum* or *Jovavia*, *Boiodurum*, *Lentin*, *Ovilis*, or *Ovilabis*, and *Lauriacum* or *Laureacum*, now *Salzburg*, *Innsbruck*, *Lintz*, *Wels*, and *Lorch* ; in *Noricum Mediterraneum*, *Pons Æni*, *Viscelli* or *Viscellæ*, *Graviacis*, *Aguntum*, *Turnia* and *Solva*, now *Innsbruck*, *Wels*, *Garch*, *Innsbrunnen*, and *Villach* : *Lauriacum* was the metropolis of the former province, and *Solva* long since buried in its ruins of the latter (17).

(9) Horat. l. iv. od. 4. (10) Idem l. iv. od. 14. (11) Strab. l. iv. p. 142. (12) Tacit. Germ. c. 41. (13) Horat. l. iv. od. 4. (14) Vide Velsch. l. iii. rer. Boi. p. 91. & l. vi. rer. Aug. p. 298. & Paul. Warnefred. l. ii. de gest. Longobard. c. 16. (15) Vide Thom. Reines. inscript. p. 32. (16) Vell. Patércul. l. xi. c. 109. Suet. in Tiber. (17) Vide Gruter. inscript. p. 537. num. 1.

WHILE *Augustus* and his two sons-in-law were thus employed in *Gaul* and *Germany*, *Agrippa* was settling with equal success the affairs of the eastern provinces. On *Agrippa's* ^{ex-} his first arrival in the province of *Asia* properly so called, *Herod* king of *Judea* hastened ^{plots in the} thither to wait upon him, and having prevailed with him to take a tour into *Judea*, ^{east.} he entertained him and all his attendants in a most elegant and sumptuous manner. After having shewn him all his new-built cities and castles, viz. *Sebaste*, *Cæsarea*, *Alexandrium*, *Herodium*, and *Hyrkania*, he carried him in the last place to *Jerusalem*. As he drew near that city, he was met by all the people in their best apparel, and attended into the metropolis of *Judea*, by a solemn procession and with loud acclamations. After he had staid there some days to view the curiosities of that great city, he offered an hecatomb at the temple, feasted all the people, and then hastening to the port, where his fleet waited for him, he sailed back into *Ionía* before winter, highly pleased at the reception he had met with from the *Jewish* king ^e. Early in the spring, he was obliged to quit *Ionía*, and advance towards the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* ^h to quell some disturbances there. For *Asander*, king of that country, dying without issue, had left his kingdom to *Dynamis* his wife, in whose right he had held it, she being the daughter of *Pharnaces* the son of *Mithridates*. One *Scribonius*, a native of *Asia*, pretending to be the grandson of *Mithridates*, and to have a grant from *Augustus* to succeed *Asander*, married *Dynamis* and seized the crown. But *Agrippa*, knowing him to be an impostor, sent *Polemon*, whom the Romans had made king of *Pontus* and the *Lesser Armenia*, to drive him from the throne. Before the arrival of *Polemon*, the *Bosphorans* themselves, being well satisfied that *Scribonius* was no-ways related to their royal family, but an impostor in all his pretensions, had put him to death. However, they would not submit to *Polemon*, but, though overcome by him in a pitched battle on his first coming into their country, still held out, and were likely in the end to get the better of him. Hereupon *Agrippa* marched with all his forces to the assistance of *Polemon*, which *Herod* no sooner heard, than he hastened after him with a considerable fleet, and a good number of his best troops on board; and having sailed first to *Mitylene*, and thence to *Byzantium*, overtook him at length at *Sinope* in *Pontus*. Nothing could be more acceptable to the Roman general than such a supply; for he stood in great need both of sea and land-forces, the *Bosphorans* having armed a great many vessels, and beset with their land-forces, which were both brave and numerous, all the defiles and narrow passes, through which the Romans were to pass. However, with the assistance of *Herod*, he opened himself a way into the heart of the enemy's country, and having brought the *Bosphorans* under subjection, he obliged *Dynamis* to marry *Polemon*, conferring on him the kingdom of *Bosphorus*, which by the favour of *Augustus*, who confirmed that grant, he held with that of *Pontus* and *Armenia Minor*. However, he had not the whole kingdom of *Pontus*, but only that part of it which lay next to *Cappadocia*, and was afterwards, by way of distinction called *Pontus Polemoniacus*. *Agrippa*, having thus settled matters in *Bosphorus*, returned through *Paphlagonia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Phrygia*, to *Ephesus* in *Ionía*, being attended thither by *Herod*, who obtained many favours of him in behalf of the nations, through which he passed; and, on his coming into *Ionía*, not only got the many grievances redressed, of which the *Jews*, who were spread all over *Asia* and the adjacent islands, with great reason complained; but all their immunities and privileges restored, in as ample a manner as they had ever enjoyed them, either under the kings of *Syria* or the Romans ¹. *Julia*, *Agrippa's* wife, ^{Julia in great} attending him in this expedition, suffered great hardships, and narrowly escaped being ^{danger.} drowned in the *Scamander*, as she passed that river in the night-time, while it was swelled with sudden rains. The inhabitants of *Ilium*, whose territory was watered by the *Scamander*, were altogether ignorant of her coming; but nevertheless *Agrippa* was, contrary to all justice, so provoked against them for not having assisted her, that he laid a fine upon them of a hundred thousand drachmas. Hereupon the *Ilienses*, not daring to appear before *Agrippa*, prevailed upon *Nicholas* of *Damascus*, who happened to be at that time in their city, to engage *Herod* to speak to *Agrippa* in their behalf. The king of *Judea* readily espoused their cause, and by his interest with *Agrippa* prevailed upon him to remit the fine, for which signal favour great honours were decreed him by the *Ilienses* ^k. After this *Agrippa* passed from *Ephesus* to

^a JOSEPH. antiq. l. xvi. c. 2.^b Vide Hist. Univers. Vol. IV.

DIO, p. 538. JOSEPH.

antiq. l. xvi. c. 3, 4, 5. OROS. l. vi. c. 18

^k NICOL. DAMASCEN. de vita sua in excerpt. ab

HENRIC. VALES. p. 418. JOSEPH. ibid.

Herod recon-
ciles Agrippa
to the Illyrians.

Augustus pon-
tiffex maximus.

The Ligures
Comati re-
duced.

Augustus's
return to
Rome.

His regulations
with relation
to the soldiery.

to *Samos*, and *Herod*, taking his leave of him, returned into *Judea*, where he received the thanks of the whole nation, for what he had done in behalf of the *Jews* in *Asia Minor*¹. *Augustus*, who was still in *Gaul*, being informed of the success which had attended *Agrippa* in the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, ordered supplications to be made in the capital, and passed a decree, empowering *Agrippa* on his return to enter *Rome* in triumph^m. This year *Lepidus* the triumvir dying, *Augustus* took upon him the office of *pontifex maximus*, or high-priest, vacant by his deathⁿ. This dignity he held to the hour of his death, as did all his successors, as well *Christians* as *Heathens*, till the time of the emperor *Gratian*, who, succeeding his father *Valentinian* in the year of the *Christian* æra 305, and thinking it inconsistent with the *Christian* religion, of which he was a zealous professor, to bear even the name of high-priest in the rites of the *Gentiles*, refused that title, as did afterwards all those who succeeded him in the *Roman* empire^o. This year died likewise *Vedius Pollio*, famous in history for the cruelty with which he treated his slaves, throwing them often for the smallest faults into his fish-ponds to fatten his *murenas*. As he had been raised by *Augustus* from the mean condition of a *libertinus*, or the son of a freed-man, to the rank of a *Roman* knight, he appointed him his chief heir, bequeathing to him his fine country seat, called *Pausilypus*, in the neighbourhood of *Puteoli*, and his house in town, which was one of the most stately and magnificent buildings in *Rome*. *Augustus*, however, caused it to be pulled down, and a sumptuous portico to be built in its room for the use of the public, which from his wife's name he called *Porticus Livia*^p.

THE following year, *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* and *M. Licinius Crassus* being consuls, the *Ligures Comati*, who inhabited the maritime *Alps*, were subdued, and their country reduced to a *Roman* province. And now *Augustus*, having settled the affairs of *Gaul*, stopped the incursions of the *Germans*, and brought under subjection most of the nations inhabiting the *Alps*, left *Drusus* with an army upon the *Rhine*, and returned to the capital, either in the end of this, or the beginning of the following year, when *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, his son-in-law, and *P. Quintilius Varo* were consuls. As he had been near three years absent, he was received by the people with universal joy and satisfaction. But he could not be prevailed upon to accept any of the honours, which the fathers, some out of fear, others out of flattery, decreed him. Nay, he would not even allow the people to come out and meet him, but, according to his custom, entered the city by night. The next morning the whole city went to wait upon him at his palace, for his house was so called, because it was situated on the *Palatium* or *Palatine* hill. *Augustus* received them with great politeness and condescension, and afterwards, being attended by most of the senators and knights and numberless crouds of people, he went up to the capitol, and, prostrating himself before the statue of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, took the laurel from about his fasces, and laid it at his feet. A few days after he assembled the senate, but, not being able to speak himself by reason of a violent cold he had got on his journey home, he gave the quæstor a paper to read, containing an account of what he had done ever since he left the capital. As he was not interrupted this year by any disturbances either at home or abroad, he enacted many excellent laws, which were long observed by his successors. Among the rest he published one, by which it was enacted, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants of *Italy*, that for the future the services of the veterans should not be rewarded with lands, but money. What evils attended the bestowing of lands upon them, is plain from *Virgil's* eclogues. By the same law the time was fixed, which each corps was to serve, the pay which they were to receive during their service, and the sum they were to expect, if they continued to serve after the time prescribed by law was expired. The emperor's own guards known by the name of the *prætorian cohorts* or *bands*, were, by this law, to serve twelve years before they could demand their dismissal, and the rest sixteen; the former were allowed about twelve pence of our money a-day, and the latter five pence; if they were refused their dismissal, when the time of their service was expired, or chose to continue in the army, they were accounted veterans, and as such exempted from all drudgeries, and obliged solely to fight, and that for the space of five years only; after which term they were absolutely to obtain their discharge, if they chose to quit the service, and the rewards due to veterans, which were, according to *Augustus's* appointment, five thousand drachmas for the *prætorian cohorts*, and three thousand for the common legionaries.

¹ JOSEPH. *ibid.*
I. iv.

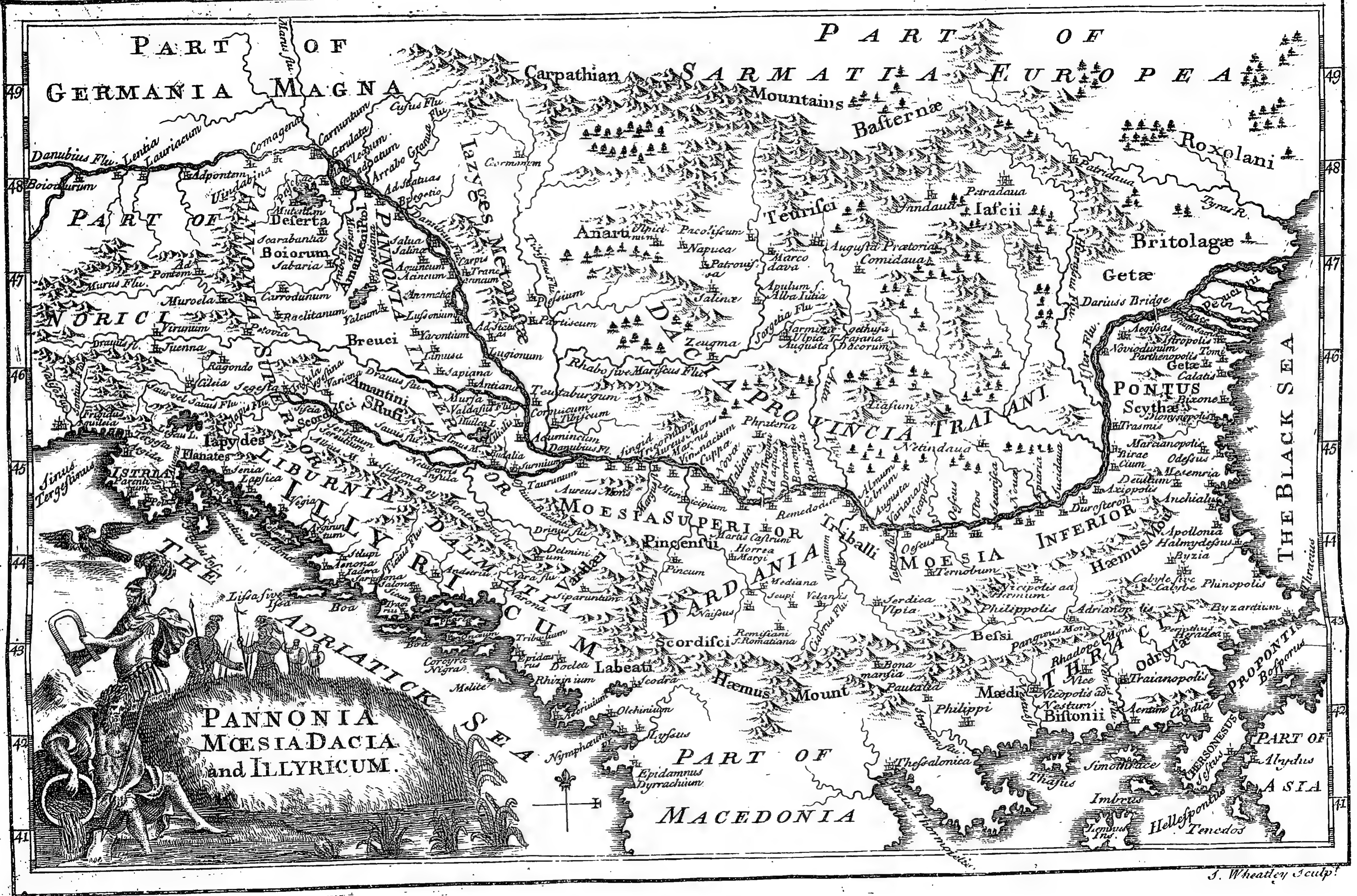
^m DIO, *ibid.* c. 5.

ⁿ SUET. *ibid.* c. 31.

DIO, p. 540.

^o ZOSIMUS

^p PLIN. I. ix. c. 23. DIO, *ibid.* SENECA. I. iii. de ira. OVID. *Fast.* l. i.





legionaries. Some years after, *Augustus* extended the time of service to sixteen years for the former, and to twenty for the latter^p. To give new lustre to the nobility, and attach them more firmly to his interest, he required but one year's service of the young patricians to qualify them for military employments, which they could not bear in the times of the republic, till they had served several years. To this distinction he added another in favour of the sons of senators, whom he allowed to have a place in the senate, and to wear the *laticlavium*, which was peculiar to the first magistrates, senators, and chief officers of the army; at the age of seventeen, whereas they could not enjoy this honour in former times, till they had attained to the twenty-sixth year of their age.

THIS year *Augustus*, in quality of pontifex maximus, corrected a gross mistake in the Roman calendar. For the pontifices having for the space of thirty-six years, that is, ever since the reformation of the calendar by *Julius Cæsar*, made every third year a leap year instead of every fourth, twelve days had been inserted instead of nine, so that the Roman year consisted of three days more than it ought. *Augustus*, for the rectifying of this mistake, ordered first, that for the twelve ensuing years there should be no leap year; and secondly, that, after the expiration of the said twelve years, the leap years should thenceforth be made every fourth year^q; by which means the three super-added days being thrown out, and the leap years fixed to their true terms, according to *Julius Cæsar*'s institution, the form of this year has ever since been regularly observed, and is still, under the name of *the old style*, in use among us. When *Augustus* made this reformation, a decree was passed by the senate and people, enacting, that the month *Sextilis* should thenceforth from the emperor's name be called *Augustus*, which name it retains to this day, in all the calendars that have been formed from the Roman. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Augustus* himself, in settling the year, gave his name to the month *Sextilis*, preferring it to *September*, in which he was born, because in the former he had been first raised to the consulate, and obtained many signal victories^r. But the very words of the decree of the senate are related by *Macrobius*^s, who also mentions the decree of the people, and tells us, that the law was proposed by the tribune *Pacuvius*. Towards the end of this year, *Agrippa*, having settled the affairs of the eastern provinces, and left *Sentius Saturninus* and *Titus Volumnius* governors of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, returned to *Rome* with *Antipater*, *Herod*'s eldest son by *Doris* his first wife. *Augustus* received him with all the marks of a sincere affection and friendship, and was for having him enter the city in triumph; but he declined that honour, ascribing, according to his custom, all the glory of his conquests to the emperor, under whose auspices he had fought: and this was the chief cause, why the custom of triumphing, in former times of great advantage to the Romans, was laid aside, other generals following the example of *Agrippa*, and not caring for an honour, which he seemed to despise^t. However, *Augustus* confirmed to him the tribunitial power for five years more, the former term being near expired; and then sent him at the head of a powerful army into *Pannonia* (F), where a new war began to break out, with greater power and authority than had ever been granted to any commander. *Agrippa* left *Rome* in the beginning of the consulate of *M. Valerius*

Agrippa refused a triumph.

^p DIO, l. liv. p. 539. & l. lv. p. 555, 556. LIPS. excurs. in Tacit. annal. prim. ^q SUET. in Octav. c. 31. PLIN. l. xviii. c. 25. ^r SUET. ibid. ^s MACROB. Saturnal. l. i. c. 12. ^t DIO, p. 541.

(F) *Pannonia* was bounded on the east by *Upper Mæsa*, on the west by *Noricum*, on the south by *Dalmatia*, and on the north by the *Danube* (17); so that *Pannonia* comprehended *Carniola*, *Croatia*, *Windisch March*, part of *Austria*, part of *Hungary*, all *Sclavonia* and *Bosnia*, and part of *Serbia*. It was anciently divided into *Upper Pannonia*, the former comprehending *Carniola*, *Croatia*, *Windisch March*, and part of *Austria*; the latter *Bosnia*, *Sclavonia*, and that part of *Hungary* which lies between the *Danube*, the *Drave*, and the *Arabo*, now the *Raab*; so that scarce the third part of the present kingdom of *Hungary* was within the limits of ancient *Pannonia*, that tract which lies beyond the *Danube*, be-

tween that river and the *Tibiscus*, not belonging to *Pannonia*, but to the *Iazyges Metanastæ*. The chief cities of ancient *Pannonia* were *Segeste* or *Siscia* at the confluence of the *Calpe* and the *Save*; *Amona*, a Roman colony, *Nauportum*, upon a river of the same name, now known by the name of *Laubach*; *Vindoniana*, or *Vindobona*, *Scarabantia*, *Sirmium* on the *Save*, and *Taurunum*, now *Siseck*, *Unterlaubach*, *Oberlaubach*, *Vienna*, *Scarbing*, *Simach*, and *Belgrade*. *Sirmium* was the metropolis of all *Pannonia*. Some geographers place *Stridon*, the native city of *St. Jerom*, in *Pannonia*, others in *Dalmatia*; but *St. Jerom* himself calls it the boundary of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* (18).

(17) PLIN. l. iii. c. 25. DIO, l. xlix. p. 413. STRAB. l. vii. p. 217. JORNANDES de reb. Get. c. 50.
(18) S. Hieronym. catalog. script. ecclesiast.

The death of
Agrippa.

His offspring.

Tiberius cho-
sen in his
room.

He reduces the
Pannonians.

lerius Messala Barbatulus and *P. Sulpicius Quirinus*, or, as others call him, *Cirinus*. The former, who was father to the famous *Messalina*, dying some months after his election, was succeeded by *Caius Valgius*, a man of great learning^a, who before the end of the year resigned the fasces to *Caius Caninius Rebilus*. The *Pannonians* were so frightened at the very name of *Agrippa*, that, upon his approach, they sent deputies to him, offering to submit upon what terms he should think fit to impose upon them. Hereupon *Agrippa*, having obliged them to deliver up their arms and give him hostages for their peaceable behaviour, returned to *Italy*, but was taken with a violent illness as he marched through *Campania*, which in a few days brought him to his grave. *Augustus*, upon the first news of his danger, left the sports, which his two grandsons, *Caius* and *Lucius*, were then exhibiting in honour of *Minerva*, and hastened into *Campania*, to see and relieve, if he could by any means, his dying friend. But *Agrippa* expired a few minutes before his arrival, which he no sooner understood, than he burst into tears, bewailing in the illustrious deceased the loss of the greatest general of his age, the wisest minister, and the most faithful, constant, and disinterested friend he had in the world. He caused his body to be conveyed to *Rome*, and took upon himself to make his funeral oration, a curtain being drawn between him and the bier, perhaps because it was not lawful for him as pontifex maximus to look upon a dead body. His obsequies were performed with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and his remains deposited not in the *campus Martius*, where the senate had allowed him a monument, but in *Augustus's* own mausolæum near *Marcellus*, the emperor declaring, that he would not be separated even after his death from two persons, whom he so tenderly loved in his life^b. He died in the fifty-first year of his age, and left behind him by his first wife *Cecilia Attica*, the daughter of the famous *Pomponius Atticus*, one daughter named *Agrippina*, who was married to *Tiberius*; and by his third wife *Julia*, three sons, viz. *Caius*, *Lucius*, and *Agrippa Posthumus*, so called because he was born after his father's death; and two daughters, *Julia* married to *Lucius Paulus*, and *Agrippina* married to *Germanicus*, by whom she had the emperor *Claudius* and *Agrippina* the mother of *Nero*; *Agrippa* had no children by his second wife *Marcella*, whom he divorced to marry *Julia*. He bequeathed his fine gardens and a bath, which was called by his name, to the *Roman* people, and to *Augustus* among other things the *Taurica Chersonesus*; but how he acquired the dominion and property of that country is what we find no-where recorded, *Dion* owning himself quite in the dark as to this point.

Thus long did *Augustus* reign, in some measure with a partner, though not a rival, in the empire. Upon his death the emperor, judging it necessary that he should have one to assist him in the government, superior to all others in power and authority, the better to prevent plots and conspiracies, made choice of *Tiberius*, though much against his will, as *Dion* informs us, his grandsons, *Lucius* and *Caius Cæsars*, being yet too young to bear any public offices^c. He obliged *Tiberius*, before he invested him with the power, which *Agrippa* had enjoyed, to divorce his wife *Agrippina*, who had already brought him a son, and was then big with child, and to marry *Julia*, whose leud and scandalous behaviour was well known to *Tiberius*, and to all the young debauchees of *Rome*, and had given great uneasiness to *Agrippa* some time before his death. However, *Tiberius* complied without betraying the least reluctance, through fear of disgusting *Augustus*, who was the only person in *Rome* unacquainted with his daughter's infamous conduct. The usual ceremonies were no sooner over, than *Augustus* dispatched his new son-in-law against the *Pannonians*, who upon the news of *Agrippa's* death had attempted to shake off the yoke, and recover their ancient liberty. But *Tiberius*, with the assistance of their neighbours the *Scordisci*, who had remained faithful to the *Romans*, obliged them in a short time to return to their duty, and submit to the will of the conqueror. They delivered up their arms, gave hostages, and put the *Romans* in possession of all their towns and strong-holds. *Tiberius* spared their lives, but laid waste their fields, plundered their cities, and, having sent the best part of their youth into other countries, returned to *Rome* the same year, *Q. Aelius Tubero* and *Paulus Fabius Maximus* being consuls. The senate, as we may well imagine, decreed him great honours, and among the rest a triumph. But *Augustus* obliged him, sore against his will, to reject the offers of the conscript fathers, and content himself with the marks of distinction, which were granted for

^a PLIN. l. xxv. c. 2. TIBULL. l. iv. HORAT. l. ii. od.

^b DIO. p. 541.

^c Idem, p. 543.



for life to those who had triumphed, viz. to have a particular place apart from the rest at the publick shews, and to appear with the triumphal robes and a crown of laurel. On the other hand, his younger brother *Drusus* signalized himself no less among the *Gauls* and *Germans*. Having been left in *Gaul* by *Augustus* to stop the incursions of the *Germans*, he had begun there a second census, taking a minute account of each person's estate and fortune, the better to regulate the annual taxes and contributions. This the *Gauls* looked upon as a new attempt upon their liberties, and seemed disposed to take up arms, and attempt the recovery of their antient rights and privileges. But *Drusus*, being apprised of their design, summoned all the *Gaulish* chiefs to assist at the solemn ceremony of consecrating a temple, which the *Lugdunenses* had built in honour of *Julius Caesar*. When they were all assembled, *Drusus* by his address and engaging behaviour won their affections to such a degree, that they not only dropt the design they had formed of shaking off the *Roman* yoke, but agreed to erect an altar in honour of *Augustus*, and to pay him even in his lifetime divine honours. Sixty different nations concurred in this design, each of them contributing their quota, and sending a statue to adorn the new altar, which was consecrated with great solemnity on the first day of *August*, and became soon very famous all over *Gaul*, as is plain from the writings of almost all the antients^y. Games were instituted in honour of the new deity, much of the same nature with the *Ne- mean* and *Isthmian* games.

Drusus prevents the Gauls from revolting.

An altar erected in honour of Augustus at Lyons.

AND now *Drusus*, having nothing to fear from the *Gauls*, turned his arms against the *Germans*, who, having raised the most numerous and formidable army that had ever been seen in those parts, were advancing towards the *Rhine*, in order to invade *Gaul*. But the young *Roman* not only defeated them as they attempted to cross that river, but, pursuing the advantage he had gained, entered the country of the *Usipetes* or *Usipii*, now known by the name of *Relinckhusen*, and from thence advanced against the *Sicambri* in the neighbourhood of the *Lyppe* and *Iffel*; these he overthrew in a great battle, laid waste their country, burnt most of their cities, and, following the course of the *Rhine*, approached the *German* ocean, and reduced the *Frisii* and the *Chauci* between the *Amisus* and the *Albis*, now the *Ems* and the *Elbe*. In these marches his troops suffered extremely for want of provisions, and he himself was often in great danger of being drowned, as the *Romans*, who attended him, were quite unacquainted at that time with the flux and reflux of the ocean. As winter drew near, he led his troops into east *Friesland*, and, leaving them there under the command of his lieutenants, returned to *Rome*, where he was honoured with the prætorship, *Q. Fabius Maximus* and *Julius Antonius*, the son of the triumvir, being then consuls. Early in the spring, *Drusus* left the capital, and returning to his army quartered in *Frista* or *Friesland*, marched from thence into the country of the *Tencteri*, whom he easily subdued; and afterwards passing the *Lupias*, now the *Lyppe*, in *Westphalia*, brought into subjection the *Catti* and the *Cherusci*, extending his conquests to the banks of the *Visurgis*, now the *Weser*, which he would have passed, had he not been obliged to return for want of provisions, the enemy having laid waste the neighbouring country to a great distance. As he was retiring, the *Germans* unexpectedly fell upon him in a narrow passage, and having surrounded the *Roman* army, cut a great many of them in pieces. But the brave *Drusus*, animating his men more by his example than by speeches, after a warm conflict, which lasted almost the whole day, in the end put the enemy to flight, and made such havock of them, that the ground was strewn for some miles with dead bodies. *Drusus* found in their camp a huge quantity of iron chains, which they had prepared for the *Romans*; and so great was their confidence, that they had agreed before-hand about the division of the booty; the *Tencteri* were to have the horse, the *Cherusci* and *Sicambri* the baggage, and the *Usipetes* and *Catti* the captives. *Drusus* was saluted *imperator* by his troops on the field of battle, where they erected a trophy as a monument of so signal a victory; after which *Drusus*, to secure the countries he had conquered, built two forts, the one at the confluence of the *Lupias* and the *Aliso*, the *Lyppe* and the *Alme*, the other in the country of the *Catti* or *Chatti* on the *Rhine*, and made that famous canal, long known by the name of *Fossa Drusiana*, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. For these exploits *Drusus* on his return to *Rome* was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, as his brother *Tiberius* had been the preceding year, but was not allowed by *Augustus* to triumph, or even to retain the title

The exploits of Drusus in Germany.

He defeats the united forces of the Tencteri, Sicambri, Cherusci, &c.

^y STRAB. l. iv. p. 192. SUET. DIO, LIV. &c.

Disturbances
in Thrace.

Quelled by L.
Calpurnius
Piso.

The Daci sub-
dued by Tibe-
rius.

Conquests made
by Drusus in
Germany.

His death.

title of *imperator*, with which he had been honoured by the army, that title being now peculiar to the sovereign. *Drusus*, as well as *Tiberius*, had fought under the auspices of *Augustus*, who, therefore ascribing to himself the glory they had acquired, allowed them such marks of distinction as were usually conferred on triumphant victors, but not the triumph itself². This same year, *Tiberius* being sent against the *Pannonians*, who had again rebelled, reduced them anew, and likewise the *Dalmatians*, who had joined them in their revolt. One *Vologeses*, a priest of *Bacchus*, by birth a *Thracian*, raised far greater disturbances in that part of *Thrace*, which was subject to *Rascuporis*, the son of *Cotys*, a faithful ally of the Romans. *Vologeses* stirring up the people against that prince, whom he styled a slave of *Rome*, committed most dreadful ravages in all parts of his dominions, overthrew and killed the young prince himself in a pitched battle, put to flight *Rbemetalces* his guardian, and, having overrun the whole country, advanced, without opposition, into the *Thracian Chersonesus*, with a design to pass from thence into *Macedon*. But, in the mean time, *Lucius Calpurnius Piso*, one of the best generals of his age, being ordered by *Augustus* to quit *Pamphylia*, which he governed in quality of proconsul, and to stop the progress of the barbarians under the conduct of *Vologeses*, arrived in *Thrace*, and coming up with the enemy near the confines of *Macedon*, attacked them, but had the misfortune to be defeated, his men not being accustomed to the enemy's manner of fighting. However, as he was a man of great experience in military affairs, he made his retreat in good order, and falling the next day unexpectedly on the barbarians, gave them a total overthrow, pursued them into *Thrace*, and made himself master of the fruitful plains lying between mount *Pangæus* and mount *Hæmus*. *Augustus* was so pleased with this conquest, that he decreed to *Piso*, not indeed a triumph, but all the honours and privileges which were formerly granted to those who had triumphed, ordaining besides supplications by way of thanksgiving to the gods, for the success which had attended his arms³. The joy and satisfaction which *Augustus* received from these successes was greatly allayed by the death of his sister *Octavia*, who was a true heroine, and a perfect pattern of all the virtues peculiar to her sex, and therefore greatly lamented by persons of all ranks and conditions. *Augustus* caused her body to be exposed on a bed of state in a temple lately erected in honour of *Julius Cæsar*, and pronounced himself her funeral oration, but would not admit of the many honours which were decreed her by the senate. Her body was carried to the grave by her four sons-in-law, the husbands of the two *Marcellæ*, whom she had by her first husband *Marcellus*, and of the two *Antoniæ*, her daughters by *Antony* the triumvir. She died in the fifty-fourth year of her age⁴.

THE following year, *Nero Claudius Drusus* and *T. Quinctius Crispinus* being consuls, *Augustus*, bent upon the total reduction of *Germany*, left the capital, attended by his two sons-in-law, *Tiberius Claudius Nero* and *Nero Claudius Drusus*, and, passing the *Alps*, advanced to the banks of the *Rhine*, whence he sent *Tiberius* against the *Daci*, and *Drusus* to complete the conquest of the rest of *Germany*. *Tiberius* easily subdued the *Daci*, obliged them to give him hostages, and transplanted forty thousand of them into *Gaul*. On the other hand, *Drusus* having passed the *Rhine*, and afterwards, in spite of all opposition, the *Weser*, brought under subjection all the nations from the *Rhine* to the *Elbe*, or, as the Romans called it, the *Albis*. Having attempted in vain to pass this river, he erected several trophies in that neighbourhood, and began his march back to the *Rhine*. *Dion* tells us, that as he was deliberating with himself whether he should penetrate still farther into these northern countries, or make the *Albis* the boundary of the Roman empire, a woman of a stature more than human appeared to him, and calling him by his name, asked him, *Whither his ambition would carry him? The fates*, said she, *will not allow you to see all parts: retire therefore, and know, that the period both of your life and actions approaches*. With this and such like prodigies, *Dion* pretends, that the death of *Drusus*, which happened soon after, was foretold. For before he reached the *Rhine*, he was seized with a violent fever, which carried him off in a few days. *Augustus*, upon the first notice of his illness, sent an express to *Tiberius*, acquainting him with the danger his brother was in, who thereupon made what haste he could to see him before he died, travelling two hundred miles in twenty-four hours. Upon his arrival he found him still alive, but just expiring. His sudden death occasioned a report, which was credited by many, viz. that

² Dio, p. 544. Suet. in Claud. ibid. Suet. in Octavio.

³ Dio, p. 545. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 98.

⁴ Dio,

that *Augustus* and *Tiberius* had conspired to take him off by poison, and effected their wicked design by means of their emissaries. It is at least certain, that *Drusus* was in his heart a zealous republican, and had on several occasions betrayed a great desire of seeing the antient form of government restored. Though he was generally thought to be the son, not of *Claudius Nero*, but of *Augustus*, yet he looked upon him as an usurper, and wrote the following letter to his brother *Tiberius*, while they were both waging war in *Germany* at the head of two powerful armies: *The gods have put it into our power to render Rome happy or miserable: Augustus has trusted us with the forces of the empire: can we employ them better than in re-establishing the republic, and restoring Rome to her antient liberty and splendor: how glorious a thing it is to be the deliverer and avenger of one's country!* This letter *Tiberius* sent to *Augustus*, and soon after happened the death of *Drusus* in the manner we have related^c. However, most of the antients clear *Augustus* from all suspicion of being any ways accessary to the death of the young hero. *Livy*, who here ends his history, says, that he died of a fall from his horse: perhaps that fall occasioned the fever of which he died. *Suetonius* thinks the report, which was spread upon his death to the prejudice of *Augustus*, to have been intirely groundless, since the emperor loved him with great tenderness, and had even named him in his will for his successor in conjunction with his two grandsons, *Lucius* and *Caius*^d. *Tacitus*, whom we cannot suspect of partiality towards *Augustus*, or indeed towards any of his successors, tells us, that *Augustus* never extended his cruelty to any of his own family^e. *Drusus* was a man of an unblemished character, of a probity which was proof against all temptations, of great honour, open-hearted, and an enemy to all manner of deceit and dissimulation. He was no ways inferior either in courage or conduct to the most experienced commanders of his age, and had nothing in view in all his expeditions, but the glory of the *Roman* name and the public welfare. It is agreed on all hands, that he would have re-established the republic, and resigned with joy the sovereign power, had it ever devolved to him. He died in the thirtieth year of his age, and left behind him three children by his wife *Antonia Minor*, the younger daughter of *Antony* and *Octavia*, viz. *Drusus*, surnamed *Germanicus*, *Livilla*, and *Claudius*, who succeeded *Caligula* in the empire. His soldiers, to testify their grief for the loss of a general, whom they so tenderly loved, erected to his memory a stately monument on the banks of the *Rhine*, and assembling yearly on the anniversary of his death, that is, on the eleventh of *July*, performed round it their military evolutions in honour of the illustrious deceased^f. As for his body, it was conveyed to *Rome*, and attended the whole way by *Tiberius*, the chief officers and magistrates of the *Roman* colonies and municipia, through which it passed, meeting it on the road, and attending it with the utmost pomp from one city to the other. *Augustus* himself received it at *Rome*, being returned from *Gaul* for that purpose, and pronounced in the *Circus Flaminius* a funeral oration in honour of the deceased, in which he begged of the gods, with great earnestness and many tears, that they would grant him a death as glorious as that of the young hero, and make the grand-children they had given him tread in his foot-steps. *Tiberius* made another funeral oration in the forum, where the body was exposed, and from thence carried on the shoulders of the *Roman* knights to the field of *Mars*, where it was burnt with great solemnity; as for the ashes they were deposited in the mausoleum of *Augustus*. The senate did not neglect, as we may well imagine, so favourable an opportunity of making their court to the emperor. A triumphal arch was erected to his memory, and statues in most public places of the city: the surname of *Germanicus* was conferred upon him by a decree of the senate, and confirmed to his posterity; many trophies were erected, and medals struck with the inscription *de Germanis*, to perpetuate the memory of his victories over the *Germans*, &c. Extraordinary honours were decreed to his mother *Livia* and his widow *Antonia*, who had inherited both her mother *Octavia*'s beauty and virtue; she continued inconsolable to the hour of her death, nor would she ever be prevailed upon to marry again, though often and earnestly pressed to it by *Augustus*^g.

Drusus's love

His character.

Honours paid him after his death.

New regulations of Augustus.

THE emperor was in haste to return to *Gaul*, but nevertheless before his departure he made several new regulations. The conscript fathers, finding their authority to be of no weight, assembled very seldom, and in small numbers. *Augustus* therefore appointed certain days in each month, on which they should be obliged to meet; and

^c Suet. in Octav. & Claud. Dio, ubi supra. ^d Suet. ibid. ^e Tacit. annal. i. c. 6
^f Ex inscript. citata a Lipsio. ^g Dio, & Suet. ibid. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Consol. ad Liv. apud Ovid.

and at the same time enacted, with the approbation of the senators themselves, that such as absented themselves on those days, without a lawful cause, should pay a certain sum by way of mulct; and that their determinations, when they were but few, should not obtain the force of a *senatusconsultum*, or decree of the senate, but only be called a *regulation of the senate*. He granted the prætors the prerogative of voting in the senate, and extended the jurisdiction of the quæstors, giving them the superintendency of all the maritime cities of *Italy*. The election of the new consuls, *C. Marcius Censorinus* and *C. Asinius Gallus*, gave rise to a new regulation. They were both accused of having purchased their dignity with money distributed among the tribes. *Augustus* did not oblige them to resign the fasces, but ordered, that for the future all the candidates should deposit a certain sum with him, which they should forfeit, if convicted of bribery or any unlawful practices. This law was generally approved of, at least by the patricians; but another, which he published soon after, was as much disliked. The depositions of slaves had never been admitted at *Rome* in the courts of judicature. But *Augustus*, for the safety of his own person, though under pretence of the public safety, published a law, enacting, that when any person was accused of treasonable designs, the evidence of slaves should be of the same weight as that of freedmen; that this law might not seem to clash with the ancient custom of rejecting the evidence of a slave against his master, it was ordained by the same law, that the slaves of the accused person should be first sold to the emperor or the public. By this low evasion, unworthy of a man of sense, he pretended not to have intrenched on the ancient custom, since it was still true, that slaves were not allowed to accuse their masters, nor admitted as evidence against them. This innovation occasioned great complaints; but the crafty emperor soon quieted the minds of the people by public shews and sports, by a pretended clemency and condescension, and above all by affecting popularity, and carefully avoiding all needless ceremonies and marks of grandeur. The antients relate many instances of his extraordinary condescension: they tell us, that a common legionary, having desired him to plead his cause in one of the courts of judicature, the emperor told him, that he was so overwhelmed with business that he could not well do it himself; but that he would send him an orator better qualified for that purpose than himself. This obliging answer did not satisfy the soldier, who answered bluntly, *Have I thus fought for you by proxy?* The emperor, highly pleased with this unexpected answer, *Neither will I*, said he, *plead for you by proxy*. He was as good as his word; for on the day appointed he appeared at the bar, and pleaded his cause in person. In like manner he undertook the cause of another citizen, and gained it; which so provoked the accuser, that he behaved very disrespectfully towards the emperor, who was so far from resenting it, that he afterwards pardoned him, when he was accused before him as censor of some faults which deserved severe punishment. Though he was very kind and generous to his friends, yet he never allowed them greater privileges than others, nor would he by any means exempt them from the judiciary laws. Of all the criminals he rescued but one, during the whole time of his long reign, who had been very serviceable to him, and that by prevailing with intreaties on the accuser to drop the prosecution ^b.

Instances of
his condescen-
sion.

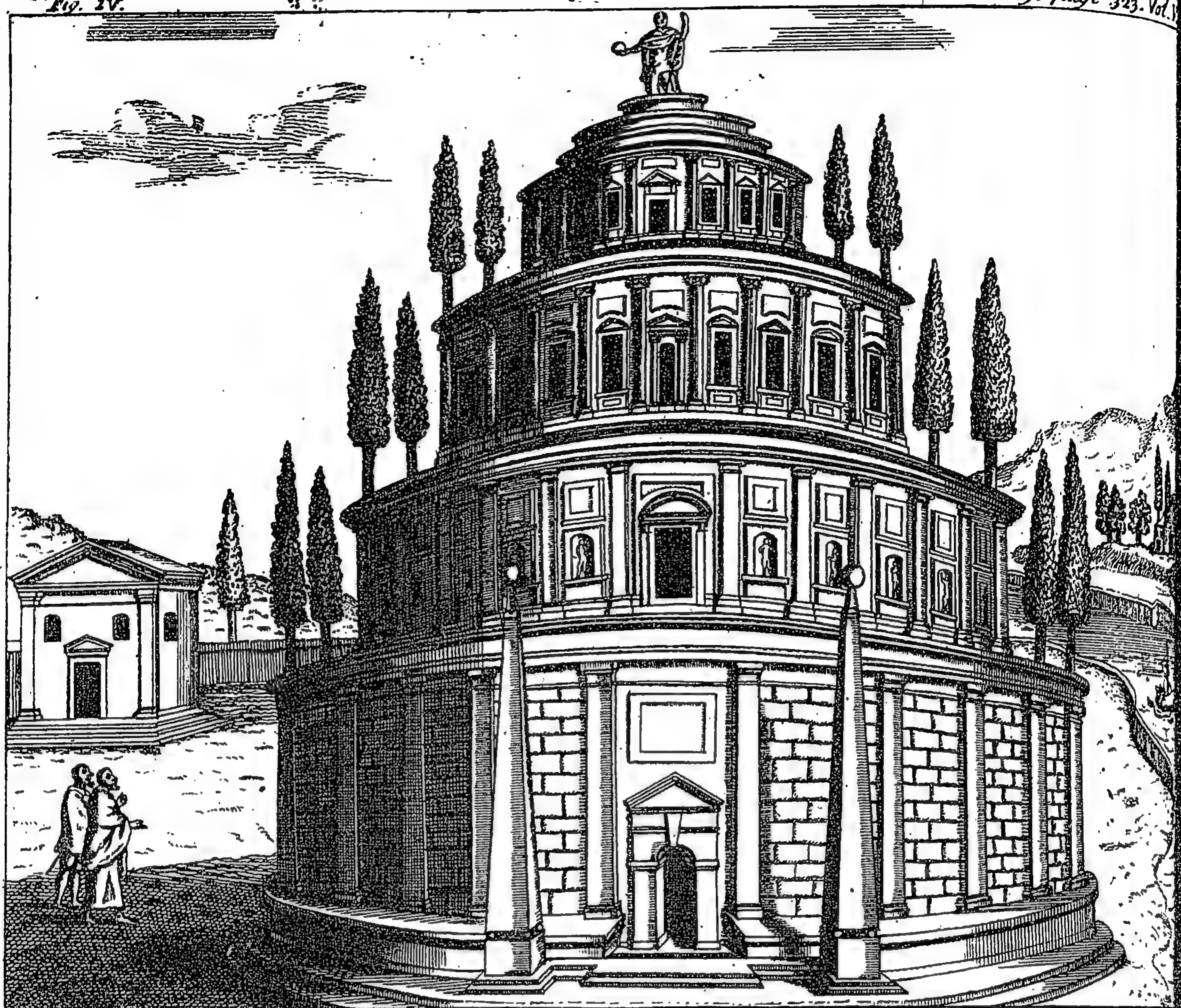
He begins the
third term of
his decennial
power.

Tiberius's
exploits in
Germany.

THIS year, the second term of *Augustus's* ten years drawing to an end, he pretended to be willing to lay down the power with which he had been trusted, saying, that he was no longer able to bear so heavy a burden; but he was easily persuaded to carry it ten years longer. This limitation contributed, in the opinion of the antients, more than any thing else, to his safety, since by receiving his power from the senate and people, he openly acknowledged the sovereignty to be lodged in them; so that they were not quite destitute of all hopes of recovering it one day. The term of his power being prolonged, he resolved to quit the capital, having his mind still bent on the intire reduction of the many nations that inhabited *Germany*. He was not indeed inclined to wage war with those barbarous nations in person, but chose to be as near the generals, whom he employed, as he could with safety. The person he thought the most proper for the pursuing and completing of the conquests, happily began by *Drusus*, was his brother *Tiberius*; whom therefore he sent into *Gaul*, after having honoured him with an ovation, on account of the advantages he had gained in *Germany* the foregoing year. *Augustus* soon after the departure of *Tiberius* left *Rome*, but, instead of passing the *Alps*, as he had done the year before, he took his

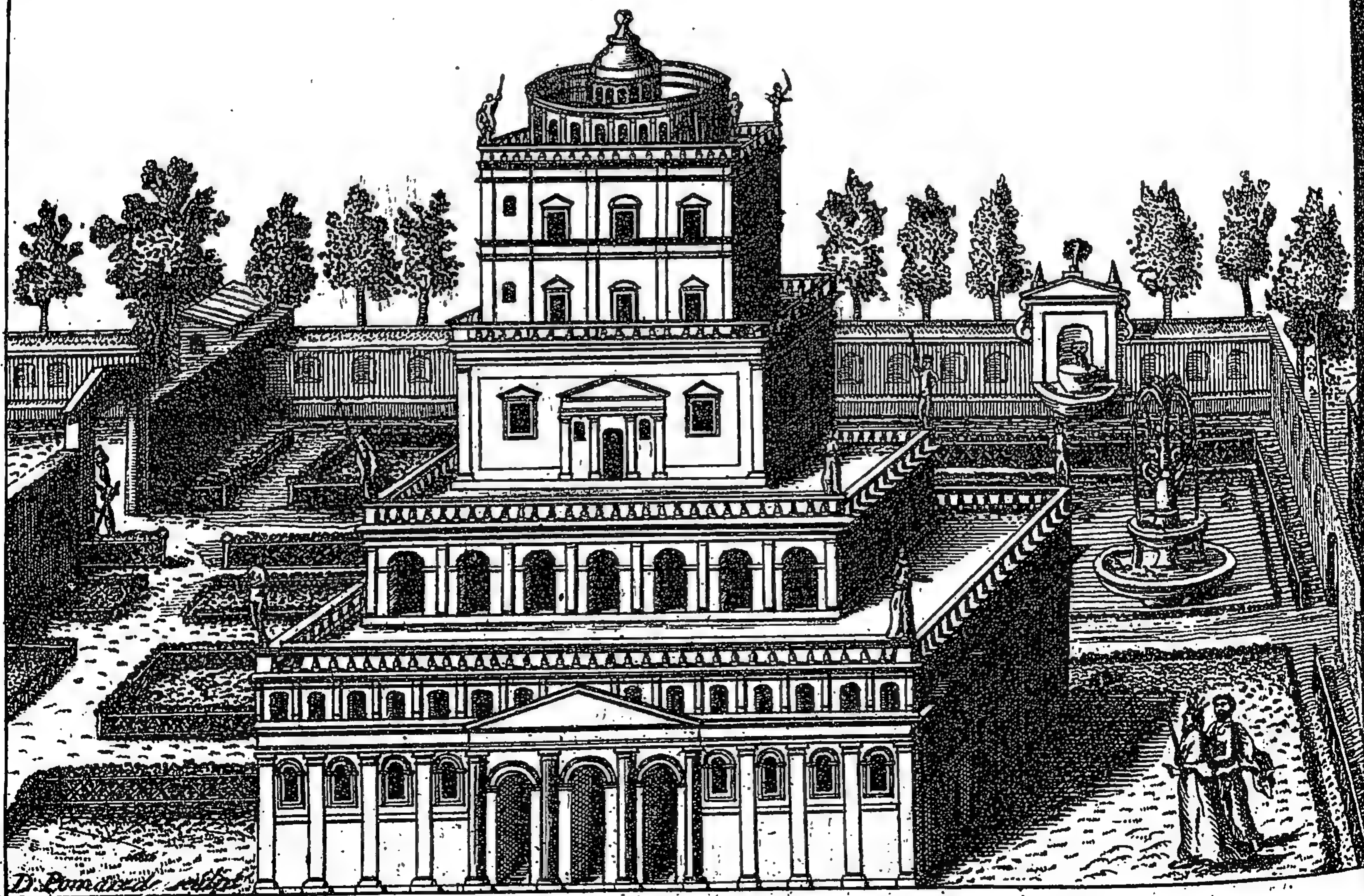
^b Suet. *ibid.*

Fig. 2V.



ex Dominic de Rubis.

THE MAUSOLÆUM OF AUGUSTUS.



D. Pomarici sculp.

The house and famed Turret of MÆCENAS which commanded the whole prospect of

his rout towards *Aquileia*, and passed the whole summer in the neighbourhood of that city, having with him his grandson *Caius Caesar*, then twelve years old. In the mean time, *Tiberius*, having passed the *Rhine* at the head of a powerful army, over-ran all the countries between that river and the *Elbe*, and struck such dread into the inhabitants of those northern provinces, that several of them sent deputies to *Augustus* at *Aquileia* to sue for peace, which they could not obtain upon any terms, the emperor declaring, that he would not grant a peace to any particular nation, till they had all agreed to demand it. But the *Catti*, or, as some authors write, the *Sicambri*, could not by any means be prevailed upon to submit; so that the project of peace did not take place this year. We shall see in the sequel of this history what streams of blood it cost the *Romans* to reduce them. As winter approached, *Augustus* returned to *Rome* with his grandson *Caius*; but *Tiberius* remained with his troops in *Germany*, in order to renew the war, as soon as the season would allow him to take the field¹. *Augustus* upon his return made a second census, in which were numbered, according to the *Ancyran* marbles, 4233000 *Roman* citizens^k. While he was thus employed, his great friend *Mecænas* died, which was a sensible affliction to him, though he had not of late honoured him with the same intimacy as formerly. His criminal conversation with *Terentilla* could not but displease *Mecænas*, who thought he did not deserve that treatment at the hands of one, whom he had served with the utmost fidelity. On the other hand, *Augustus* in that particular could not bear any controul; and hence that coldness and indifference which appeared between these two great friends, some years before death parted them. *Mecænas* was a man of great penetration, and understood the art of governing well better than any man of his age, as appears from the many wise directions and maxims, which he suggested to *Augustus* in the beginning of his reign. But though possessed of talents equal to the highest employments of the state, yet he was such an enemy to all trouble, so fond of his ease, so addicted to his pleasures, that he abhorred all business, and seemed in a manner to have attained to that indolence, in which the *Epicureans* placed happiness. As he was remarkably good-natured, and slighted preferments himself, as capable of disturbing his quiet and interrupting his pleasures, he employed all his credit and interest with the emperor in behalf of others, and for the most part with good success. Of the ascendant which he had gained over *Augustus*, and the liberty he took in correcting his faults and curbing his cruel temper, *Dion Cassius* gives us the following remarkable instance. As *Augustus* was one day judging some criminals, *Mecænas* perceiving him to be in a bad humour, and inclined to give himself over to revenge without check or compassion, attempted to approach his tribunal; but not being able to break through the croud, he wrote the following note; *Come down from the tribunal, butcher*, and threw it into his lap. *Augustus* no sooner read it, than he rose up and quitted the tribunal, without sentencing any of the criminals to death^l. As for the scandalous lewdness and debaucheries of *Augustus*, which gave occasion to many severe lampoons and cast a great blemish upon his reputation, *Mecænas* was not at all a proper person to set up for a censor in that particular. The generous protection, which he afforded to men of learning, especially to *Virgil* and *Horace*, will render his name immortal, and transfer his fame to the latest posterity. He was not only an encourager of learning, but published, according to *Priscian*^m, *Isidorus*ⁿ, and *Seneca*^o, several works, which intitled him to a place among the best writers of that polite age. The works ascribed to him by the above-mentioned writers are, a *history of animals*; a *journal of the life of Augustus*; a *treatise on shorthand-writing*; of which some will have him, others *Tyro*, *Cicero's* freedman, to have been the inventor; another *treatise on the nature and different kinds of precious stones*; and two tragedies, the one intitled *Octavia*, and the other *Prometheus*: but none of these works have reached our times. *Horace*, the prince of the *Latin* lyric poets, did not long survive his great patron and benefactor; for *Mecænas* died about the beginning of *September*, and *Horace* on the twenty-seventh of the following *November*. The fame of so great a poet will be as lasting as his works, which all ages must admire, as the utmost effort of a human genius. The same year died one *Caius Cæcilius Isidorus*, famous for the immense wealth of which he was possessed; for he left to his heirs 4116 slaves,

Death of *Mecænas*.

His character.

The liberty he took with *Augustus*.

His works.

The death of *Horace*.

¹ VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. DIO, p. 551, 552. SUTTON. in Octav. p. 178. ^k Vide GRUTER. p. 230. ^l DIO, l. v. p. 552. ^m PRISCIAN. l. x. ⁿ ISIDOR. orig. l. xix. ^o SENECA. epist. 91.

4116 slaves, 3600 yoke of oxen, 200057 head of other cattle, and above three millions of our money in specie.

Tiberius triumphs.

ON the calends of *January* of the ensuing year, *Tiberius*, who was now come to *Rome*, entered upon his second consulship with *Cn. Calpurnius Piso*, and was the same day honoured with a triumph, which was a new sight to the *Roman* people. The bucklers and arms, which he had taken from the *Germans*, were carried before him, and the captive generals and officers of distinction marched in chains by the chariot of the triumphant victor. Before he left *Rome*, he repaired the temple of *Concord*, placing his own name and that of his deceased brother *Drusus* on the frontispiece of that stately building. After this he dedicated a temple, which the senate had erected, to his mother *Livia*, she herself being present at the ceremony. On this occasion he gave a most sumptuous entertainment to all the senators, while *Livia* feasted the women of distinction by themselves. In the beginning of the spring he left the capital and returned to *Germany*, but performed nothing which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity. This year a dreadful fire happened in *Rome*, which reduced to ashes many stately buildings, and was thought to have been occasioned by the debtors, with a design to make their escape, in that confusion, out of the houses of their creditors. To prevent the like misfortunes and disorders for the future, *Augustus* created new officers called *curatores vicorum*, who were permitted on certain days to wear, within the verge of their jurisdiction, the robe peculiar to magistrates, and to have two lictors to attend them. To them were now assigned the six hundred slaves, who had been formerly appointed to attend the ædiles for the extinguishing of fires. At the same time, by *Augustus*'s particular order, the city was divided into fourteen regions or wards, and these into inferior precincts, the government of which wards and precincts was committed to the above-mentioned *curatores vicorum*, and also to the tribunes of the people and the prætorsⁿ.

Curatores vicorum appointed by Augustus.

The bold and unseasonable demand of Lucius Cæsar.

THE following year, *Caius Antistius Vetus* and *D. Lælius Balbus* being raised to the consulate, *Lucius Cæsar* boldly demanded of *Augustus* in the public theatre, that his elder brother *Caius Cæsar* might be named consul for the ensuing year. The emperor, no less surprised than offended at this unseasonable demand, notwithstanding his affection for the two brothers, answered, that he hoped he should never lie under the necessity of raising any to the consulate under twenty years of age. The bold youth not being satisfied with this answer, but continuing to solicit him with great earnestness in behalf of his brother, the emperor raising his voice, told him with a grave air, *That an office of such importance ought to be discharged only by a man who could bridle his own passions, and resist the desires of the giddy and head-strong multitude*. However, his tenderness for the two brothers, whom he looked upon as his own children, having adopted them into the *Julian* family and the name of *Cæsars*, in some degree got the better of his reason; for he granted to *Caius* the priesthood, a place in the senate, and the privilege of sitting among the senators at all public shews and sports; but at the same time, to curb their ambitious temper, he conferred on *Tiberius* the tribunitial power for five years, which gave the two young *Cæsars* no small jealousy. But *Tiberius* had scarce received this new addition of power, when, to the great surprise of *Augustus* and the whole city, he desired leave to quit the city and retire to *Rhodes*. Various reasons are alledged by the ancients for this sudden resolution; *Tiberius* indeed pretended a desire of improving himself in the study of philosophy and eloquence, there being then at *Rhodes* famous professors of both these sciences. But *Suetonius* is of opinion, that the infamy of his wife *Julia*, which was now the talk of the whole city, and reflected great disgrace on his person and family, prompted him to retire, that he might not be an eye-witness of her scandalous debaucheries^o. *Velleius Paterculus*, a great flatterer of *Tiberius*, tells us, that he withdrew out of respect to the two young *Cæsars*, that he might not stand in their way to the highest preferments^p, following therein the example of *Agrippa*, who had retired to *Mitylene*, when *Marcellus* first entered upon public offices. *Dion* thinks he was piqued at the favour which *Augustus* shewed to his grandsons, especially at his declaring them *princes of the Roman youths* (G), which intirely defeated his ambitious projects, and left

Tiberius demands leave to retire.

ⁿ DIO, p. 556, 557.

^o SÜET. in Tiber. c. 10.

^p VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 99.

(G) The first *Roman* emperors gave this title to their heirs and successors in the empire. The youth, their children, or to those whom they had appointed who was honoured with this title, had all the children

a left him no hopes of ever enjoying the sovereign power, the sole object of all his wishes^a. But, whatever his motive was, notwithstanding the remonstrances and tears of his mother *Livia*, he was very pressing with *Augustus* for his permission to retire; which the emperor not only refused, but took great pains, in concert with *Livia*, *Which Augustus refuses him.* to divert him from such an unseasonable resolution. He even complained to the senate of his being abandoned by one, from whose abilities he had promised himself great relief in the government of the republic. But *Tiberius*, deaf to all entreaties and remonstrances, and obstinately bent upon departing, continued importuning *Augustus* for his permission, which he constantly refused, being unwilling to lose the only person, in whom, after the death of *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, he reposed any confidence, his grand-children not being yet of an age fit to be trusted. At length *Tiberius*, finding all other means ineffectual, retired into his own apartment, and, there shutting himself up, abstained four whole days from all kind of nourishment. Hereupon the emperor, seeing he could not get the better of his obstinate and inflexible temper, complied at length with his request, and granted him the so much wished-for permission to retire; which he no sooner obtained, than he set out for *Ostia*, without speaking a word on the way to those who attended him to the place where he imbarqued, or taking any notice of them, a small number of his particular friends excepted, at his departure^r. However, *Dion* tells us, that before he took his leave of *Livia* and *Augustus*, he opened his will and read it in their presence^s. From *Ostia* he sailed along the coast of *Campania*, and staid some time in that province, being informed there, that *Augustus* was indisposed. But, in the mean while, a report being spread abroad, that he waited for the news of *Augustus*'s death, he weighed anchor as soon as it came to his ears, tho' the sea ran then very high, and sailed for *Rhodes*, where he led at first a very private and retired life, frequenting the schools and academies without any attendants, conversing familiarly with the *Greeks*, and avoiding all appearance of grandeur both in his house and equipage. However, he once exerted the tribunitial power with which he was invested; for a warm dispute arising one day in the school of *Theodorus* the *Gadaraean*, of whom he was a constant hearer, he interposed, and endeavoured to put an end to the contest. But one of the disputants, judging him partial, not only refused to acquiesce with his decision, but abused him in a most outrageous manner; which so provoked him, that he returned home, and assuming the habit of a public magistrate, appeared in the school, as tribune of the people with his apparitors, and summoning by a crier the philosopher, who had reviled him, ordered him to be carried to prison^t. *Velleius*, a scandalous flatterer of the *Cæsars*, especially of *Tiberius*, tells us, that he appeared greater in his retirement, than if he had been at the helm of affairs; that all the proconsuls and governors, who were sent into the east, went to wait upon him, lowering their fasces to him; that he gained the affection and esteem of all the *Greeks*, &c.^u. But all other writers tell us, that not being able to keep his vices concealed from the inhabitants of the island, they daily more despised and hated him, insomuch, that the *Nemausians* threw down his statues and defaced his pictures; nay, some time after, as *Caius Cæsar* passed that way, mention being made of *Tiberius* at a private entertainment, one of the company addressing *Caius*, Give only the word, said he; and you shall have the head of the exile in an instant. The name of exile well suited *Tiberius*; for though he voluntarily retired to *Rhodes*, yet he was long kept there against his will. Growing weary of his retirement, he publicly declared, that he had left *Rome* purely to avoid giving umbrage to *Caius* and *Lucius*, and wrote to the emperor, after they had attained to man's estate and were promoted to the highest dignities, begging leave to return home and visit his friends, since his presence could

But at last yields to his importunities.
His private manner of living at Rhodes.

^a Dio, in excerpt. p. 662.
^{ibid.} QUINTILIAN. l. iii. c. i.

^r SUET. *ibid.*

^s Dio, in excerpt. Valesii, p. 665.
^u VELL. PATERCUL. *ibid.*

^t SUET.

dren of the *Roman* noblemen under his command, and appeared at their head, when they performed their military exercises in the field of *Mars*, or exhibited the tournament called *Troy*. In the times of the republic the children of the most distinguished families were called *principes juventutis*, and *principes equitum* (19), because they were reckoned equites or knights, till they attained the age, which the laws required in the candidates for offices. The

principes juventutis was distinguished from the rest by a triumphal robe, as *Tacitus* informs us (20). On the reverse of a medal of the emperor *Severus*, which has reached our times, are represented three youths on horseback, and one of them in the attitude of commanding, with this legend, *Princ. juvent.* which shews, that the *princeps* or *principes juventutis* had some command over the young nobility.

(19) Vide Liv. l. xlii. c. 61. & Juvenal. satyr. 4. v. 32. (20) Tacit. annal. 12. c. 5.

Augustus refuses him leave to return to Rome.

Augustus's thirteenth consulship.

Julia banished;

And her daughter of the same name.

could no longer be disagreeable to his grand-children. But the favour was absolutely denied him, and a message sent, bidding him lay aside all care and thoughts of his friends, since he had been so impatient to abandon them. Thus he was obliged, fore against his will, to continue at *Rhodes*, and it was not till after seven years that *Augustus* was prevailed upon to consent to his return^w. This year *Augustus* himself was consul, and had for his colleague *Cornelius Sylla*. He had resumed the fasces, after having declined the consular dignity for seventeen years together, with no other view, as is supposed, but to render the ceremony of giving the *toga virilis* to his grandson *Caius* more solemn. For he presented him in person to the senate, gave him the *toga virilis* himself, with the usual ceremonies, and designed him consul; which dignity, as he was then but fifteen, he was to hold, after five years, to be reckoned from the day he was presented to the senate. Thus the *Ancyran* marble^z. This year *Augustus* reduced the number of those who were supplied with corn at the public expence, to two hundred thousand, corn having for some years been given indifferently to all who desired it. Nothing remarkable happened in *Rome* or *Italy* the two following years, in the first of which *C. Calvisius Sabinus* and *L. Passienus Rufus* were consuls, and in the second *L. Cornelius Lentulus* and *M. Valerius Messalinus*. The ensuing year, *Augustus* again reserved the consular dignity for himself, and took for his colleague *M. Plautius Sylvanus*, or *Silanus*. As *Lucius*, the younger of his grandsons, was now of an age to receive the *toga virilis*, *Augustus* conferred on him the same honours as he had done three years before on his brother *Caius*. Several medals, coined on this occasion, have reached our times, on which are the heads of the two brothers with bucklers and spears, and this legend on the reverse; *Caius and Lucius Cæsars, the sons of Augustus, designed consuls, princes of the youth*. Thus were the two sons highly favoured and honoured by *Augustus*; but their mother *Julia* met with a very different treatment. Her lewdness, infamy, and scandalous debaucheries, hardly to be matched in history, had for some years been the talk of the whole town. But *Augustus* had the misfortune of most princes, who are, generally speaking, the least acquainted with their nearest concerns. He believed indeed, that she did not lead a very strict life, but never imagined her capable of committing those monstrous and almost incredible excesses, of which he now found her guilty. Upon a full discovery of her actions and conduct, he was so sensibly affected with grief and confusion, that he shut himself up in his palace, and there continued several days, bewailing his misfortune, without seeing any even of his most intimate friends. Not able to conceal the transports of his grief and anger from the public, he communicated to the senate by a letter the excesses of the infamous prostitute, and the disgrace of his family, an indiscretion which he afterwards said he would never have been guilty of, had *Agrippa* or *Mecænas* been living. Overcome with shame and rage, he first resolved to put his daughter to death; but afterwards altered his mind, and contented himself with banishing her to *Pandataria*, a desert island on the coast of *Campania*, now known by the name of *Santa Maria*. Her mother *Scribonia*, whom *Augustus* had divorced the same day she was born, that is, thirty eight years before, attended her to the place of her banishment, and never afterwards abandoned her. The emperor not only punished the infamous *Julia* with banishment, but at the same time forbade her the use of wine, and all sorts of delicacy whatsoever either in diet or cloaths. By an express order from the emperor, no person of what condition soever was to come near her without his leave. Not long after, her eldest daughter by *Agrippa*, named also *Julia* and married to *L. Paulus*, being convicted of the same crimes as her mother, was confined to the island of *Tremera*, now *Tremiti*, in the *Adriatic* sea^y. The punishment of *Julia* was followed by that of all those who were any ways accessory to her debaucheries. *Sempronius Gracchus*, *T. Quinctius Crispinus*, *C. Claudius*, and *L. Scipio*, all persons of great distinction, were condemned to perpetual banishment. But *Julius Antonius* (H), the son of the triumvir, and many others, were by the emperor's orders put to death. Some writers tell us, that

^w DIO, SUET. *ibid.*
ibid. p. 555.

^z Vide GRUTER. *inscript.* 231.

^y VELL. PATERCUL. c. 100. DIO,

(H) *Julius Antonius* was a man of learning, and wrote a poem intitled *Diomedæ*, consisting of ten books. To him *Horace* addressed the second ode of his fourth book. He left a son very young, whom

Augustus banished to *Marseilles* under colour of having him instructed by the great masters, who flourished then in that city. He died without offspring and in him ended the *Antonian* family.

^a that *Augustus* laid hold of this opportunity to get rid of many considerable *Romans*, who gave him uneasiness and jealousy. Be that as it will, it is certain, that an incredible number of illustrious *Romans* were sacrificed, under pretence of having received favours of *Julia*. Her chief confidant, by name *Phæbe*, laid violent hands on herself before sentence was pronounced against her. *Augustus*, when news was brought him of her death, could not help admiring her courage, and wishing that *Phæbe*, and not *Julia*, had been his daughter, intimating thereby, that he would have been well pleased, if *Julia* had had courage enough to end her days in the same manner. *Tiberius* heard, as we may well imagine, the news of the disgrace and banishment of *Julia* with great joy; but, as no man knew better the art of dissembling, he became her advocate; and, pretending great tenderness and compassion for her, he wrote frequent letters to *Augustus*, intreating him to forgive her, and reinstate her in his favour. But the emperor continued inflexible to the hour of his death, nay, he carried, in a manner, his resentment beyond his grave; for by his last will he ordained, that she should not be deposited after her death among the *Cæsars*, whom she had so disgraced during her life. As for *Tiberius*, *Augustus* obliged him to divorce her, notwithstanding the tenderness and affection which, by the deepest dissimulation, he still pretended to retain for her ².

Many illustrious Romans banished, and put to death, on her account.

AND now *Augustus*, to divert his mind from fixing on his domestic misfortunes, exhibited the most magnificent and expensive shews that had ever been seen in *Rome*, chariot-races in the *circus*, representations on the stage, combats of gladiators, &c. were now become common. *Augustus* therefore, the better to divert both himself and the people, revived those sports which had been for a considerable time laid aside, on account of the extraordinary charges that attended them. He caused a canal to be dug eighteen hundred paces in length and two hundred in breadth, conveying into it the *Flaminian* water, and building scaffolds quite round it capable of holding numberless multitudes of spectators. And indeed the concourse of people was so great, that the emperor was obliged to place guards in all the quarters of the city, lest the thieves should lay hold of that opportunity to plunder the empty and abandoned houses. *Augustus* had frequently entertained the people with fights of lions, tygers, elephants, rhinoceros, &c. but now the new canal appeared all on a sudden covered with crocodiles, of which thirty-six were killed by *Egyptians* brought from the banks of the *Nile* for that purpose. The multitude were highly delighted with this sight, which was quite new; but the sea fight which ensued afforded them still greater diversion. For at the opposite ends of the lake, or canal, two fleets appeared, the galleys of one being built after the *Greek*, and those of the other after the *Persian*, manner. Both fleets engaged; and as they fought in good earnest, most of the combatants being persons sentenced to death, the battle proved very bloody ^a.

Magnificent shews exhibited by Augustus.

IN the midst of these public sports and diversions, news was brought to *Augustus*, that the *Armenians*, entering into an alliance with the *Parthians*, had driven out *Artabazes*, whom he had appointed king of that country, and raised to the throne *Tigranes* in his room. Hereupon the emperor, dreading the consequences of an alliance between those two powers, was greatly at a loss what measures he should take to put a stop to the war, which threatened the eastern provinces. He could not manage it in person, being now stricken in years; *Tiberius* was retired to *Rhodes*, and the emperor determined not to recall or employ him; on the other hand, he was afraid to trust any with the command of the army, except those of his own family. In this perplexity, he at length resolved to send into the east his grandson *Caius*, who was then entered into the nineteenth year of his age (I); but before his departure, to procure

Disturbances in Armenia.

Caius Cæsar sent into the east.

² Suet. Dio, ibid.

^a Suet. ibid. Ovid. de arte, l. i. Monument. Ancyran. apud Gruter. ibid

(I) While *Caius* was preparing for this expedition, *Ovid* wrote the first book of his *art of love*, as appears from the following lines:

And a few lines after;

*Ecce parat Cæsar domito quod defuit orbi
Addere: nunc, Oriens ultime, noster eris.
Parthe, debis pœnas: Crassi gaudete sepulti,
Signaque barbaricas non bene passa manus.
Uxor adest, primisque ducem profitetur ab annis;
Bellique non puero tractat agenda puer.*

*Auspiciis annisque patris, puer, arma movebis,
Et vinces annis auspiciisque patris.
Tale rudimentum tanto sub nomine debes;
Nunc juvenum princeps, deinde future senum (21)*

Ovid was quite out in what he foretels of *Caius*, but sets down the just year of his age; for *Augustus* was nineteen years old when he first put himself

(21) *Ovid. de arte, l. i.*

him the greater esteem, he honoured him with the title of proconsul, and married him to *Lollia Paulina*, either the daughter or niece of *M. Lollius*, an officer of great experience, who was his governor, and whom he now appointed to command under him^b. Before the young general set out, *Augustus*, who omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of this expedition, sent *Dionysius*, a geographer of great fame, into the east before him, with orders to take an exact survey of the country, which was likely to be the seat of war^c. Whether this was the famous *Dionysius*, whose *periegesis* in Greek verse has reached us; or another *Dionysius*, the son of *Diogenes*, who published the dimensions of the earth, as we read in *Marcianus Heracleota*^d, we know not. This commission of *Caius Cæsar* is variously mentioned by the ancients; *Tacitus* writes, that he had *Armenia* for his province^e; *Velleius Paterculus*, that he was sent into *Syria*^f; *Suetonius*, that he was appointed governor of the east^g; *Orosius*, that he was sent by *Augustus* to settle the provinces of *Egypt* and *Syria*^h; and *Pliny* quotes a book wrote by king *Juba*, in which mention is made of *Caius's* expedition into *Arabia*ⁱ; but adds, that the young prince had only some thoughts of invading *Arabia*^k. In the mean time, *Phraates*, king of *Parthia*, being informed of the warlike preparations that were carrying on in different parts of the empire, and not doubting, but they were designed against him, wrote a submissive letter to *Augustus*; but as he deferred, under various pretences, withdrawing his troops out of *Armenia*, which *Augustus* in his answer required him to do without delay, *Caius*, taking his leave of *Augustus*, set out from *Rome*, and hastened into *Armenia*^l. In his passage he touched at *Cbios*^m, or, as *Suetonius* will have it, at *Samos*ⁿ; which *Tiberius* no sooner understood, than he went to wait upon him, behaving himself on that occasion in a very submissive manner, and shewing the utmost respect not only to the young prince, but to all those of his attendance. *Caius* received him with great coldness, his governor *M. Lollius*, who hated *Tiberius*, having filled the mind of his pupil with prejudices against him^o. Thus *Suetonius*: but *Velleius*, flattering *Tiberius*, according to his custom, tells us, that *Caius* received him with the greatest marks of esteem, and treated him as his superior^p. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Tiberius's* tribuneship, expiring about this time, he earnestly solicited the emperor for leave to return home, and received from him the answer, which we have related above; so that he was obliged much against his will to continue at *Rhodes*, which he no longer looked upon as the place of his retreat, but as the place of his banishment. However, his mother *Livia*, who had a great influence over the emperor, to cover the ignominy of her son, got him, with much ado, declared *Augustus's* lieutenant in those parts. But he, finding himself obnoxious to the sovereign, and apprehending himself in danger of his life, not only lived as a private citizen, but retiring into the midst of the island, concealed himself there to avoid the compliments of the Roman officers and magistrates, who were sent into the east^q. Nay, he wrote to *Augustus*, desiring him to send some person, in whom he could confide, with a charge to watch him, and transmit to *Rome* a faithful account of all his words and actions^r.

Tiberius waits upon him.

Tiberius in disgrace.

BUT to return to *Caius Cæsar*; from *Samos* or *Cbios* he hastened into *Syria*, where all the *Romans* forces in the east, and those of the allies of *Rome*, were assembled and ready to march. *Suetonius* tells us, that he passed through *Judea*, but scorned to worship at *Jerusalem*, and adds, that his conduct therein was approved of, and much commended, by *Augustus*^s. Upon his arrival in *Syria*, he put himself at the head of the army, and began his march towards the frontiers of *Parthia*. Upon his approach *Phraates*, distrusting his own subjects, who bore him an irreconcilable hatred, sent deputies to him to treat of a peace. The young general received the ambassadors with great politeness, and it was agreed, that *Caius* and *Phraates* would have an interview in an island formed by the *Euphrates*. Thither they both repaired on the day appointed, each of them being attended with the like number of guards, while their

Phraates sends ambassadors to Caius.

^b ZONAR. ex Dion. SUET. in Claud. c. 26. PLIN. l. ix. c. 35. SOLIN. c. 53. ^c PLIN. l. vi. c. 27. ^d MARCIAN. HERACLEOTA. peripl. l. i. ^e TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 48. ^f VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 101. ^g SUET. in Tiber. c. 12. ^h OROS. l. vii. c. 3. ⁱ PLIN. l. vi. c. 27. in fin. ^k Idem ibid. c. 28. ^l DIO, legat. 38. in excerpt. ab Ursin. ^m XIPHIL. & ZONAR. ex Dion. ⁿ SUET. in Tib. c. 12. ^o SUET. ibid. ^p VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 101. ^q SUET. ibid. c. 12. ^r Idem ibid. ^s SUET. in Octav. c. 93.

self at the head of his army, as is manifest from the *Anicyran* marble, containing a summary of the chief actions of his life; and *Caius* was entered into his nineteenth year when he began to prepare for his expedition against the *Parthians*; so that his father and he went commanders at the same age.





a two armies, drawn up in battalia, lined the opposite banks of the river. In the conference *Caius* only insisted upon the *Parthian's* renouncing all pretensions to *Armenia*, which he readily consented to; so that a treaty was soon concluded, and tranquillity restored, when least expected, to the eastern provinces. Matters being thus settled, the two chiefs feasted each other; *Caius* entertained *Phraates* on the *Roman* side of the river, and *Phraates* *Caius* on the *Parthian* side. Thus *Velleius Paterculus*, who was present, as a spectator, at these entertainments, he being then a military tribune in *Caius's* army ^t. The same writers tell us, that the *Parthian* king acquainted *Caius* in a private conference, that he was betrayed by his governor *M. Lollius*, who had taken large bribes of him, and had heaped up immense sums by laying, without his knowledge, heavy contributions on all the provinces of the east. The same writer adds, that the king bid him beware of the treacherous designs and counsels of *Lollius*, at which the young prince being alarmed, forbid him his presence. *Lollius* thus disgraced, died a few days after; but whether of a natural or violent death, our author will not take upon him to determine ^u. *Pliny* and *Solinus* say, that he put an end to his life with poison; but none of the ancients impute his death to *Caius*, though he deserved to be punished with the utmost severity, if the charge, brought against him by the *Parthian* king, was true. Upon his death *Publius Quirinius* was either appointed by *Augustus*, or chosen by the young prince himself, for his governor. He was a good commander, and had been rewarded by *Augustus* for his eminent services first with the consulship, and afterwards with a triumph, or rather an ovation, for driving the *Homonades*, a people of *Cilicia*, out of their strong-holds ^v. He proved a friend to *Tiberius*, and reconciled *Caius* to him, as we shall see anon. The treaty of peace between the *Romans* and *Parthians* was scarce concluded, when *Artabazes*, whom *Augustus* had placed on the throne of *Armenia*, died; and then *Tigranes*, who had been set up by the *Parthians*, sent rich presents to *Augustus*, accompanied with a submissive letter, wherein, without styling himself king, he begged the kingdom of him. The emperor, glad to put an end to the disturbances of the east, accepted his presents, and ordered him to attend *Caius* in *Syria*; which he did accordingly, and received at his hands the crown of *Armenia* ^x. *Augustus*, to perpetuate the memory of this expedition, and the glory of young *Caius*, who managed it with such success, caused several medals to be struck, or pieces of money coined, some of which have reached us, with the figure of *Armenia* in a suppliant posture, and the names of *Augustus* and *Caius Cæsar* on the reverse.

A peace concluded.

M. Lollius accused of treachery.

Tigranes appointed king of Armenia.

AND now, the temple of *Janus* being shut up (K), and all the provinces of the *Roman* empire, perhaps all the nations of the world, enjoying a profound tranquillity, *The prince of peace, the Lord of heaven, and Saviour of the world*, joined himself, after an ineffable manner, to human nature, and appeared on earth, being born of a virgin in the city of *Bethlehem*, whither *Joseph* and *Mary* had repaired, to be there registered pursuant to the decree of *Augustus*, as citizens of that place (L).

The birth of Christ.

Year of the flood, 1999. Of Rome 748.

But

^t VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 101. ^u Idem ibid. c. 102. ^v TACIT. annal. l. iii. c. 48. ^x DIO, in excerpt. ab Ful. Urfin. SEXT. RUF. in breviario.

(K) From the time of *Romulus* to the reign of *Augustus* the temple of *Janus* had been but twice shut, viz. during *Numa's* peaceable reign, and after the first *Punic* war (22). *Augustus* shut it up three times, viz. after he had vanquished *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, four years after on his return from the war, which he had waged with the *Cantabrians* in *Spain*, and some years before the birth of our Saviour. *Horace*, who died seven years before, speaks in his last ode of *Augustus's* victory over the *Sicambri*, and observes, that the temple of *Janus* was then shut. *Orosius* says, that after *Augustus* had shut it the third time, it continued so for the space of twelve years (23). On the other hand, *F. Noris*, is of opinion, that it was opened on occasion of *Caius Cæsar's* expedition against the *Parthians*, whence he concludes, first against *Orosius*, that it did not continue shut for twelve years, and secondly against most historians and chronologers, that our Saviour was born before the trou-

bles in the east broke out; for he was born, as all the fathers affirm, while the world was in peace; and, on the other hand, *Tacitus* assures us, that after *Augustus* had laid open the gates of *Janus* the third time, they were never shut again to the reign of *Vespasian* (24). But as no war was declared, and no hostilities committed either by the *Romans* or *Parthians*, we cannot persuade ourselves, that the temple of *Janus* was opened on occasion of this expedition.

(L) *Augustus* having issued out a decree for taking such a description or survey of the whole *Roman* empire as should contain an account of all persons, possessions, and estates therein, and the taxes issuable from them, it was this year executed in *Judæa* in the manner *St. Luke* describes it. When it came to *Bethlehem*, *Joseph* and *Mary* were called from *Nazareth* in *Galilee*, the place of their habitation, to that city, the city of *David*, to which, as being of the house and lineage of *David*, they originally belonged,

(22) Liv. l. i. Plut. in *Numa*. (23) Oros. l. vi. c. 22. p. 297. (24) Vide P. Henric. Noris unctaph. Pisan. C. & L. Cæsar. Venet. 1681. p. 199. & 200.

But to dwell on the particular circumstances of this or the other mysteries of the *Christian* religion, would be deviating from the design of the present work, and intrenching on the province of the ecclesiastic writers. To their histories therefore we refer the learned reader for a full account of what we shall only hint at in ours.

The death of
king Herod,
and division of
his kingdom.

THE following year, *Cassius Cornelius Lentulus* and *L. Calpurnius Piso* were raised to the consulate, and succeeded the year after in that dignity by *Caius Cæsar*, tho' then absent in *Syria* (M), and *L. Æmilius Paulus*. During their administration nothing remarkable happened in *Italy*, or in the countries subject to, or depending upon, *Rome*, except the death of king *Herod*, which was no less miserable than his life had been detestable, and the division of his kingdom made by *Augustus*, who gave one half of it to *Archelaus*, and divided the other half between his two brothers, *Antipas* and *Philip*, as we have related at length in our history of the *Jews*^y. During the consulship of *Caius*, *Augustus* ended his great climacterical year, that is, the sixty-third of his age, on which occasion he wrote the following letter to his grandson in *Syria*: *Hail, my dear Caius, my chief delight: your presence is the constant object of my most ardent wishes: I cannot, my dear child, bear to be from you: when shall I have the pleasure of seeing my beloved Caius again, and tenderly embracing him? Your presence would have doubled the mirth of this day, my sixty-fourth birth-day, which I hope you have solemnly kept in good health: for I have ended, you see, my sixty-third year, the common climacteric of old men. May the gods render the remaining part of my life useful and serviceable to the republic: may they continue to shower their blessings upon you, till they shall think fit to remove me, and place you in my room*^z.

Tiberius al-
lowed to return
to Rome.

THE following year, *P. Albinus Varus* and *P. Vinucius* being consuls, *Tiberius* was at length allowed to return to *Rome*; *Caius*, to whom *Augustus* had referred the matter, to deliver himself from the importunities of *Livia*, consenting to it at the earnest intreaties of his new governor *Quirinius*; but upon that condition that he should bear no office in the commonwealth^a. We are told, that when the ship, which brought him the news of his being allowed to return to *Rome*, first appeared, he was walking by the sea-side with one *Thrasyllus*, a famous astrologer, who assured him, though the ship was at a great distance, that it brought him joyful tidings. The sudden appearing of the ship saved *Thrasyllus*'s life; for *Tiberius* had at that very time determined with himself to throw him headlong into the sea, as one who was privy to all his secrets, and whom he now began to mistrust, after he had for some years entertained him as his bosom friend. He put off the execution of his design till the arrival of the ship, when finding the prediction of the astrologer fulfilled, he tenderly embraced him, and ever after had him in great esteem, though he pretended himself to a great knowledge in judicial astrology^b. Upon his return to *Rome* he withdrew to *Mæcenas*'s gardens, and there led a retired life, doing good offices to some of his friends, but not meddling with public affairs^c. But he was soon delivered from the objects of his envy and jealousy; for *Lucius Cæsar*, who was but a youth of tender abilities, died this year at *Marseilles* on his journey to *Spain*, whither he

The death of
Lucius Cæsar.

^y Vide Hist. Univers. Vol. IV. p. 183 & 190. AUL. GELL. Noct. Attic. l. xv. c. 7. ^a SUET. in Tib. c. 13. ^b Idem ibid. c. 14. XIPHILIN. ex Dion. ^c Idem Ibid. c. 15.

belonged, that there, as citizens of that place, their circumstances, and estate, or trade, might be described and registered among those who were of the same house and family. Whenever a census was made at *Rome*, the censors registered all the *Roman* citizens, their wives and children, their age, qualities, trades, offices, and estates both real and personal: *Censoris officium erat*, says *Florus* (25), *omnia patrimonialia, dignitatis, ætatis, artium, officiorum, discrimina in tabulas referre*; and *Cicero* (26) *Censores populi ævitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque censent*. *Augustus* was the first who extended this census to the provinces, where those, who were charged with it, pursued, without all doubt, the same method as the censors did at *Rome*. 'Tis true, none of the ancient historians mention this general census extending to all the provinces, and kingdoms subject to, or depending upon, *Rome*; but *Tacitus* (27), *Suetonius* (28), and

Dion Cassius (29), tells us, that *Augustus* left behind him a book containing an exact account or survey of all the provinces of the *Roman* empire, and their revenues, taxes, and tributes, which, it is manifest, he could not have done without a previous and general census. Besides, *St. Justin* (30) and *Tertullian* (31) frequently refer the *Gentiles* to the registers which were made on occasion of this census, and were still extant in their time.

(M) That *Caius* was absent from *Rome* when he was raised to the consulate, and that he discharged the office of consul in the east, is unanimously attested by all the ancients. It is therefore surprising, *Josephus* should tell us, that *Augustus* referred the dispute, which upon the death of *Herod* arose between *Archelaus* and *Antipas* about the succession, to a council, at which *Caius Cæsar*, the son of *Agrippa* and *Julia*, presided, he being at that time in *Rome*.

(25) Flor. l. i. c. 6. (26) Cic. de legibus, l. iii. (27) Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 11. (28) Suet. in Octav. c. 101. (29) Dio, l. lvi. p. 591. (30) Justin. apolog. (31) Tertullian. in Marc. l. 17.

a he had been sent by his grandfather, who had no other view therein than to bring him into favour with the soldiery, and accustom him to a military life and a foreign climate^d. Some writers suspect *Livia*, as if she had found means to take him off by poison; for his death was so sudden, that it surprised his attendants, and the art of poisoning was at that time brought to great perfection, and become very common in *Rome*. His body was brought by sea from *Marseilles* to one of the ports of *Italy*, and from thence carried to the capital on the shoulders of the military tribunes, and the decurions of the colonies and municipal towns. At *Rome* it lay in state for several days in the forum, being watched and guarded by the *Roman* knights, who had presented the deceased youth with a silver spear when he took the *toga virilis*. The spear was hung up in the senate-house, and the body burnt with great solemnity, probably in the *campus Martius*. The ashes, we suppose, were deposited in *Augustus's* own mausoleum, the burying-place of the *Cæsars*. The emperor was sensibly affected, as we may well imagine, with the loss of a youth whom he so tenderly loved, and saw thus snatched away in the spring of his life; and *Tiberius*, by affecting an extraordinary concern for the death of his son-in-law, wrought such a change in the mind of *Augustus*, *Livia*, no doubt, contributing to it with her usual art and dexterity, that he would have adopted him, if *Velleius* is to be credited, had he not absolutely declined that honour, through fear of giving umbrage to *Caius*^e (N).

Tiberius returns into favour with Augustus.

IN the following consulate of *L. Ailius Lama* and *M. Servilius*, the famous temple of the mother of the gods at *Rome* was reduced to ashes; but the flames, which did not respect the statue of the goddess, spared that of the vestal *Claudia*, who, in former times being accused of incest, is said to have given a glaring and miraculous proof of her innocence, by drawing ashore with her girdle the ship which brought the mother of the gods to *Rome*, and had run a-ground off *Ostia*^f. This pretended miracle is much talked of by the *Roman* writers, and elegantly described by *Ovid* and *Silius Italicus*^g. In the consulate of *Sextus Ailius Catus* and *C. Sentius Saturninus* (O), *Numidia*, formerly subdued and reduced to a *Roman* province by *Julius Cæsar*, rebelled, but was soon brought again under subjection by *Passienus* and *Cossus*, whom *Augustus* honoured on their return to the capital with triumphal ensigns, that is, he allowed them all the privileges and honours which were peculiar to triumphant victors^h, the custom of triumphing being now laid aside. But the troubles which this year broke out anew in *Armenia*, were not so easily quelled: the *Parthians*, notwithstanding the treaty concluded a few years before between them and the *Romans*, invaded that kingdom with a numerous army. Hereupon *Caius*, who was still in *Syria*, having with great expedition drawn together his forces, marched against the enemy, and penetrating into the heart of *Armenia* without opposition, appeared before *Artagera*. Upon his arrival, one *Addo*, whom some call *Domnes*, the governor of the place, sent deputies to him, inviting him to a private interview, under pretence that he had something to communicate to him of the utmost importance. *Caius*, not suspecting any treachery, complied with his invitation; but *Addo*, or, as *Strabo* calls him, *Ador*, having insensibly drawn the unwary youth during the conference close to the wall, wounded him, and retired that instant into the city; which the *Romans*, provoked at the treachery of the barbarian, immediately assaulted on all sides, took by storm,

Numidia rebels, but is soon reduced.

The Parthians invade Armenia.

Caius Cæsar wounded.

^d FLOR. l. iv. c. ult. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 102. TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 3. SUET. in Octav. c. 65. ZONAR. ex Dion. ^e VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 103. ^f VAL. MAX. l. i. c. 6. LIV. l. xxxix, &c. ^g OVID. fast. l. iv. SIL. ITAL. xvi. ^h VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 104.

(N) *Alphenus Varus* was of a mean descent, but raised himself by his own merit to the first office in the state. *Horace* mentions him in the third satyr of his first book:

*Ut Alphenus vafer omni,
Abjeto instrumento artis, clausaque taberna,
Sutor erat.*

Upon which passage *Acron* comments thus: *Alphenus* was a native of *Cremona*, by profession a shoemaker; but abandoning his trade, applied himself to the study of the *Roman* law, under the famous civilian *Servius Sulpicius*. The great progress he

made in the *Roman* jurisprudence gained him such reputation, that he was judged worthy of the greatest honours of the state. When he died, he was buried at the public expence, a distinction granted to few and those persons of the highest merit.

(O) When *Agrippa* was recalled from the east, *Sentius Saturninus* and *Titus Volumnius* were appointed to succeed him in the government of *Syria* and *Phœnice*. Some writers think, that *Saturninus* was governor or president of the province, and that *Volumnius* was only his lieutenant, or rather *Augustus's* procurator under him; but *Josephus* speaks of him as in joint commission with *Saturninus* (32).

storm, and dismantled, after having put the traitor, and with him the whole garrison, to the swordⁱ (P). The wound did not prove mortal; but nevertheless weakened the body, and sunk the spirits of *Caius* to such a degree, that after he had driven the *Parthians* out of *Armenia*, and placed *Ariobarzanes*, by birth a *Mede*, on the throne, he gave himself up to an idle and indolent life, leaving the whole management of affairs to his officers and lieutenants. Hereupon *Augustus*, who had a great desire to see his favourite grandson, recalled him to *Rome*; but he, taken with the delights of that soft climate, and having many flatterers about him, who made it their constant study to feed his vicious inclinations with new pleasures, begged leave to continue in *Syria*, declaring, that he had rather live in the most remote and inhospitable corner of the earth, than return to *Rome*. This unexpected proposal stung *Augustus* to the heart, who, in his answer to him, insisted on his returning to *Italy*, assuring him, that he should there be allowed to do what he pleased. *Caius* therefore, with the utmost reluctance, left *Syria*, and sailing for *Lycia*, arrived at *Limyra*, a city of that country, where he died soon after in the twenty-fourth year of his age^k (Q). Thus was *Augustus*, in the space of eighteen months, deprived of both his grandsons, whom he had adopted, and brought up to succeed him in the sovereign power. His death, as well as that of *Lucius*, is by some imputed to the secret arts of *Livia*, who left no stone unturned to advance her son *Tiberius* to the empire. The grief of *Augustus* for the death of one, whom he loved with all the tenderness of a fond father, was great beyond expression. *Livia* and *Tiberius* endeavoured to comfort him; and on this occasion it was that the artful *Livia*, who had gained an absolute sway over her husband, prevailed upon him to adopt her son *Tiberius*. However, he adopted at the same time *Agrippa Posthumus*, the third son of *Agrippa* and *Julia*, whom he had hitherto quite neglected, as being a youth of no parts, and of an untractable temper. He likewise obliged *Tiberius* to adopt *Germanicus*, the son of his brother *Drusus*, tho' he had a son of his own; so that the joy of *Tiberius* in seeing himself at length adopted into the family and name of the *Cæsars*, was not a little allayed by this mortifying and unexpected preference. His nephew *Germanicus* was now become the emperor's grandson, while his own son *Drusus* was denied that honour^l. These three different adoptions happened on the same day, viz. on the fifth of the calends of *July*; and it is remarkable, that *Augustus*, in adopting *Tiberius*, solemnly swore before the people, that he adopted him for the good of the commonwealth^m. At the same time he conferred on him the tribunitial power, for five years according to some writersⁿ, but according to others for ten^o. Thus, by the address of *Livia*, were all honours heaped upon her son, now sole candidate, we may say, for the succession.

His death.

Tiberius adopted by Augustus, and Germanicus by Tiberius.

The conspiracy of Cinna.

WHILE *Augustus* was thus strengthening himself by the adoption of *Tiberius* and *Agrippa*, a dangerous conspiracy was discovered, at the head of which was *Cornelius Cinna*, grandson to *Pompey* by his daughter *Pompeia*. As several persons of the highest rank were engaged in the plot, *Augustus* was greatly at a loss what measures

ⁱ VELL. PATERC. lii. c. 102. STRABO, l. xi. p. 529. ZONAR. ex Dion. ibid. ^l Idem ibid. ^m Idem ibid. & c. 104. SUET. in Tiber. c. 21. ^k VELL. PATERC. ⁿ SUET. ibid. c. 16. ^o DIO, l. lv. p. 556.

(P) *Florus* relates this event in the following manner: *Domitius*, on whom the king of *Parthia* had conferred the government of *Artaxata*, pretending a revolt, came out to meet *Caius*, and delivered into his hands a writing, which, he said, contained an account of all the king's treasures; but while he was perusing it with great attention, the traitor, drawing a poniard concealed under his garment, stabbed him (33). *Sextus Rufus* follows *Florus*, and, by an unpardonable mistake, adds, that the *Parthians*, by way of satisfaction for so bold and treacherous an attempt, did then first give hostages to *Octavianus Cæsar*, and restored the ensigns which had been taken from *Crassus* (34).

(Q) *Tacitus* says he died of his wound as he was returning from *Armenia* (35), and *Sextus Rufus*, that he returned into *Syria*, and died there; but *Suetonius*,

Dion Cassius, and *Velleius Paterculus*, who served under *Caius*, assure us, that he died at *Limyra* in *Lycia* on his return to *Rome*, *Augustus* was extremely grieved at his death, and complained of *Asinius Pollio*, one of his chief favourites, for inviting his friends to an entertainment while his grief was yet fresh. *Pollio* answered, *I supped after the same manner when I lost my son Arterius, and can any one require more grief of a friend than of a father* (36)? The body of *Caius* was conveyed to *Rome*, and buried there with great pomp. *Beltonius* tells us, that he saw the tomb and epitaph of *C. Cæsar* at *Hama* or *Emesa* in *Syria* (37); but that his bones were buried at *Rome* is manifest from the following epitaph, which is still to be seen in the church of the apostles behind the temple of *Minerva*: *Offa C. Cæsaris Augusti F. Principis Juventutis* (38).

(33) *Flor.* l. iv. c. ult. (34) *Sext. Ruf. in breviar.* (35) *Tacit. annal.* l. i. c. 3. (36) *Suet. in præm.* l. iv. de controver. (37) *Belton. observat.* l. ii. (38) *Vide Gruter. inscript.* 235.

a to take in so nice an affair. If he used rigor, he was afraid their friends and relations, who were very powerful, might raise dangerous disturbances to revenge their death; if he pardoned them, he apprehended this might encourage others to the like attempts. In this perplexity he passed several nights without being able to take the least rest, or come to any resolution. At length *Livia*, by her refined artifices, drew from him the true cause of his disquiet and uneasiness. *Dion Cassius* relates a conference between her and the emperor, which seems rather to have been framed by him than real^o. However that be, it is certain, that she, by many ingenious and politic arguments, convinced him, that it was safer in so critical a juncture to use clemency than rigor. Pursuant to her advice, *Augustus* sent for *Cinna*, and taking him into his closet, charged him with the conspiracy, named to him all his accomplices, and shewed himself thoroughly informed of the place, time, and other circumstances, which the conspirators had agreed on in their last meeting. *Cinna* was thunder-struck, as we may well imagine, when he saw his treason thus discovered, and himself in the power of the person whom he sought to destroy, without any possible means of escaping the punishment due to his crime. His surprise was still greater, when *Augustus*, instead of treating him as a traitor, only upbraided him in a gentle manner with ingratitude, putting him in mind of the many favours he had bestowed upon him, and adding, that he was resolved to get the better of his obstinacy; and therefore not only freely forgave him, but, for his sake, all those he had seduced into the same wicked designs; and to shew you, said he, that I am sincerely reconciled to you, I now name you consul for the ensuing year. This generous behaviour made such a deep impression upon the mind of *Cinna*, that he continued, from that time to the hour of his death, inviolably attached to the interest of *Augustus* and his family^p. It was about this time, and perhaps on this occasion, that the people offered him the title of *Dominus*, that is, *Lord* or *Master*, which he not only refused, but published an edict, forbidding any one to address him under that name; a name peculiar to masters with respect to their slaves, and therefore no less injurious to him than the *Roman* people^q. Towards the end of this year, the people earnestly intreated him to recal his daughter *Julia*; but he answered, *That fire and water should sooner meet than they two*; and when the people were very pressing with him, he could not refrain his anger, but, in a violent passion, wished *they might have such wives and such daughters*. However, they prevailed upon him at length to change the place of her confinement, and to remove her from the island to the continent; but he would not by any means suffer her to return to *Rome*^r.

He is pardoned by Augustus

Julia removed to the continent

In the beginning of the ensuing year, when *Cn. Cornelius Cinna*, who had conspired against *Augustus*, and *L. Valerius Messala* were consuls, *Tiberius* was sent into *Germany*, to complete the conquest of that country, and keep in awe the several nations which had been some years before subdued by him and his brother *Drusus*. *C. Sentius Saturninus*, the last year's consul, an officer of known valour and great experience, was appointed by *Augustus* to command under him, as one who was well acquainted with the country, he having been formerly *Augustus's* lieutenant in those parts. *Velleius Paterculus* the historian attended *Tiberius* in this expedition, and served under him in quality of *præfectus equitum*, or commander of horse; which post had been held by his father, and at his death was conferred upon him. He tells us, that *Tiberius*, entering *Germany*, over-ran the country of the *Caninefates*, now the province of *Utrecht*; that from thence he advanced against the *Attuati* and *Brueteri*, that is, the people of the territory of *Munster*, whom he easily reduced; that the *Cherusci*, the inhabitants of the present duchies of *Brunswic* and *Lunebourg*, submitted at his approach; that he made himself master of all the countries lying on the *Visurgis* and the *Lupias*, now the *Weser* and the *Lyppe*; and that putting his troops into winter-quarters on the banks of the *Lupias*, he returned to *Rome* towards the end of *December*, where he was received with loud acclamations by all ranks of men^s.

The exploits of Tiberius in Germany.

In this and the following year, *Rome* was afflicted with a dreadful famine, inasmuch, that all foreigners, gladiators, *athletæ* or wrestlers, and slaves, except physicians and schoolmasters, were driven out of the city, and ordered to keep at eighty miles distance from the capital, *Augustus* himself sending away the greater part of his own slaves and attendants. On this occasion he doubled his usual largesses, ordering a certain quantity of corn to be weekly distributed among the indigent citizens, and

A famine in Rome.

^o Idem ibid. p. 557.

^p Idem ibid. SENEC. de clemen. l. i. c. 9. p. 318, 319.

^q SUET. in

Octav. c. 53. XIPHIL. l. iv.

^r SUET. & DIO, ibid.

^s VELL. PATREC. l. ii. c. 104, 105, 106.

Augustus appoints Vonones king of Parthia.

Tiberius over-runs great part of Germany.

The Getuli revolt, and are subdued.

Agrippa Posthumus disgraced, and banished.

provisions to be brought from *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the neighbouring countries at the public expence, and sold at a low rate. This still more gained him the affections of the people, who were therefore for decreeing him new honours, which he absolutely refused; but the glory which accrued to him from a solemn embassy sent this year to *Rome* in the name of the *Parthian* nation, is greatly celebrated by all the writers of those times; for the *Parthians*, quite tired with the troubles that were daily raised in their country by pretenders to the crown, had at length recourse to *Augustus*, begging him to give them a king. The emperor, highly pleased with this embassy, named *Vonones*, one of the sons of *Phrabates*, who had been sent to *Rome*, as we have observed above, commending him both to the *Parthian* ambassadors and the *Roman* governors in the east. The *Parthian* nobility received him with great joy, and placed him on the throne; which *Augustus* was no less proud of, than if he had subdued that warlike nation^t. The next year, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *L. Aruntius*, being consuls, *Tiberius*, returning into *Germany*, pursued his conquests there with surprising rapidity, if *Velleius* his historian, or rather panegyrist, is to be credited. He first subdued the *Chauci* (R), the most flourishing and numerous nation of *Germany*, and then the *Langobardi* or *Lombardi*, who surpassed in fierceness all the inhabitants of that vast continent. He over-ran and brought under subjection all the countries between the *Rhine* and the *Albis* or the *Elbe*, while his fleet struck terror into the warlike and barbarous nations bordering on the ocean. In short, the *Roman* ensigns and eagles were revered and adored by numberless nations, who, till the arrival of the invincible *Tiberius*, had never heard of the *Roman* name. Such is the account which *Velleius* gives us of the victories and exploits of *Tiberius*^u. But another writer, unbiassed by any affection or prejudice, tells us, that *Tiberius* indeed over-ran all the countries between the *Albis* and the *Visurgis*; but performed nothing which he thinks worth mentioning, tho' both *Tiberius* and *Augustus* were honoured with the title of *Imperator* on account of the pretended success of this campaign, and *Sentius Saturninus* with the ensigns of triumph^w. While *Tiberius* was carrying on the war in *Germany*, *Cornelius Cossus* was employed in *Mauritania* against the *Getuli*, who, revolting from king *Juba*, massacred all the *Romans* settled in his country, and committed most dreadful ravages in the provinces subject to that prince. But *Cossus* marching against them, overthrew the rebels with great slaughter, and obliged them to submit upon what terms he thought fit to impose upon them; for which he likewise was honoured with the privileges peculiar to those who had triumphed. This year *Agrippa Posthumus*, having incurred the displeasure of his grandfather *Augustus*, was by him banished to the island of *Planasia*, now *Pianosa*, in the *Mediterranean* sea. Some writers tell us, that *Augustus* conceived an irreconcilable hatred to him on account of his irregular and scandalous life, which he thought a disgrace to his family; whence, when mention was made of him, or the two *Julias*, he used to say with a profound sigh, *O, had I lived without a wife, or died without children!* nor did he commonly call them by any other name than his *three imposthumes*. But *Tacitus* ascribes the disgrace of young *Agrippa* not to any vices of his own, but to the arts and ambitious views of *Livia*, who was glad to remove the only person who stood in her son's way to the absolute power. As *Augustus* was now very old, says that writer, *Livia* had obtained such an ascendant over him, that, to please her, he banished into the island of *Planasia* his only surviving grandson *Agrippa Posthumus*, one indeed destitute of extraordinary talents, in his temper untractable, and stupidly conceited of his own strength, but guilty of no misdemeanour or transgression^x.

THE next year, when *A. Licinius Nerva* and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* were consuls, *Rome* had three mighty wars to maintain, viz. one in *Germany*, another in *Pannonia*, and the third in *Dalmatia*. In *Germany*, *Maroboduus* king of the *Marcomanni* (S), a prince

^t STRABO, l. xvi. p. 748. TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 2. JOSEPH. p. 620. ^u VELL. PATERCUL. ibid. ^w DIO, l. lv. p. 557. ^x TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 1.

(R) the *Chauci* inhabited east *Friesland*, the counties of *Oldenburg* and *Hoya*, and part of the archbishopric of *Breme*: The *Longobardi* or *Langobardi* that part of the marquisate of *Brandenburg* which is now called *Middlemarck*, and lies between the *Elb* and the *Oder*: The *Semnones* part of *Holsatia* and *Silesia*:

And the *Hermunduri* part of *Viotland*, of *Misnia*, of *Upper Saxony*, and of the langravedom of *Thuringen*.

(S) The *Marcomanni* inhabited first that country which lies between the *Rhine*, the *Danube*, the *Locher*, and the *Necker*. From thence they passed with the *Marudes* and *Sedusii* into *Boiohemia*, now *Bohe*

a prince of extraordinary strength, which was a great merit among the *Germans*, of uncommon address, and great personal courage and experience in military affairs, having raised a formidable army, consisting of seventy thousand foot and four thousand horse, threatened the countries lately subdued by *Tiberius*, nay, *Italy* itself, with an invasion. Against him was sent *Tiberius*, who arriving in *Illyricum*, divided the numerous forces he had under his command into two bodies. The one he put under the conduct of *C. Sentius Saturninus*, who, pursuant to *Tiberius's* order, taking his rout through the territories of the *Catti*, and opening himself a passage through the *Hercynian* forest (T), brought his legions to the confines of the *Marcomanni*, called by the ancients *Boiobæmi*. As for *Tiberius* himself, he seemed to be in no great haste to enter the lists with the king of the *Marcomanni*; for, under various pretences, he put off his march, and continued in *Illyricum*, as if he were afraid of the enemy, or designed to spin out the war. *Augustus* was old, and *Tiberius* well knew how much it would be for his interest to have at his death an army under his command ready to second his ambitious views. Be that as it will, he passed great part of the summer in a state of inaction; at the head of a numerous and well disciplined army. In the mean time, *M. Valerius Messalinus*, having, by *Augustus's* orders, led the troops he commanded in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* into *Illyricum*, to reinforce *Tiberius's* army there, the inhabitants of those two countries, being now awed by no *Roman* garisons, conspired to shake off the yoke, and recover their ancient liberties, under the conduct of the two chiefs of the same name. The two *Batos*, for so they were called, raised each in his own country a hundred thousand foot and nine thousand horse, slew all the *Romans* who had settled in *Pannonia* or *Dalmatia*, over-ran the neighbouring countries subject to the *Romans*, and penetrating into *Macedon*, committed there most dreadful ravages. The two chiefs had agreed to act jointly or separately, as occasion should require, and not to lay down their arms till they had delivered their respective countries, and all *Germany*, from the *Roman* bondage. This general and unexpected insurrection filled *Rome* with terror and confusion. The emperor, having assembled the senate, instead of lessening, magnified the danger, telling the conscript fathers, that unless a new army was raised with all possible expedition, they might in ten days see the enemy at the gates of *Rome*. Levies were therefore made without delay, the veterans were ordered to return to their colours, and not only freed-men, but great numbers of slaves, were admitted into the legions. By this means a numerous army was raised, and the command of it given to *Germanicus*, the son of *Drusus* and nephew of *Tiberius*, a youth of extraordinary accomplishments. As for *Augustus*, he left the capital, and went to reside at *Ariminum*, whence he could with more ease and quickness send his orders to the two generals, and assist them with his advice in the carrying on of a war, which he looked upon as the most dangerous one he had yet been engaged in, the enemy's troops being very numerous, well disciplined, and at no great distance from *Italy*, which, if any misfortune should happen either to *Tiberius* or *Germanicus*, they would not fail to invade, and might over-run before a new army could be raised. *Tiberius* no sooner heard that *Germanicus* was appointed to command against the revolted *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians*, than he turned his arms against them, hoping he should be able to reduce them before the arrival of *Germanicus*, whom he now looked upon as his rival, and therefore would have willingly deprived of the glory, which might accrue to him from that expedition. With this view, quitting *Illyricum*, he incamped in the country which parted *Pannonia* from the

Tiberius sent against Maroboduus king of the Marcomanni.

The Pannonians and Dalmatians revolt.

Germanicus appointed to make head against them.

Tiberius leads his army against them.

y Dio, l. lv. p. 569, & seq.

Bohemia, and driven out the *Boii*, settled there. *Vell. Paterculus* gives us an account of their migration under the conduct of *Maroboduus* (39). They made themselves afterwards masters likewise of *Moravia*. They were in process of time driven out of *Bohemia* by the *Sclavonians*, whose descendants hold that kingdom to this day.

(T) *Julius Cæsar* speaks in his commentaries of this forest thus: *It is nine days journey over; we cannot otherwise describe it, because the Germans have no fixed measures of distances. It begins on the confines of the Helvetii, Nemetes, and Rauraci, (that is, of Switzerland, Basil, and Spire) and extends along the*

Danube to the borders of the Daci and Arnates (that is, to Transilvania); then turning from the river to the left, it runs through an infinite number of countries. None could ever yet come to the end of it, or know its utmost extent, tho' some have gone sixty day journey in it (40). Mela gives this forest an immense length; for, according to him, it extended from the Rhine to the country of the ancient Sarmatæ, which is at present a considerable part of Muscovy. In process of time the Hercynian forest was grubbed up, and inhabited by different nations. The Black forest and the forest of Bohemia, were formerly parts of the Hercynian.

(39) *Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 108.*

(40) *Cæsar. comment. l. vi. c. 25.*

The transac-
tions of this
campaign.

the kingdom of *Maroboduus*, to prevent the conjunction of the *Pannonians* and the *Marcomanni*. But in the mean time *Bato* the *Pannonian* laid siege to *Sirmium* (U); and tho' defeated by *Cæcina Severus*, governor of *Mæsia*, had again recruited his army, and obliged *Cæcina* to quit the field. On the other hand, *Bato* the *Dalmatian* laid siege to *Salona* (W), and tho' wounded in the attack of the place, yet marched at the head of his troops to meet *Messalinus*, whom *Tiberius* had detached against him, gave him battle, and put him to the rout. The *Roman* general being obliged in his retreat to pass through certain defiles, was there unexpectedly shut up, and surrounded on all sides by the enemy. However, he found means to make his escape without losing a man, which *Paterculus* magnifies as an exploit worthy of a triumph; but *Dion Cassius* assures us, that *Tiberius* ascribed it wholly to *Bato's* generosity, and that he afterwards acknowledged it as a favour, and rewarded him for it. However that be, the two *Batos* soon after united their forces, and incamping on mount *Almus* in the neighbourhood of *Sirmium*, kept that place blocked up, and laid the country to a great distance under contribution. *Tiberius* detached *Rhymetalces*, a petty king of *Thrace*, against them, who gained indeed some advantages over them, but was not able, tho' joined by *A. Cæcina* governor of *Mæsia*, at the head of a considerable body of *Roman* troops, to dislodge them². At length *Tiberius*, who had hitherto acted only by his lieutenants, marched against them in person; but the enemy, not thinking it adviseable to engage him, upon the news of his approach, abandoned their post, and dividing their numerous forces into several small bodies, retired by different ways into *Macedon*, committing dreadful ravages in all the countries through which they passed. As winter drew near, *Tiberius* did not pursue them; but *Rhymetalces* and his brother *Rasipolis*, at the head of the *Thracian* auxiliaries, followed them close, and coming up with them on the confines of *Macedon*, gave them a great overthrow, and cut many thousand of them in pieces³. These are the exploits of *Tiberius* in this campaign, which *Velleius* magnifies and extols more with the partiality of a panegyrist, than the sincerity of an historian^b. As for *Germanicus*, he did not, it seems, enter *Dalmatia* this year.

Archelaus de-
posed and ba-
nished.

Judea reduced
to a Roman
province.

UPON the approach of winter, *Tiberius*, according to his custom, returned to *Rome*, where *M. Furius Camillus* and *Sextus Nonius Quinctilianus* were soon after raised to the consulate. During their administration, ambassadors came to *Rome*, both from the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, to accuse *Archelaus*, to whom *Augustus* had given the half of his father *Herod's* kingdom under the name of *ethnarchy*, of male-administration, tyranny, and oppression. Hereupon *Archelaus* being called to *Rome* to answer the charge brought against him, and not being able to justify himself before the emperor, he was by him deposed, his goods were confiscated, and he himself banished to *Vienna* in *Gaul*, where he ended his days. *Archelaus* being banished, *Augustus* appointed *Publius Sulpitius Quirinius*, who, according to the *Greek* way of writing that name^c, is by *St. Luke* called *Cyrenius*, to be president of *Syria*, and sent him into the east to seize on the countries over which *Archelaus* had reigned, that is, *Judea*, *Idumea*, and *Samaria*, and reduce them to a *Roman* province. *Coponius*, a *Roman* knight, was sent with him to take upon him the government of them, with the title of procurator of *Judea*. These two arriving at *Jerusalem*, seized all *Archelaus's* effects and treasures, pursuant to the sentence passed against him by *Augustus*, and

² Dio, *ibid.* p. 569—571. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 114, &c. PATERC. *ibid.*

^a Dio, *ibid.*

^b VELL.

^c Vide STRABO, l. xii. p. 569.

(U) *Sirmium*, now *Sirmisch*, was in former times the metropolis of *Pannonia inferior*, and the place which the emperors chose for their residence, when the affairs of the empire called them into those parts. Many laws were published at *Sirmium* by the emperors, which *Jacobus Gothofredus* has with great pains collected. The emperor *Probus* was killed in this city, and *Theodosius*, if we believe *Aurelius Victor*, first saluted emperor by the *Romans* who were here in garison. The emperor *Decius* was born in a village called *Budalia*, or *Bubalia*, in the neighbourhood of this city. *Pliny* places it near the confluence of the *Sarve* and a river which he calls the *Bacuntius* (41).

(W) *Salona*, one of the chief cities of *Illyricum*, stood on the *Adriatic* sea, at a small distance from the present city of *Spalatro*. It became afterwards a *Roman* colony, as appears from several ancient medals and inscriptions, in which it is called sometimes *Colonia Julia*, sometimes *Colonia Martia*, and sometimes *Colonia Claudia Augusta*. It is mentioned by *Lucan* in the following verse:

Qua maris Adriaci longas ferit unda Salonas (42).

Salona was the native city of the emperor *Dioclesian*, who retired hither after he had abdicated the empire.

(41) *Plin.* l. iii. c. 35.

(42) *Lucan.* l. iv. ver. 304;

^a and having in great part abolished the *Jewish* polity, introduced the *Roman* in its stead. *Coponius* took on him, in the name of *Augustus*, the administration, but in subordination to the president of *Syria*, *Judea* being made a part of that province. Thus was the power of life and death taken out of the hands of the *Jews*, and placed wholly in the *Roman* procurator and his subordinate officers. All taxes were thenceforth paid immediately to the *Roman* emperor, and the *Jews* might now say with truth what they were heard to say some years after, *We have no king but Cæsar* ^a. But what disturbances attended this change of government, we have related at length elsewhere ^e. While *Cyrenius* or *Quirinius* was in *Judea*, he deposed the high-priest *Joazar*, the son of *Boethus*, and appointed *Annas*, the son of *Seth*, to succeed him in that office, which he held several years ^f.

^b EARLY in the spring, *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* took the field, the former against the *Pannonians*, and the latter against the *Dalmatians*. We read of no great advantages gained by *Tiberius*; but *Germanicus* obliged the *Dalmatians* to quit the field, and shelter themselves behind the walls of the cities and castles, some of which he besieged and took. We are told, that while he lay before one of their strong-holds, and was ready to abandon the enterprize, on account of the vigorous opposition he met with, a *German*, by name *Pulio*, who served under him, taking up a stone of an enormous size, threw it against the wall with such violence, that one of the battlements fell with the shock, and brought down a soldier, who was leaning against it; which struck the garison with such dread, that they abandoned the city, and retired into the citadel, which soon after submitted. While they were thus pressed by *Germanicus*, a famine, occasioned by the last and this year's ravages, began to rage all over their country, and was attended by various distempers, arising from their feeding on herbs and roots, to which they were not accustomed. In this extremity, *Bato*, the chief of the *Dalmatians*, began to think of submitting; and accordingly sent deputies to treat with *Tiberius*, who received both them and *Bato* himself, when he appeared before him the next day, in a very obliging manner. The *Roman* asked him from his tribunal, *What had induced him to revolt, and persist so long, and with such obstinacy, in his rebellion against Rome?* The *Romans*, answered *Bato* with great intrepidity, *who, instead of shepherds to protect and defend us, send wolves to devour us.* The kind treatment he met with from *Tiberius*, made such an impression upon his mind, that he was easily prevailed upon to turn his arms against his name-sake and ally, whom he defeated; and inhumanly murdered, having persuaded the garison of a castle, to which the unfortunate *Pannonian* had fled after the battle, to betray him into his hands. Upon his death, the greater part of the *Pannonians* submitted; but some still continued in arms, whom *Sylvanus* was charged to reduce, and left for that purpose in *Pannonia*, with a considerable body of *Romans* ^g.

Augustus no sooner heard of the submission of one *Bato* and the death of the other, than he left *Ariminum*, and returned to *Rome*, where great complaints were made to him by the knights, against the law which he had published some years before, concerning unmarried persons and such as had no children. The knights, whose aversion to marriage proceeded from the looseness of their lives, as it generally does, were very pressing with the emperor to get this law abolished. Whereupon *Augustus*, having assembled the whole body of knights, ordered the married and unmarried persons among them to be placed separately; then, observing the former to be much inferior to the latter in number, he first addressed those who had complied with his law, telling them, that they alone had served the ends both of nature and civil society; that mankind was ordained male and female to prevent mortality; that as the species could not subsist without children, so no commonwealth could be supplied either with men for the wars, or for civil employments. He added, that they alone deserved the name of men and of fathers, and as such he praised them, promising to prefer them to such offices as they might transmit to their offspring. To the others he made a quite different speech, telling them, That he knew not by what name to call them; not by that of men, for they had performed nothing that was manly; not by that of citizens, since the city might perish for them; nor by that of *Romans*, for they seemed determined to extirpate the *Roman* race and name; but by what name soever he called them, their crime, he said, equalled all other crimes put together:

for

^d Dio, lv. p. 561. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xvii. c. 85. & de bell. Judaic. l. ii. LIGHTFOOT. in Johann. c. 18. ver. 31. ^e Vide Hist. Univers. Vol. IV. p. 192, & seq. ^f JOSEPH. ibid. l. xviii. c. 3.

^g Dio, l. lvi. 579, 571 VELL. PATRRC. ibid.

Exploits of Germanicus.

The Dalmatians reduced.

Augustus encourages marriage.

His speech to the unmarried knights.

The Papian-
Popæan law.

New troubles
in Dalmatia
and Pannonia.

Germanicus's
troops in great
danger.

for they were guilty of murder in not suffering those to be born, who should proceed from them; of impiety, in abolishing the names and honours of their fathers and ancestors; of sacrilege, in destroying their species and human nature, which owed its original to the gods, and was consecrated to them: that, by leading a single life, they overturned, as far as in them lay, the temples and altars of the gods, dissolved the government by disobeying its laws, betrayed their country by making it barren and waste, and utterly demolished the city by depriving it of inhabitants. He added, that he was well apprised their leading a single life did not proceed from any sentiments of virtue, but from a looseness and wantonness, which ought not to be encouraged nor suffered in any civil government. Having ended his speech, he doubled the rewards and privileges of such as had children, and laid heavy fines on all unmarried persons, allowing them, however, the term of a year, in which space, if they complied with the law, they were to be freed from the penalty. This law obliged all men to marry at a certain age, established great exemptions and privileges to such as had children, and laid heavy fines on all, who, after a certain age, continued single. It was called the *Papian-Popæan* law, because enacted by the consuls *M. Papius Mutilus* and *Q. Popæus Secundus*, to whom the consuls of this year *C. Sulpicius Camerinus* and *C. Poppæus Sabinus* had resigned the fasces, after having held them only six months. It was also called the *Julian* law, as having been published by *Augustus's* order, who was of the *Julian* family. For the further encouragement of marriage, *Augustus* abrogated the *Voconian* law (X), forbidding married women to receive any legacies above a certain sum; yet, that he might not seem to discourage any thing that had the appearance of virtue, he bestowed upon such women as had vowed perpetual virginity the same rewards and privileges as upon mothers ^a.

DURING these transactions at *Rome*, the war broke out anew in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, *Bato*, who had submitted the year before, being the ringleader of the revolt, whether upon some new provocation, or merely from the fickleness of his temper, we know not. *Germanicus*, who had acquired in the last year's war a perfect knowledge of the country, and of the manner of fighting in use among the rebels, was ordered to lead the same legions against them, which he had commanded the year before. He opened the campaign with the siege of *Rætium*, a strong city in *Dalmatia*, where he was in imminent danger of perishing, with the greatest part of his army; for the inhabitants having, after a faint resistance, abandoned the town, and retired into the citadel, *Germanicus*, at the head of his legions, entered the place, with a design to attack the citadel; but while the *Romans* were busy in planting their machines and ladders, they saw themselves all on a sudden surrounded by flames, the inhabi- ^b ^c ^d

(X) Nothing was more common, before the publication of this law, than for men to give excessive legacies to women, and to leave them by will the whole estate of a wealthy family. One of the laws of the twelve tables empowered all citizens to appoint whomsoever they pleased to be their heirs, without regard to sex or relations. This law was attended with inconveniencies; debauchery was increased by it, and it became more easy to debauch a sex, who are not always deaf to their interest. Besides, it was no uncommon thing to see women, who were by legacies become richer than their husbands, insulting them, and behaving themselves in their families with great haughtiness. To remedy this evil, *Q. Voconius*, tribune of the people, drew up a new law, which he at last got passed in the comitia. The chief heads of this law were, 1. Every citizen was forbidden to make any woman whatsoever universal legatee, even an only daughter not excepted. 2. A daughter's fortune, after the death of her father, was to be proportioned to his estate, or to be *pro rata* of what he had left, according to the estimation of prudent men; and generally speaking, the daughter was allowed only one fourth of her father's estate. 3. It was enacted, that all the legacies of the testator should not exceed one half

of his estate (43). This testamentary law had been preceded by another, which *C. Furius*, tribune of the people, had got passed, and which was thence called the *Furian* law. It forbade, according to *Ulpian*, *Pomponius*, and *Justinian*, any *Roman* citizen to leave by legacy above the value of one thousand asses to any one person, and at the same time condemned the legatee to pay four times the sum which was given him above what the law stipulated; so that the *Voconian* law ought to be looked upon as a supplement to this, which was probably grown out of use in the time of *Q. Voconius*. *Cato* the censor made a speech in favour of the *Voconian* law, which he inserted in his book *de originibus*, and which was in being in *Livy's* time. There are some fragments of it still extant in *Aulus Gellius*. *Cicero* fixes the passing of the *Voconian* law to the year of *Rome* 584, when *Quintus Marcius Philippus* and *Cneius Servilius Cæpio* were consuls (44). From that time it continued in force to the reign of *Augustus*, who revoked it in favour of *Livia*, to whom he was resolved, as *Dion Cassius* informs us, to devise by will great part of his estate; but that historian speaks so ambiguously of the *Voconian* law, that he has given the civilians occasion to put different interpretations upon it.

(44) *Cic. de finibus*, & *Verrina* 1. *Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic.* l. xx. c. 10. *Pædian. in Var.* 1. *de senect.*

(43) *Cic.*

a inhabitants having filled their houses with all sorts of combustible materials before they abandoned them, and appointed some resolute persons to set fire to them when the *Romans* were entered. The legionaries, to avoid the fire, crowded round the citadel, which stood at some distance from the houses; but, by avoiding one kind of death, they met with another; for the besieged plyed them with such showers of darts, arrows, and stones from the citadel, that the ground was in an instant covered with heaps of dead bodies. In this extremity the *Romans* attempted to scale the fortrefs; but met with such a vigorous resistance as quite disheartened them. Nothing therefore now remained but to attempt a retreat through the flames, and this they effected, but with great loss, many of them being crushed by the ruins of the
b houses, suffocated by the smoke, or destroyed by the fire, which with great violence flamed out of the houses on either side the street through which they passed. In the night the besieged abandoned the fortrefs, which began to take fire, and concealed themselves in the neighbouring woods. Hereupon *Germanicus*, having waited till both the city and citadel were reduced to ashes, led his legions against *Sertium*, another city of great importance in the same country, which he invested, and reduced in a short time, tho' *Tiberius* had in vain attempted the reduction of it the year before. Being encouraged with this success, and no enemy appearing in the field, he divided his army into several bodies, and laying siege to different places at the same time, made himself master of most of their strong-holds. But, in the mean time, *Augustus*, impatient to see this war ended, ordered *Tiberius* to march likewise into *Dalmatia*, and hasten the final reduction of that country. *Tiberius*, without losing time in besieging and taking cities, went in search of *Bato*, who had under his command a considerable body of *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians*; and having met him in the neighbourhood of *Anderium* or *Andetrium* (Y), a strong castle, situated on a steep and inaccessible rock, offered him battle; but *Bato* declining an engagement, retired into the castle, and posted his troops on the tops of the neighbouring mountains, where he thought the enemy would scarce venture to attack them. *Tiberius* boldly advanced through the narrow passages among the mountains to the foot of the rock on which *Andetrium* stood, with a design to besiege it; but was greatly alarmed, when he saw himself all on a sudden surrounded by the enemy, who, descending from the mountains, had seized on the defiles, and by that means cut off his retreat. He expected to find at *Andetrium* the *Caudine Forks*; and truly he must have inevitably perished with his whole army, had the *Dalmatians* shewed as much bravery and resolution as the *Samnites* did on the like occasion; but while *Tiberius* gave all up for lost, as not being able either to retire or advance, the cowardly *Dalmatians*, seized with a panic, abandoned their posts, and, retreating in disorder to the tops of their mountains, left all the avenues open to the *Roman* general, who thereupon advancing without opposition to the foot of the rock on which the castle stood, summoned it to surrender. *Bato*, finding he could not depend upon his men, hearkened to the offers made him, and leaving the castle in the night, delivered himself up to *Tiberius*, who received him with great demonstrations of kindness, and allowed him to retire to what part of the world he pleased, after he had solemnly promised never to bear arms against the *Romans*. But the garison of *Andetrium* still held out, and the place was not taken but after repeated assaults, in which great numbers of the *Romans* lost their lives. At length they capitulated, and surrendered upon honourable terms, which *Tiberius* religiously observedⁱ. At the same time, *Germanicus* made himself master of *Arduba*, a town no-ways inferior in strength to *Andetrium*, and defended by as numerous a garison; but the reduction of that important place was more owing
to

He reduces several cities.

The siege of Andetrium by Tiberius.

Bato submits.

Arduba taken by Germanicus.

ⁱ Idem ibid. p. 578---581.

(Y) This city is called by *Ptolemy* *Andecrium*, by *Dion Cassius* *Anderium*, but that its true name was *Andetrium*, is manifest from the following inscription to be seen in *Spon*:

Item viam Gabiniam
Ab Salonis Andetrium aperuit
et munit per Leg. vii. (45)

Pliny likewise calls it *Andecrium* (46); but *Strabo*, which rendered it almost inaccessible (47). It is now known by the name of *Cliffa* (48). It stood on a steep rock, and was surrounded on all sides by deep vallies and torrents,

(45) Vide *Spon. misc. erud. antiq.* p. 179.

(46) *Plin. l. iii. c. 22.*

(47) *Dio, l. lvi. p. 579.*

(48) *Spon. in itiner. l. ii. p. 82.*

to the disagreement which reigned among the inhabitants, than to the valour of the *Romans*; for the greater part of the citizens being for surrendering and submitting to the yoke, the women, more fond of their ancient laws and liberties than the men, joined some *Roman* deserters, and falling upon their husbands, made a great slaughter of them. But the men prevailing at length submitted, and the unhappy women, disdaining to outlive the loss of their liberty, either threw themselves headlong from the walls, or setting fire to their houses, consumed themselves and their children in the flames. After this the two *Roman* generals uniting their forces, overran all *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, restoring every-where peace and tranquillity, and obliging the inhabitants to deliver up their arms, and return to their former employments. The war being thus ended, to the great satisfaction of *Augustus*, *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* returned to *Rome*, where they were decreed triumphal honours, and two triumphal arches, which by a decree of the senate were to be erected in *Pannonia*, and adorned with magnificent trophies. The title of emperor was conferred on *Augustus*, and *Germanicus* was allowed to stand for the consulate before he attained the age required in other candidates. and to vote in the senate before the senators of consular dignity. As for *Tiberius*, it was decreed, that his son *Drusus*, though he had no share in the war, should be admitted into the senate, and deliver his opinion, after he had executed the office of quæstor, before those who had been prætors. The lieutenants both of *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* were rewarded with prætorian honours, that is, were allowed all those honours and privileges which those enjoyed who had been prætors^k.

BUT the joy, which the total reduction of *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* occasioned in *Rome*, was allayed and changed into the deepest melancholy by the dismal news of the intire defeat of *Quintilius Varus* by the *Germans* under the conduct of *Arminius*, which was brought to *Rome* five days after the arrival of *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*. *Quintilius Varus* was born, as *Velleius Paterculus* expresses it, rather of an illustrious than a noble family, had governed *Syria*, and been removed from thence into *Germany* to keep those countries in awe, which had been lately subdued by the *Romans*. When he first entered *Syria*, he found that province rich, says *Velleius*, and was himself poor; but when he came away, he was rich, and the province poor. In *Germany* he pursued the same methods of filling his coffers as in *Syria*, loading the people with heavy taxes, and selling without distinction to the natives those employments which his predecessors used freely to bestow on such as were nobly born, or had signalized their attachment to the *Romans*. The *Germans* before the arrival of *Varus* had begun to bear the yoke with less reluctance; they had quitted their forests, built some cities, where they lived in a sociable manner, under the protection of the *Roman* laws, and, forgetting their native savageness, had for some time applied themselves to the peaceable arts of husbandry. But the extortions and rapines of the new governor revived in that warlike nation their ancient love of liberty, estranged their minds from *Rome*, and inspired them with an eager desire of shaking off a yoke which they could no longer bear. Among the *Germans* was a young nobleman of extraordinary parts, of uncommon penetration, and great valour, named *Arminius*. He was the son of *Sigismer*, one of the most powerful lords of the *Catti*, had served with great reputation in the *Roman* armies, and been honoured by *Augustus* with the privileges of a *Roman* citizen and the title of knight. But the love he had for his country getting the better of his gratitude, he resolved to improve the general discontent which reigned in the nation, to the advantage of his countrymen, and deliver them from the bondage of a foreign yoke. With this view he engaged underhand, by means of his friends and emissaries, in a conspiracy against the *Romans*, the chief lords and leading men of all the nations between the *Rhine* and the *Elb*; and then, to draw *Varus* from the neighbourhood of the former river, where he might with great ease and quickness receive succours from *Gaul*, he suggested to him the necessity of shewing himself to the inhabitants of the more distant provinces, of administering justice among them, and accustoming them by his example to live after the *Roman* manner, which, he said, would more effectually render them obedient to *Rome*, than the *Roman* sword. As *Varus* was a man of a peaceable temper, indolent, and a great lover of his ease, he readily came into the proposal of the crafty *Arminius*, and, quitting the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, marched into the country of the *Cherusci*. There he made it his whole business to civilize the barbarians, by introducing

^k DIO, VELL. PATERCUL. ibid.

The war ended

Honours decreed to Tiberius and Germanicus.

Quintilius Varus provokes the Germans by his extortions.

Arminius stirs up the Germans against the Romans.

His treachery.

a introducing among them the *Roman* laws and manners. He was continually employed in hearing causes, and deciding civil controversies; inasmuch, that his tent looked more like the tribunal of a prætor, than the prætorium of a general. And indeed this was a more suitable employment to the genius of *Varus*, than military expeditions; not that he wanted courage, but because he loved his ease, and thought he could better tame the barbarians by acting the law-giver than the general. In the mean time, the conspiracy being ripe for execution, and the *Germans* ready to rise upon the first notice, *Arminius*, under pretence of clearing the high-ways of robbers, and keeping some places in awe, as if they designed to revolt, persuaded *Varus* to send out several detachments, by which means his army being weakened, some distant

b nations in *Germany* rose up in arms, by *Arminius*'s directions, while those, through which he was to pass in marching against them, pretended to be in a state of profound tranquility, and ready to join the *Romans* against their rebellious countrymen. *Varus* upon the first news of the revolt, marched with three legions, a considerable body of horse, and six cohorts, to reduce the rebels, being attended by *Arminius* and his father *Sigimer*, who taking upon them to be his guides, led him into a thick forest, surrounded on all sides with steep hills and marshy grounds. There while the legionaries were busy in cutting down trees to open themselves a passage through the forest, and no-ways upon their guard, as not suspecting any treachery, a great body of *Germans* appeared unexpectedly, and discharging upon them a shower of

c darts, killed a great number of them, before they could rally and put themselves in a posture of defence. However, they formed themselves at last in order of battle, so far as the ground would allow; but a heavy rain falling, which rendered their arms almost quite useless, and the barbarians pouring in upon them hourly in vast crowds, they attempted to retire to a neighbouring valley; but finding all the avenues beset with numerous bodies of the enemy, they were forced to continue all that night, and the next day, exposed to the darts and arrows which the barbarians incessantly showered upon them. In this extremity *Varus*, giving up all for lost, and being dangerously wounded, put an end to his life with his own sword, following therein the example of

d his father and grandfather, who had both fallen by their own hands, the former after the battle of *Philippi*, and the latter after that of *Pharsalia*, or, as some writers will have it, after the defeat of *Domitius* in *Africa*. Most of the chief officers scorning to outlive their general, or to be made prisoners by the barbarians, laid violent hands on themselves. The greatest part of the cavalry opened themselves a way through the enemy sword in hand, and made their escape; with them *Vala Numonius*, one of *Varus*'s lieutenants, abandoning the foot, which he commanded, arrived safe at the *Rhine*, where he soon after perished as a deserter, but of what kind of death our author has not thought fit to acquaint us. *Cesonius*, another of *Varus*'s lieutenants, after the retreat of the cavalry, and the death of *Varus* and most of the other officers, was for surrendering at discretion. But this motion cost him dear; for he

e was immediately tried as a coward by the surviving officers, sentenced to death, and executed; to such a degree were cowards abhorred in the *Roman* armies. And now a very small number of the legionaries, and scarce any officers, being left alive, the enemy abandoned them as it grew dark, and fell upon the baggage. In the mean time, the *Roman* trumpets sounding, probably to call those together who were dispersed up and down the forest, the barbarians imagined, that *Asprenas*, who was quartered at a small distance from that neighbourhood, was come to the assistance of his countrymen; and therefore after having plundered the baggage, they retired in the night, and gave the few legionaries, who outlived that fatal day, an opportunity of saving themselves by flight. Thus were three complete legions and six cohorts almost

f intirely cut off, the greatest overthrow, if *Velleius* is to be credited, the *Romans* had received ever since the defeat of *Crassus* by the *Parthians*¹. The legions that perished on this occasion were the best of the whole empire for valour, discipline, and experience; so that the news of this loss threw the city into the utmost consternation, there being few families there that had not a share in the common misfortune. As for *Augustus*, he set no bounds to his grief, but upon the first news of so dreadful and unexpected an overthrow, he tore his garment, and, like one beside himself, knocked his head against the wall, crying out, *Restore the legions*, *Varus*. This he was observed to do in the transports of his grief for several months, letting in the mean time his hair

Varus and his legions surprised and surrounded.

Varus and most of the officers lay violent hands on themselves.

Most of the legionaries cut in pieces.

Year after the flood 2010.

After Christ

11. Of Rome 759.

The concern of Augustus for this overthrow.

¹ DIO, p. 582—585. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 117. TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 62. VOL. V.

hair and beard grow, and abandoning himself intirely to grief and sorrow. However, he did not forget to provide with all possible care for the safety of *Rome* and *Italy*: he placed guards in all the quarters of the city, to prevent tumults and disturbances; he raised new levies, obliging all the *Roman* youth, who were able to bear arms, to list themselves, confiscating the estates of such as refused to give in their names, and even threatening the most refractory with death: he vowed the great games to *Jupiter*, as had been formerly done in the wars with the *Marfi* and *Cimbri*: in short, *Augustus* never forgot this fatal day, but observed it the remaining part of his life as a day of mourning. Some time after the news of this misfortune had reached *Rome*, the head of *Quintilius Varus* was sent to *Augustus* by *Maroboduus* king of the *Marcomanni*; but what induced him to make that present to the emperor, history does not inform us. From his having the head of the deceased general, it was concluded at *Rome*, that he had contributed to his destruction. However that be, the emperor, though he had great reason to be displeased with *Varus*, received his remains with great respect, and caused them to be honourably interred in the tomb of his ancestors^m. *Dion* tells us, that when news of this defeat was first brought to *Rome*, no-body doubted there, but the *Germans* after so complete a victory would pass the *Rhine*, and invade at the same time *Gaul* and *Italy*; but that the fear and consternation which had seized the city were much abated, when they understood, that *Lucius Asprenas*, nephew to *Varus*, guarded the banks of the *Rhine*, and that the barbarians, satisfied with the advantages they had gained, neglected to improve them. However, as the emperor ascribed this fatal overthrow to the anger of the gods, and gave credit to several pretended prodigies (Z), which were related to him, his fears were not quite removed till the ensuing year, when *Tiberius*, after the election of the new consuls, *P. Cornelius Dolabella* and *C. Junius Silanus*, leaving *Rome*, passed the *Alps*, and entering *Germany*, obliged the rebels, though elated with their late success, to retire from the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, and lay aside all thoughts of raising disturbances in *Gaul*. *Velleius Paterculus* tell us, that he overran great part of the country, that he forced *Arminius* to fly before him, that he penetrated into the countries of the *Catti* and *Cherusci*, which he laid waste with fire and sword, and in short, that he fully revenged the death of *Varus*, and the slaughter of his legionsⁿ. But whatever that biassed historian may write in commendation of *Tiberius*, *Dion Cassius* assures us, that he never attempted to bring back to their duty any of the revolted nations, but kept his troops in the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*, not daring to stir from that river for fear of some surprize. In the latter end of the year, he celebrated the birth-day of *Augustus* in his camp with public games, and then returned to *Rome*^o.

The head of
Varus sent to
Rome.

Tiberius sent
into Germany.

The poet Ovid
banished.

THIS year the ingenious and celebrated poet *Ovid* was banished to *Tomos* (A), for seeing some lewd and scandalous action of *Augustus*, who had not even in his old age renounced

^m DIO, *ibid.* SÜET. in Octav. p. 182.

ⁿ VELL. PATERCUL. *ibid.*

^o DIO, *ibid.* 586.

(Z) The temple of *Mars* was struck with lightning: a swarm of grasshoppers appeared over the city, and were dispersed by the swallows: great rocks fell from the top of the *Alps*, and fire was seen to issue out of the ground in various places: a statue of *Victory* on the confines of *Germany*, with its face towards that country, changed its posture, and turned its face towards *Italy*. These pretended prodigies gave the old emperor great uneasiness, which was not removed till the next year, when *Tiberius* entered *Germany* at the head of a numerous army.

(A) *Tomos*, *Tomi*, or *Tomis*, stood on the *Euxine* sea, and was the metropolis of *Lower Mæsia*: for *Mæsia* extended from the confluence of the *Save* and the *Danube* to the *Euxine* sea, being bounded to the south by the mountains of *Dalmatia*, and to the north by mount *Hæmus*; and was divided into the *Upper* and *Lower Mæsia*; the former contained all the country that lies between the *Ciabus*, now the *Moravia*, and the conflux of the *Danube* and the *Save*, and the lat-

ter the rest of the country to the *Euxine* sea; so that the *Upper Mæsia* comprehended part of *Bosnia* and *Serbia*, and the *Lower Bulgaria*. The ancients comprised under the name of *Pontus* that part of *Lower Mæsia* which bordered on the *Pontus Euxinus*; and hence the city of *Tomi* is by them called a city of *Pontus*, though it did not belong to the kingdom of *Pontus* properly so called, which we have elsewhere described at length (49). The ancient city of *Tomos* is at present, according to *Niger*, called *Constantia*; according to *Cælius Calcagnius*, *Tomiswar*; according to *Giosanius*, *Kiow* or *Kiovia*, there being in the neighbourhood of this last city a lake called by the inhabitants *Ovidiue jezero*, that is, *Ovid's lake*. Whence it was called *Tomos*, is well known from the following distich out of *Ovid*:

*Inde Tomos dictus locus hic, quia fertur in illo
Membra soror fratris consecuisse sui* (50).

The poet speaks of *Medea*.

(49) *Vide Histor. Univers. Vol. III. p. 720.*

(50) *Ovid. Trist. l. iii. eleg. 9.*

a renounced the vices of his youth. That this was the true cause of his disgrace and misfortune, the poet himself tells us in express terms: *Why did I see, says he, what I ought not to have seen? Why did I make my eyes criminal??* (B) Fear restrained him, as is evident, from explaining himself any farther, and letting his readers into the particulars of this mystery (C). The pretence *Augustus* made use of for banishing him was, the poisonous books he had wrote of the *art of love*, whence *Sidonius Apollinaris* and others ascribe his disgrace to the lewdness of his muse, as he does himself in several places of his works out of complaisance to *Augustus*, and to prevent any farther inquiries. But it is very certain, that he was in high favour with *Augustus* long after he had published his books of *love*; for which we cannot persuade ourselves, that the emperor would have inflicted so severe a punishment on the poet, after
b he had written himself verses of that nature, some of which have reached our times, and are more scandalous than any we read in *Ovid*. As for *Julia*, *Augustus's* daughter, she had been many years in banishment before *Ovid's* misfortune, and all the accomplices of her debaucheries punished with the utmost severity. But whatever was the true cause of his disgrace and banishment, he was confined to an inhospitable climate, and there lived, or rather pined, to the hour of his death, without ever being able to prevail upon the emperor, either by his friends, or his affecting letters, to mitigate the rigour of the first sentence by removing him to a more friendly climate (D).

THE

P OVID. Trist. l. ii. ad August.

(B) His words are ;

*Cur aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?
Cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi?*

(C) *Augustus*, though stricken in years, had not yet renounced the vices of his youth, but carried on an amour with a lady of great distinction, whose name has not been transmitted to us. The lady's husband, either out of fear or complaisance, pretended for a long time to be quite unacquainted with the whole affair; but at length the scandal becoming publick, he grew very uneasy, and imparted his concern, and the cause of it, to one *Athenodorus*, who had been preceptor to *Tiberius*, and was in great favour with *Augustus*. Not long after *Augustus* sent a covered litter for the lady, and *Athenodorus*, who happened to be with the husband when the messenger arrived, in order to deter *Augustus* from such scandalous practices, and warn him of the danger, to which they exposed him, disguised himself in the lady's dress, and covering his face, placed himself in the litter, and was conveyed in that attire to the emperor's apartment, who was no less frightened than surprized to see, instead of the lady, whom he impatiently expected, a man with a drawn sword in his hand start out of the litter; but *Athenodorus*, discovering himself in that instant, *You see*, said he, *to what dangers your unseasonable passion exposes you; an enemy instead of a friend might have laid hold of this opportunity to deprive the republic of so gracious a prince.* *Augustus* took his advice in good part, and returned him thanks; but whether he reformed his conduct we know not (51). Some writers conjecture, that to this adventure was owing *Ovid's* misfortune, who, as he had free access to the emperor, might have been an eye-witness of his fright and surprize; a conjecture which we dare neither warrant or reject.

(D) *Ovid* was born in the consulship of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, as he himself attests, and consequently was fifty complete when he was banished. This he designed to tell us in the following lines:

*Postque meus ortus Pisæa vinculus olivæ,
Abstulerat decies præmia victor æges;
Cum maris Euxini positos ad litora Tantis
Quærere me læsæ principis ira jubes.* (52)

(51) Zonar. l. x. sub. fin.
(54) Idem, l. vi. ibid. eleg. 7.

(52) Ovid. Trist. l. ii. eleg. prima.
(55) Eleg. 12.

(56) Idem Trist. l. ii. eleg. 12.
(57) Idem simul.

That is, as he expresses himself better in his book, *In Iben*, which he wrote on his first going to *Tenens* against his accusers;

Tempus ad hoc lustris mihi jam bis quinque peractis.

For by no small mistake he frequently confounds the olympiads, which contained the space of four years, with the Roman lustra, containing the space of five. Had he lived but ten olympiads, he had been only forty, but ten lustra make him fifty. In his third book *Tristium*, he tells us, that he had passed his first winter in *Pontus*, that is, the first year of his banishment; for he had spent the former winter in his journey:

*Frigora jam nephyri circumant; æquæque peractis,
Longior antiquis celsa libenti lustris
Imposuamque sibi quæ non bene vertitur hæc,
Tempora nocturnis æquæ thærea jactis.*

In the fifth book he speaks of the second year of his banishment:

*Ut patria caris, his frangere vix tota potest
Discessit tunc præteritæ vix ante patris.* (53)

In his fifth book he mentions the beginning of his third winter in *Pontus*:

*Ut jam in Pontus, his frangere vix tota potest
Fecit et Euxini hæc ante patris.* (54)

In his first book of *Pontus* he takes notice of the fourth winter he lived in exile in the following lines:

*Hic me peragunt anni, frigora, circumant,
Cæquæ me jactis, quæque fatigant hæc.* (55)

The fifth elegy of the fourth book of *Pontus* is addressed to *Lucius Pungentius*, who with *Lucius Aspilius* was consul the year *Augustus* died, and in the first of the same book, ascribed to *Brutus*, he mentions the death of *Augustus*, and also of *Fabius Maximus*, who died, as is plain from *Varro* (56), in the last year of *Tiberius's* reign, at which time the

Several laws
published by
Augustus.

THE next year, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *T. Statilius Taurus* being consuls, *Augustus* published an edict, forbidding all augurs, astrologers, and fortune-tellers, to utter, either in private or in public, predictions concerning the death of any person whatsoever; not that he was under any apprehension himself, says our historian, for he had caused his nativity to be calculated, and publicly exposed, but on account of the disturbances which these impostors had occasioned in some noble families. He likewise revived the edict forbidding any of the equestrian order to fight in the arena, threatening such as should dare to transgress it, with infamy, the confiscation of their estates, and death itself. He extended his care to the distant provinces, ordering, that no publick honours should be bestowed on the governors sent thither, during the time of their administration, nor within sixty days after their departure. The haughty and imperious airs which some proconsuls and proprætors had assumed, gave rise to this edict, the emperor judging that the extraordinary honours, which were often conferred upon them, inspired them with pride, and made them look upon those, over whom they were placed, with an eye of contempt. As there were this year sixteen persons of distinction who stood for the prætorship, *Augustus*, unwilling to disgust any of the candidates, named them all to that dignity, but the next year reduced their number again to twelve. He raised *Drusus*, the son of *Tiberius* by his first wife *Vipsania Agrippina*, to the quæstorship, though he had not yet attained the age required for the discharge of that employment, and named *Germanicus* consul for the ensuing year ^p. After this he sent both *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* into Germany at the head of two very numerous armies, but, during the whole campaign, they did nothing which historians have thought worth recording: they passed the summer on, or near, the banks of the *Rhine*, contenting themselves to keep the *Germans* in awe at a distance, and to prevent them from invading *Gaul*. About the middle of the autumn, they repassed the *Alps*, and returned to the capital, without having so much as attempted the reduction of the provinces, which had shaken off the yoke, and brought so dreadful a calamity upon *Rome*. Upon their return *Augustus* honoured *Tiberius*, for what exploits we know not, with a triumph, which he had formerly refused him, when he had a far better claim to it ^q.

Tiberius and Germanicus sent into Germany.

Tiberius triumphs.

Is assumed by Augustus for his colleague in the sovereign power.

AND now *Augustus*, not being able, on account of his great age, to bear the whole burden of public affairs, assumed *Tiberius*, we may say, for his colleague in the sovereign power, investing him with a far more ample and extensive authority, than he had ever granted to his son-in-law and faithful minister *Agrippa*. The decree which the conscript fathers passed, at the emperor's request, in favour of *Tiberius*, was couched in the following terms: *At the request of the people of Rome we grant to Caius Julius Cæsar Tiberius the same authority over the provinces, and all the armies of the Roman state, which Augustus has held, which he still retains, and which we pray the gods he may long enjoy* ^r. This decree, which put *Tiberius*, in a manner, upon the level with *Augustus*, was proposed, according to *Suetonius*, by the consuls ^s, no doubt at the request, or rather by the command, of *Augustus*. The next year, *Germanicus Cæsar* and *Fonteius Capito* being consuls, *Augustus*, by a special edict, declared the authors of all lampoons, and satirical writings, attacking or blackening the reputation of any person whatsoever, guilty of high treason, and punishable with death. In the times of

^p DIO. *ibid.* p. 586.

^q SUT. DIO. *ibid.*

Tiber. & TACIT. *annal.* l. i. c. 3.

^r VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 121.

^s SUT. in

the poet had passed the fifth year of his banishment, and was then in the sixth, as appears from the following verses;

*In Scythia nobis quinquennis Olympias æta est,
Jam tempus lustrî transit in alterius.*

The sixth year he mentions also in the beginning of the tenth elegy to *Albinovanus*;

*Hæc mihi Cimmerico bis tertia ducitur ætas
Littore, pellitos inter agenda Getas.*

And in the thirteenth to *Carus*:

— *sed me jam, Care, nivali,
Sexta relegatum bruma sub axe videt.*

In the same elegy he speaks of a poem, written by him on the apotheosis of *Augustus* in the language of the *Getæ*;

*Ab! pudet, & Getico scripsi sermone libellum,
Struellaque sunt nostris barbara verba modis.
Et placui, gratare mihi, cæpique poetæ
Inter inhumanos nomen habere Getas.*

He died in the seventh, or, as others will have it, in the eighth, year of his banishment, and was buried near the city of *Tomos* (58).

of the republic actions indeed were punished; says *Tacitus*, but words were free; *Augustus* was the first who brought libels under the penalties of the law of majesty, *Libels brought or of treason*^t. By the same edict, the ædiles in the city, and the governors in the colonies and municipia were strictly enjoined to make a diligent search after all libels under the laws of majesty, and lampoons, to commit them to the flames; and to proceed with the utmost rigor against the authors of them. This put a stop to the liberty or rather licentiousness of the libellers, but was attended by most dreadful consequences under the succeeding emperors, who abused this wrested law to the destruction of many innocent persons, whom on other accounts they disliked. Towards the end of this year, *Augustus* wrote two letters, one to the senate, recommending *Germanicus* to the conscript fathers, *Augustus recommends the senate to Tiberius, and Germanicus, to the senate* and another to *Tiberius*, recommending the senate to him, which was generally looked upon as an open declaration on the part of *Augustus*, that he designed to leave the same authority to *Tiberius* over the senate, which he himself had enjoyed, but would have all others, those of his own family not accepted, to pay an intire obedience to that venerable body. In his letter to the senate he begged the fathers not to be at the trouble for the future of waiting upon him, according to their custom, at his house, adding, that he hoped they would dispense with him for not attending in the senate-house as formerly, such an attendance being very inconvenient to him by reason of his age; he desired they would appoint him twenty counsellors out of their body, with whom he might advise in matters of importance relating to the state; the senate readily granted him his request, and moreover decreed, that whatever he should resolve upon with the twenty senators assigned him, the consuls for the year, the consuls elect, and his adopted son and nephew, should have the same force as if voted and passed in the senate^u. The following year, when *C. Silius* and *L. Munacius Plancus* were consuls, the fourth term of his ten years being near ended, he accepted, though much against his will, says *Dion Cassius*, of the government of the republic for ten years longer; and at the same time renewed the tribunitial power in favour of *Tiberius* for the like space of years^w. As for *Drusus*, the son of *Tiberius*, he empowered him to stand for the consulate after two years, though he had not yet discharged the office of prætor; but as both he and *Germanicus* had places in the senate, and it was natural to suppose that their sentiments were those of *Augustus*, which none of the conscript fathers would dare to contradict, he ordered them not to vote, or any ways declare their opinion, in such matters as were debated by the conscript fathers. *Augustus* having thus settled matters at home, and made his will, which he delivered to the vestal virgins, resolved once more to attempt the reduction of *Germany*, and the revenging of the death of *Varus*, and the loss of his legions. With this view he raised two numerous armies, the one to be commanded by *Tiberius*, and the other by *Germanicus*. The latter was ordered to march this very year into *Gaul*, and from thence to invade the countries, which at the instigation of *Arminius* had withdrawn their obedience to *Rome*. As for *Tiberius*, he was appointed to lead his army into *Illyricum*, and penetrate on that side into the kingdom of *Maroboduus*, which the *Romans* had not yet subdued. *Augustus* however kept him at *Rome* all this, and part of the following year, when *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius* were raised to the consulate: the former was grandson to the famous *Sextus Pompeius*, whose war with *Augustus* we have described in this volume: his colleague *Apuleius* was one of *Augustus*'s chief favourites, and is said to have prevailed upon him to change the sentence of death, which he first pronounced against *Ovid*, into that of perpetual banishment. During their administration, *Augustus*, taking *Tiberius* for his colleague in the censorship, made a third census, by which it appeared, that the number of the *Roman* people amounted to four millions one hundred and thirty-seven thousand, counting women and children as well as men^x. *Eusebius* makes the number of *Roman* citizens amount to 9370000, counting probably those who lived both at *Rome*, and in the provinces^y. While the ceremony was performing in the field of *Mars*, an eagle was observed to fly several times round *Augustus*, and then light on a neighbouring temple over the first letter of *Agrippa*'s name. This was looked upon not only by the multitude, but by *Augustus* himself, as an omen of his approaching end. He therefore ordered his colleague *Tiberius* to make the vows which were usual at the time of the census, for the safety of the *Roman* state, and the prosperity of the citizens, saying, that he would not make vows which he should not live to perform^z. He was confirmed

Renews his term of ten years the fifth time.

Sends Germanicus into Germany.

Makes a third census.

Prodigies presaging his death.

^t *TACIT.* annal. l. i. ^u *DIO.* ibid. p. 588. ^w *Idem* ibid. ^x *SUET.* l. ii. c. 97. *GRUTER.* inscript. p. 230. ^y *EUSEB.* in Chron. ^z *SUET.* ibid.

firm'd in this opinion by several other prodigies : the first letter of his name in an inscription on the pedestal of one of his statues was struck off with lightning, and the soothsayers, who were consulted on that occasion, declared, that he had only a hundred days to live, the letter C standing for that number among the *Latins* ; they added, that after his death he would be ranked among the gods, the word *Cæsar*, which was the remaining part of his name, signifying a god in the *Hetruscan* language. To these two omens *Dion Cassius* adds a third, which in his opinion plainly presaged his imminent death. It had been customary ever since the death of *Julius Cæsar*, to place his chair with a crown upon it at the public sports. In this chair *Augustus* used to sit, when he assisted at the shews ; but it happening to be empty while the sports were exhibiting this year in honour of *Augustus*, a fool placed himself in it, and taking up the crown, put it upon his head ; and hence it was concluded, that the sovereign power, signified by the crown, would soon pass into other hands^b. In the mean time, *Augustus* wrote a short account of the chief actions of his life, which he caused to be engraved on brass, and placed over his tomb^c. Great part of this valuable monument has been transmitted to us in the *Marmor Ancyranum*, and is to be seen in the inscriptions of the learned *Gruter*^d.

The Romans lay aside all thoughts of attempting the recovery of their liberty.

As *Augustus* visibly declined every day both in his health and strength, so that no body could doubt but his end was at hand, some few there were who began to talk of restoring the republic to its former liberty ; but far the greater part, dreading a civil war, were for tamely submitting to the person, whom *Augustus* should think fit to place over them. All the zealous republicans had been slain in the battles of *Philippi* and *Actium* ; their posterity had been long inured to the yoke, there being scarce any living now who had beheld the old free state, and as for the *Roman* people, they were become a mere mob, addicted to idleness, void of all sentiments of honour or virtue, without any traces of the ancient *Roman* spirit, or any attachment to the virtuous institutions of their ancestors. The zealous republicans therefore, who were very few, despairing of success, and laying aside all hopes of ever seeing the ancient free state restored, resolved to submit to the heir and successor whom *Augustus* should name, and bear with patience the evils which it was not in their power to prevent or redress^e.

Augustus goes to Naples.

AND now it being high time for *Tiberius* to leave *Rome*, and set out for *Illyricum*, *Augustus*, to the great surprize of the whole city, declared his intention of accompanying him as far as *Beneventum*, and pursuing his journey from thence to *Naples* in *Campania*, in order to assist at the solemn sports which were to be exhibited there on his approaching birth-day. As he found his strength decaying apace, he promised himself no small benefit from the wholesome air of *Campania*, especially of *Naples*, whither many *Romans* used to resort, even in those days, for the recovery of their health ; and this was, as is supposed, the true motive of this sudden and unexpected resolution, though he did not think fit to own it. He performed the journey with uncommon chearfulness and alacrity, being attended by his beloved *Livia*, who, as we may well imagine, was very assiduous about him in so critical a juncture. At *Beneventum* he parted with *Tiberius*, and pursued his journey to *Naples*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy. After he had spent some time at *Naples* very agreeably, and assisted there at the public sports, he was seized with a diarrhoea, a dangerous distemper in a person of his years. He therefore resolved, before his strength failed him, to return to *Rome*, and accordingly, leaving *Naples*, set out for his capital ; but his illness increasing in spite of all the remedies prescribed him by the physicians who attended him, he was obliged to stop at *Nola* in *Campania*, and there betake himself to his bed. In the mean time, *Livia*, well apprised that his end was at hand, dispatched messenger after messenger to *Tiberius*, acquainting him with the state of the emperor's health, and pressing him to return with all possible expedition. *Tiberius*, upon the receipt of his mother's letters, immediately left *Illyricum*, and flew to *Nola*, not with any private views, says *Velleius*, but merely out of the great tenderness and filial affection he had for *Augustus*, whom he found alive, if that author is to be credited, and had long conferences with him ; in one of which, the dying emperor, after having publicly declared him his successor in the sovereign power, desired him to maintain all his acts in their full vigor, and to pursue the same methods of governments which he had used^f. But *Tacitus* tells us, that

Is taken ill on his return.

Tiberius sent for by Livia.

^a Idem ibid. Dio, l. vi. p. 589.
^d GRUTER. inscript. p. 220.

^b Dio, ibid.
^e TACIT. annal. l. i.

^c SUET. l. ii. cap. ult. Dio, p. 591.
^f VELL. PATERCU. l. ii. c. 128.

a that it was never well known, whether *Tiberius* on his arrival at *Nola* found the emperor dead, or still alive, *Livia* having carefully beset the palace, and all the avenues to it, with detachments of the guards, and given out from time to time good news of the emperor's recovery. He adds, that when she had taken all necessary measures in so nice a juncture, in one and the same moment were published the death of *Augustus*, and accession of *Tiberius* ^g. But to return to *Augustus*; finding his end approaching, he looked death in the face with greater intrepidity than was expected from one who had ever carefully avoided it in the field. He discoursed very cheerfully with his intimate friends and chief favourites, giving them many wise and useful instructions relating to the management of their private affairs, and those of the public. In speaking of his own actions, he told them, that *he had found Rome of brick, but left it of marble*, alluding by this expression, says *Dion Cassius*, not so much to the beauty and stateliness of the buildings, as to the majesty, grandeur, and firmness of the empire. And now finding his strength quite failed him, he called for a looking-glass, and having caused his hair to be set in order, and his wrinkled cheeks to be smoothed, as was customary among the stage-players, he asked his friends with a languishing voice, *Whether he had acted his part well?* and they answering, *he had*; *Then clap me*, said he, *for I have ended my part*. After this fixing his eyes on *Livia*, who held him in her arms, he desired her to remember their marriage, and the ties which had kept their hearts so long united, and then quietly expired ^h. Thus died the celebrated *Augustus* on the nineteenth of *August*, which month was so named from him, the same day on which he had entered upon his first consulship. He had lived seventy-five years, ten months, and twenty-six days, and reigned from his first consulship fifty-six years, but from the battle of *Actium* only forty-three. *Tacitus* and *Dion Cassius* observe one very remarkable circumstance of his death; for he died in the same town, as these two writers tell us, in the same house, and in the same chamber, where his father *Octavius* died ⁱ. *Livia* was suspected of having hastened the emperor's death, fearing he might be reconciled on his return to *Rome* with his grandson *Agrippa Posthumus*, whom he had privately visited some months before, sailing over to the island of *Planasia* with *Fabius Maximus* alone, without the privity of *Livia*, *Tiberius*, or any other of his most faithful and trusty favourites. This *Fabius* disclosed to his wife *Martia*, and she to *Livia*, and thence the emperor knew that the secret was betrayed; which so provoked him against *Fabius*, that he banished him his presence for ever, bidding him, when he came to wait upon him the next morning, *an eternal farewell*. *Fabius* did not long survive his disgrace; but soon after laid violent hands on himself ^k. We are told, that in the interview between *Augustus* and his grandson *Agrippa* many tears were shed on both sides, and many tokens of mutual tenderness shewn, which gave the unhappy youth hopes of being restored to his own place in his grandfather's family. This *Livia* dreaded, and in order to prevent it, hastened her husband's death, as some authors write, with poisoned figs ^l. The body of the deceased emperor was carried from *Nola* to *Bovillæ* in the neighbourhood of *Rome* on the shoulders of the chief magistrates of the colonies and municipal towns on the road. At *Bovillæ* it was received by the *Roman* knights, and by them conveyed to *Rome*, and exposed in the porch of the imperial palace on mount *Palatine*. *Tiberius*, in virtue of the tribunitial power with which he was invested, appointed the senate to meet the next day, but would suffer no other business to be transacted, except what related to the funeral of his deceased father. In the first place, his last will was brought in by the vestal virgins, and read aloud by *Polybius* one of *Augustus*'s freedmen. It began thus: *Since the gods have been pleased to deprive me of my grand children Caius and Lucius, I declare Tiberius my heir, &c.* (E). By the same will *Tiberius* and *Livia*

He dies at
Nola.

Year of the
flood 2014.

After Christ
15.
Of Rome 763.

*Livia suspected
of having ha-
stened his death.*

*His body con-
veyed to Rome,*

^g TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 5. ^h SUET. ibid. c. 98. VELL. PATERCUL. ibid. DIO, p. 590.
ⁱ TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 5. DIO, p. 589. ^k TACIT. ibid. ^l TACIT. ibid. Anonym. de
vita Aug. & l. de garrulitate. OROS. ZONAR. &c.

(E) From this preamble it is manifest, that *Augustus* would never have adopted *Tiberius*, or appointed him his successor, had those two young princes, or either of them, lived. Some writers tell us, that *Augustus* was well acquainted with the bad qualities and tyrannical temper of *Tiberius*, and that on his death-bed he could not help pitying the *Roman* people, who, to use the expressions ascribed to

him, *Were to be under so slow a pair of grinders; Miserrum populum Romanum, qui sub tam lentis maxillis erit.* What then prompted him to adopt for his son, and name for his successor one whom he knew to be no ways qualified for so great a charge? To this question some writers answer, that the promotion of *Tiberius* was intirely owing to his mother *Livia*, who had gained an absolute ascendant over *Augustus*;

His will.

And legacies.

Four writings
left by him.Opinions of the
senators re-
lating to his
funeral ho-
nours.

Livia were appointed his first heirs, his grand-children, and their children, his second, and the great men of *Rome* his third heirs: *Livia* was adopted into the *Julian* family, and honoured with the title of *Augusta*. As for the great men of *Rome*, *Tacitus* tells us, that he hated them, but nevertheless named them out of vanity. To the *Roman* people he left by way of legacy four hundred thousand great sesterces; to the populace thirty-five thousand; to every common soldier of the prætorian guards a thousand small sesterces; and to every soldier of the *Roman* legions three hundred. His last will being read, *Drusus* produced to the conscript fathers four small books wrote by the deceased emperor; the first of which contained regulations relating to the ceremony of his obsequies; the second was a journal of the most memorable actions of his life, which by his last will he ordered to be engraved on the pillars of brass, which supported the frontispiece of his stately mausoleum. Great part of this journal has been preserved in an ancient marble found about a hundred and fifty years since in the city of *Ancyra*^m. The third book contained a summary of the strength and income of the empire, the number of the *Romans* and auxiliaries in pay, the condition of the navy, of the several kingdoms paying tribute, and of the various provinces and their revenues, with the state of the treasury, the expences of the empire, and the demands upon the public. This register, as we may call it, was all writ with *Augustus*'s own hand. The fourth book was a collection of instructions for the use of *Tiberius*, and the other governors and magistrates of the republic, whom he advised to lay aside all thoughts of extending the limits of the empire by new conquestsⁿ. But whether this advice was dictated by his love for the public, says *Tacitus*, or by envy and jealousy of the glory of his successors, is uncertain^o. The funeral honours were next considered, when *Afinius Gallus* moved, that the funeral should pass through the triumphal gate; *Lucius Arruntius*, that the titles of all the laws he had made, and the names of all the nations he had conquered, should be carried before the corps; some were of opinion, that on the day of his funeral all the magistrates and knights should in token of their grief wear iron rings instead of their gold ones, and that, to eternalize his memory, not only the month *Sextilis*, but the whole time he had lived, should bear his name, and be stiled *Seculum Augustum*, that is, *the age of Augustus*. *Valerius Messala*, departing from the matter in question, added, that the oath of allegiance to *Tiberius* should be renewed every year. *Tiberius*, surpris'd at this unexpected proposal, asked him, whether he had made that motion at his instigation! *I spoke it*, answered *Messala* with a new turn of flattery, *as my own opinion*,
nor

^m Vide GRUTER. inscript. p. 130.ⁿ DIO, SUET. *ibid*.^o TACIT. *annal.* l. i. c. 11.

Augustus, especially in his old age: others say, that he was acted therein by a secret ambition of making his death more regretted by the badness of his successor. But *Suetonius* cannot persuade himself, that a prince of *Augustus*'s sagacity and prudence could proceed upon motives of this nature, in an affair of so great importance; he is rather inclined to believe, that having weighed both his vices and virtues, he thought the latter overbalanced the former; and hence, when he adopted him, he solemnly declared upon oath, that he was prompted thereunto by no other motive but that of the public welfare, and often commended him in his letters not only as an excellent commander, but as the only stay and support of the *Roman* people. Out of these letters *Suetonius* instances some of his expressions: Farewel, says he, in one of them, *my dear Tiberius; may you be happy in your enterprizes, fighting, as you do for me and the muses: may I be happy, as you are a most valiant and accomplished commander. Farewel, take care of your summer-quarters; as for my own part, my dear Tiberius, I confidently believe, that amongst so many difficulties and disorders, in the midst of so much remissness and cowardice in the army, no man could have behaved with more prudence than you have done; insomuch, that all those, who have had the honour of attending you, do unanimously acknow-*

ledge, that this verse cannot more properly be applied to any man living, than to yourself:

Unus homo nobis vigilando restituit rem.

And in another letter; *Whether I seriously consider of an affair, or any thing falls out which I ought to resent, I want my Tiberius immediately, and this jaying comes constantly into my mind, By this man's conduct and prudence we might both escape even out of the fire. As often as I am told how much you are fallen away by your indefatigable labour, may I perish if I do not tremble to hear it. Let me desire you therefore to have more care of yourself for the future, lest the first news of your sickness be the death of your mother and me, and the people of Rome be in great danger of losing their empire. I do not value my own health, unless you be well too. I beg the gods to preserve you for our good, if they bear no prejudice or grudge to the Roman people* (59). From these letters it plainly appears, that *Augustus* had a real value and sincere affection for *Tiberius*, that he looked upon him as the only person capable of supporting with dignity the title of emperor, and consequently that it was not out of complaisance to *Livia*, nor a secret ambition of enhancing his own reputation with posterity by the badness of his successor that he chose him.

a nor will I ever be controuled by any man in things which concern the welfare of the public, let who will be provoked at my freedom ^p. The senators at length all agreed to carry the body of the deceased emperor to the funeral pile on their shoulders; but this *Tiberius* would not suffer; nay, he cautioned the people by an edict to refrain their zeal, and not to insist upon having his body burnt, as *Julius Cæsar*'s had been, rather in the forum, than in the field of *Mars*, which was the place appointed. However, his funeral was performed with the greatest pomp and magnificence, that had ever been seen in *Rome*. *Drusus* read from the rostra a short elogium of the deceased emperor, and *Tiberius* pronounced his funeral oration in the forum, which was received with the applause it well deserved, it being a master-piece of the kind ^q. When fire was set to his pile, an eagle was let loose from the top of it, as it were to carry his soul to heaven.

b *Livia* and with her some of the chief men among the knights continued for five days together in the field of *Mars* gathering up the ashes and the bones which the flames had spared. These *Livia* put into an urn of gold, which she reposed in the magnificent mausoleum, which *Augustus* had long before built for himself in a grove between the *Tiber* and the *Flaminian* way. It was decreed that men should mourn for him according to custom, that is, about three weeks; but women a whole year, probably for *Livia*'s sake. As soon as the funeral was over, divine worship was decreed him with a temple and priests: the house, in which he was born, that in which he died, and most of the houses, in which he had lived, were changed into sanctuaries. *Livia*, now *Julia Augusta*, took upon her to be the chief priestess of the new deity, and made a present of ten thousand great sesterces to a senator, named *Numerius Atticus*, who solemnly declared upon his oath, that he had seen the soul of *Augustus* ascend up to heaven. This fable, which was a copy of that which *Julius Proculus* had many ages before published concerning *Romulus*, was soon spread and credited in all the provinces subject to *Rome*: temples were every-where erected in honour of the deified *Augustus*, and a new order of priests instituted. *Tiberius* consecrated a sanctuary to his deceased father in his own palace, and chose twenty-one priests from among the senators, naming himself, his son *Drusus*, and his nephew *Germanicus*, among the first ^r. It was not out of any principle of religion, or any regard to *Augustus*, as *Tacitus* well observes, that *Tiberius* procured the deification of *Augustus*, but because it nearly concerned him to have all the laws and acts of one who had left him his successor pass for sacred. Besides, in promoting this kind of superstition, he had another view, which was to rivet the public slavery, evidently included in religious worship paid to a prince who had intralled his country.

His body burnt in the campus Martius.

Divine honours decreed him.

Augustus was a man of a sound judgment, and great penetration, had a particular turn for business, and a wonderful talent in improving opportunities, and applying the abilities of others to his own ends. In the times of the republic, when valour and eloquence were the only means of rising, and acquiring fame, he would have made but a middling figure; for he was quite destitute of the former, being bold indeed in council, but a coward in the field; and as to his eloquence, it was, according to *Tacitus*, easy and flowing, such as became a prince, but no ways fit to move or controul the spirit of republicans. He did not make his way to the throne, but found it already made by his great uncle *Julius*, who happily accomplished what he would never have thought of attempting. He had, 'tis true, powerful enemies to contend with, whom he overcame; but his victories were owing to others, and not to himself. Thus by the bravery of *Antony* he conquered *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and by the valour of *Agrippa* he conquered *Antony*. Nor did it require extraordinary abilities to hold the empire, when he had once acquired it, the *Roman* spirit being entirely broken, and all those cut off either in the battles of *Philippi* and *Actium*, or by bloody proscriptions, who had courage enough to stand up in defence of their liberties. He was naturally of a cruel and vindictive temper, and did many mean things to satisfy his revenge, which the great heart of *Cæsar* would have scorned. We meet with no instances of his so much boasted clemency and moderation, till he had sacrificed to his jealousy all those whom he either feared or suspected. When he had thoroughly mastered the state, utterly extinguished all maxims of liberty, and inhumanly massacred such as he thought capable of thwarting his designs, or disturbing him in the possession of his usurped power, he then governed with great mildness, and discharged all the duties of an excellent prince; which gave rise to the saying, that

His character.

^p Idem ibid.

^q Vide *Dio*, l. lvi. p. 598.

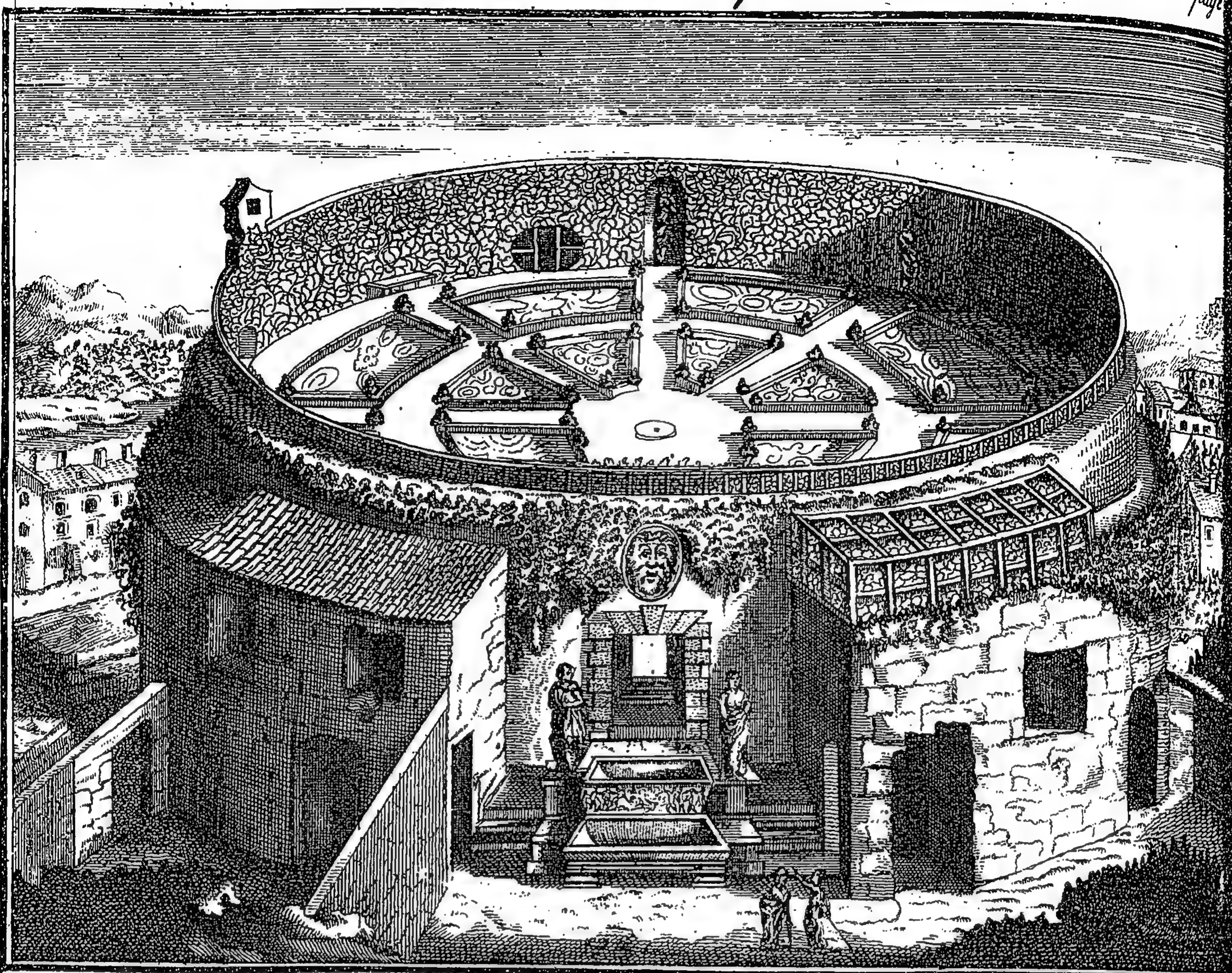
^r *Dio*, p. 598—600. *Tacit.* ibid. c. 11, 15, 78.

that *he should never have been born, or never have died.* As he stuck at no wickedness to gain power, we cannot help thinking but that he would have committed more to maintain it, if he had found more to be necessary. He made, 'tis true, a feint or two to abdicate the sovereignty; had he been in earnest, he might at least have left for a legacy to the *Roman* people that liberty of which he had robbed them. But instead of restoring to them that dominion over themselves, which none but themselves had any right to exercise, he provided by a long train of successors against any possible recovery of liberty. When he had no longer any heirs of his own blood, whom he liked, he adopted the sons of his wife, and their sons; which plainly shews, that he was determined to intail slavery upon his country, and extend his usurpation even beyond his grave. Some writers to excuse him tell us, that the state was irretrievable, and that it was therefore absolutely necessary the sovereign power should be lodged in one man. But *Augustus* himself judged otherwise; for by proposing to resign, however insincere this proposal was, he at least shewed, that he thought the resettling of the republic practicable. *Drusus*, brother to *Tiberius*, declared his design to effect it; nay, it was what *Tiberius* himself, after he was emperor, pretended to do. *Augustus* might, without all doubt, by his absolute authority have reduced the commonwealth to her first principles and firmness. This would have been true glory, the only true use of his absolute power, and the only amends for having assumed it. But instead of restoring the state to its ancient lustre, he did all that lay in his power to perpetuate slavery, to extinguish all maxims of liberty, and to render his successors as absolute as himself. But not to dwell any longer on this subject, we shall conclude with *Dion Cassius*, that *Augustus* would have been deservedly esteemed one of the best princes that ever swayed a sceptre, had he not usurped, but received the sovereign power lawfully conveyed to him from his ancestors. But whether the wise laws he published, and the mildness with which he governed, after his sovereignty was thoroughly established, sufficiently atoned for his usurpation, and the many crimes attending it, is what we submit to the judgment of our readers (F).

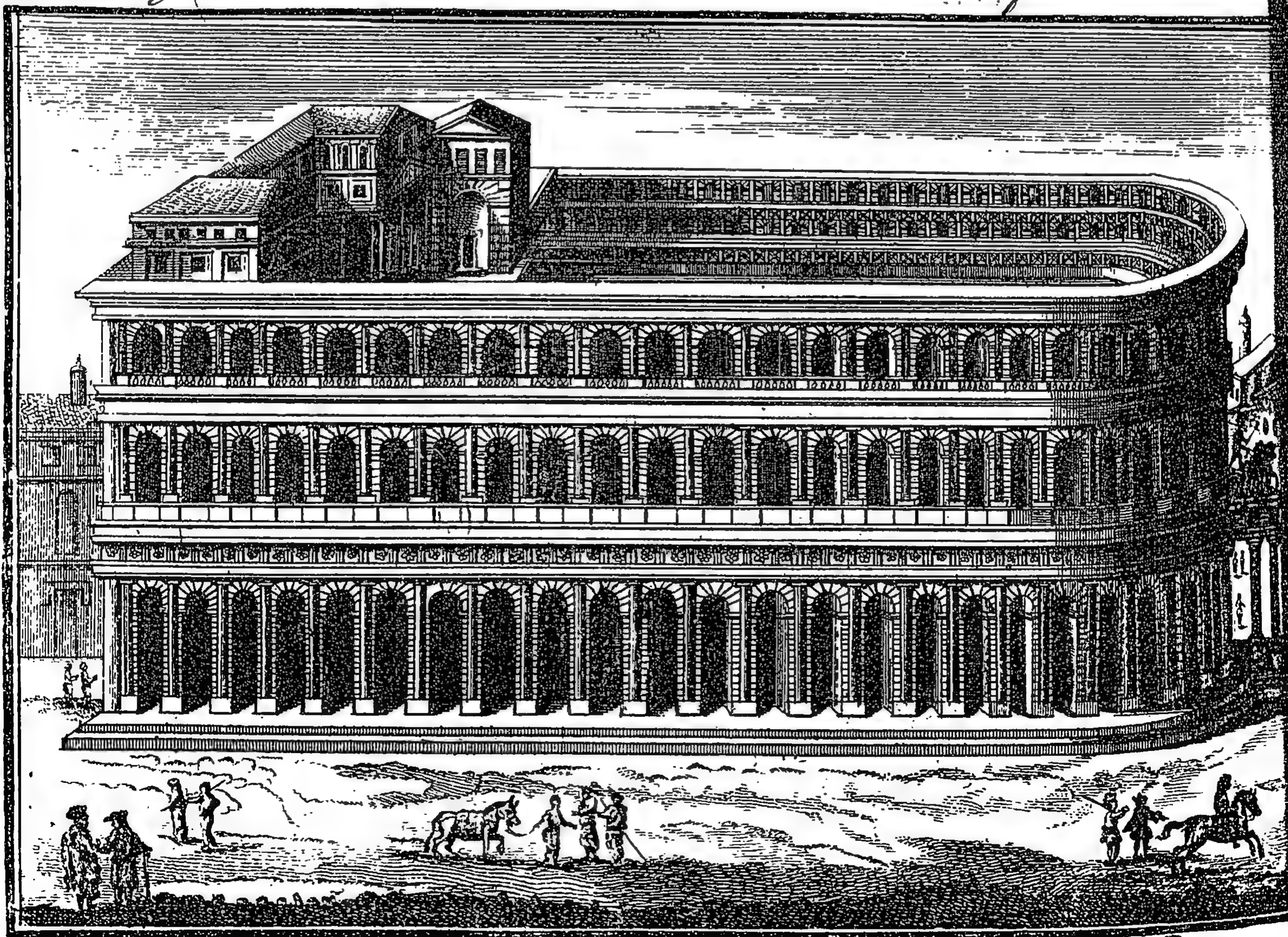
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(F) The news of *Augustus's* death, when first brought to *Rome*, gave occasion to various discourses and observations concerning him, which it would be an unpardonable omission in us not to take notice of, since they acquaint us with the sentiments, which his friends as well as his enemies entertained of him, and have been transmitted to us by one of the most judicious and accurate writers of antiquity (60), in whose words we shall deliver them: 'The superstitious multitude, says that writer, admired the fortuitous events of his life, the last day of which and the first of his reign was the same; that he died at *Nola*, in the same town, in the same house, and in the same chamber, where his father *Octavius* died. They observed to his glory his many conquests, equal in number to those of *Valerius Corvinus* and *Caius Marius* put together; that he had exercised the tribunitial power for thirty-seven years successively; that he had been proclaimed emperor twenty-one times, and that he had enjoyed many honours, some of which had been conferred upon others, and some created for him. Men of penetration entered further into his life, but differed about it. His admirers said, that his filial piety, and the disorders which reigned in the republic, and had got the better of the laws, forced him to enter into a civil war, which can never be carried on without dreadful disturbances; that to be revenged on those who had murdered his father, he had been obliged to comply with the violent temper of his colleagues, *Antony* and *Lepidus*, and give up to their revenge and jealousy many illustrious citizens; that when *Antony* was lost in sensuality, and *Lepidus* in sloth and idleness, there was no other remedy for the distracted state, rent into parties and factions, but the sovereignty of one: *Augustus*, however, did never take upon him to rule over his country as king or dictator, but settled the government under the legal title of

prince of the senate: he extended the bounds of the empire, and set for its limits the distant ocean, and remote rivers; the several parts and forces of the state, the legions, the provinces, and the navy, were well connected and governed; the citizens lived peaceably under the protection of the laws, the allies respected the *Roman* name, and *Rome* herself was adorned with magnificent structures: he had indeed on some occasions exerted his arbitrary power, but in very few, and then only to secure the peace of the whole. In answer to all this, others, who did not entertain so good an opinion of the deceased emperor, urged, that his filial piety, and the distractions of the republic, were mere pretences; but his lust of reigning the true and only motive, which prompted him to kindle a civil war in the bowels of his country; that in order to get the whole power of the state into his hands, he gained over by bribery a body of veterans; and though a private youth, levied an army in defiance of the laws; that for the base purpose of power, he debauched the *Roman* legions under the command of the consuls, as if he designed to join *Pompey's* republican party; that soon after, when he had obtained of the senate, or rather usurped, the prætorship, the two consuls, *Hirtius* and *Pansa* being slain, he seized both their armies; that it was doubted whether the consuls were killed by the enemy, or their own men, *Hirtius* in the battle, and *Pansa* after it, by having poison poured into his wounds, and whether young *Cæsar* was not the author of this execrable treason; that he exerted the consulship in spite of the senate, and employed against the commonwealth the very arms with which she had trusted him for her defence against *Antony*. To all this they added, his bloody proscriptions, the massacre of numberless citizens, his robbing the public of so many lands and possessions, and distributing them among his own creatures.



Augustus's Theatre erected in Honour of Marcellus



THE first feat of the reign of *Tiberius* was the murder of young *Agrippa*, whom *Tiberius* he caused to be dispatched by a military tribune, in whose custody he was at that time, before he suffered *Augustus*'s death to be made public. *Tiberius* avoided mentioning this transaction in the senate, and would have the world believe that it was done

creatures; a piece of injustice so notorious, that even those who were gainers by it, could not help condemning it. But allowing him to have had no other view in the destructive war he carried on against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, but to revenge by their death the murder of the dictator, though it had been more to his reputation to sacrifice his private resentment to the public welfare, did he not betray young *Pompey* by a deceitful peace? Did he not ensnare *Antony* first by treaties, viz. of *Tarentum* and *Brundisium*, then by a marriage, that of his sister *Octavia*? And did not this perfidious alliance at length cost *Antony* his life? After this, 'tis true, there was peace, but a bloody peace in the defeat of *Lollius* and *Varus* in *Germany*; and at *Rome* the *Varrones*, the *Egnatii*, the *Julii*, illustrious citizens, were put to death. Neither was his domestic life spared on this occasion: he had arbitrarily robbed *Nero* of his wife, when she was big with child, and in derision of the gods consulted the priests, whether he might marry her before, or was obliged to wait till after her delivery. His favourites, *Tedius* and *Vedius Pollio* had lived in excessive luxury: his wife *Livia*, who had an absolute sway over him had proved a cruel governess to the republic, and a more cruel step-mother to the *Julian* family: he had even usurped honours peculiar to the gods, and raising temples to himself, would be adored as a deity with all the solemnity of priests and sacrifices: he adopted *Tiberius* for his successor, not out of affection to him, or any concern for the republic, but having discovered in him a cruel and haughty temper, he sought glory from the comparison of their reigns. Such were the sentiments and observations of the *Romans* on the deceased emperor. But after all, it must be owned, that *Augustus*, whether we consider him as a magistrate at the helm of the republic, or, as a private citizen in his domestic life, had many good qualities, which few persons in either station have ever since his time possessed in so eminent a degree. These together with his vices we shall here without any prejudice or partiality expose to the consideration of our readers, that they may the better be able to form a right judgment of the famous and so much celebrated *Augustus*.

In the first place, when his authority was once thoroughly established, he made it his whole study to redress the public grievances, to suppress the disorders which had been introduced by the licentiousness of the soldiery, during the civil wars, to settle in all the provinces a lasting peace, and to promote the happiness and welfare of his subjects. That he had nothing more at heart than to see the republic flourish, he frequently declared in his private discourse, but more remarkably in one of his edicts in the following words: *I wish I may be able to establish the commonwealth on its proper basis, and reap such fruits of my labour as I desire, that I may hereafter be reputed the founder of so excellent a fabric, and carry this hope with me to the grave, that the commonwealth will continue and flourish upon the foundations which I have laid.* Some writers have thought, that he would have resigned after his first illness, or at least left *Rome* free at his death, had he not been persuaded, that other pretenders would have risen up, and involved the republic in new troubles. He enacted many excellent laws for the reformation of manners, and extirpation of vice; and it may be truly said, that virtue was never more countenanced than in his reign. His sumptuary laws, his laws

against bribery, adultery, unnatural lust, and all kind of incontinence, wrought a great change in the city, where vice had long appeared bare-faced, and triumphed. After he had reformed the manners of the citizens, he applied himself wholly to the embellishing of the city. In order to this, he raised many public buildings, among which the chief were, the forum, or court of justice, the temple of *Mars the avenger*, the temple of *Apollo in Palatio*, the temple of *Jupiter the thunderer* in the capitol, the portico of *Lucius* and *Caius*, the palaces of *Livia* and *Octavia*, and the theatre of *Marcellus*. He repaired many old temples, and rebuilt many, which had been destroyed either by time or fire, enriching both them and the rest with most magnificent presents. To the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, not to mention others, he gave at once sixteen thousand pound weight of gold, besides jewels and precious stones, to the value of fifty millions of sesterces. He often exhorted the principal and most wealthy citizens to repair or erect some monument or other, which might serve as an ornament to the city: and upon his persuasion *Marcius Philippus* built the temple of *Hercules Musarum*, *L. Cornificius*, the temple of *Diana*, *Asinius Pollio* the court of liberty, *Munatius Plancus* the temple of *Saturn*, *Cornelius Balbus* a theatre, *Statilius Taurus* an amphitheatre, and *Marcus Agrippa* a great number of most stately and magnificent structures. In order to secure the city, thus embellished, against fires and inundations, to which it was subject, he divided it into fourteen regions or wards, appointing a peculiar magistrate for each ward, and committing the care of each street to some citizen of distinction. These had under their command guards and watchmen, who were to patrol all night to prevent fires, robberies, and other disorders: against the inundations of the *Tiber*, which often laid the lower parts of the city under water, he cleansed and enlarged the bed of that river, which had been long choaked up with rubbish, and the ruins of houses; and that the city might be the more accessible on all sides, he took upon himself the reparation of the *Flaminian* way as far as *Ariminum*, leaving the rest of the public ways to be mended by such as had triumphed, and the charges to be defrayed out of the spoils of the enemy.

He shewed high regard for the *Roman* name, and was sparing in admitting foreigners to the rights of citizens; whereof we have the two following instances: *Tiberius*, having desired him to grant the citizenship of *Rome* to a certain *Greek*, who was one of his clients, he wrote him this answer; that he would not comply with his request, unless he came himself, and satisfied him of the justice of it: in like manner *Livia* interceding for a *Gaul*, he peremptorily rejected her petition, but granted the *Gaul* an exemption from his tribute with this declaration; that he would rather condescend to a diminution of the public revenue, than to prostitute the honour of the *Roman* name. As he had a particular veneration for the memory of those heroes who had contributed to the advancement of the *Roman* empire, he repaired all their monuments, retaining their old titles and inscriptions, and dedicating their statues in the two portico's of his forum; on which occasion he declared in an edict, that his design was to propose them as a pattern and example, by which he himself, and the princes, who should succeed him, might frame themselves, and regulate their conduct.

As he had no great talent for war, he commanded the army in person but twice against a foreign enemy,

Agrippa Posthumus murdered.

done by the command of *Augustus*, as if he had transmitted orders to the tribune who guarded the youth, to dispatch him upon the first intelligence of his death. The better to support this story, when the tribune, according to the custom of the army, acquainted *Tiberius*, that his commands were executed, he answered, that he had given no such commands, and that he should be answerable to the senate for what he had

viz. in *Dalmatia*, when he was but young, and in his expedition against the *Cantabrians*. The other wars he managed by his lieutenants, who under his auspices reduced the *Cantabrians*, *Aquitans*, *Dalmatians*, *Pannonians*, *Illyrians*, *Rhætians*, *Vindelicians*, *Salassians*, and the *Germans* inhabiting the countries between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe*. He held it for an infallible maxim, that war was never to be undertaken, nor a battle fought, but when the advantage hoped for was apparently greater than the loss feared; for those who hazard much, said he, to gain but little, are like men who fish with hooks of gold, the loss of which will hardly be repaired by what they catch. He used to say, that rashness and precipitancy were the greatest faults in a general; whence he had this saying frequently in his mouth, *Festina lente*, which is much the same in sense with our common proverb, *No more haste than good speed*. He was very severe in keeping the soldiers to their duty, not suffering, but with much difficulty, even his lieutenants to quit the camp, and return to *Rome*; and that only when the troops were in winter quarters. A *Roman* knight, having cut off the thumbs of two of his sons to disable them from serving, he condemned him to be sold for a slave, and confiscated his estate. He disbanded the tenth legion only for betraying an unwillingness to obey his commands, and dismissed others, without the rewards due to veterans for having demanded their discharge. If in an engagement any cohort or legion gave ground, or were even put into confusion, he ordered every tenth man by lot to be executed, and allowed the rest nothing but barley. The centurions and tribunes likewise, abandoning their posts, were immediately punished with death. For small offences he contented himself with condemning them to stand all day before his prætorium, sometimes ungirt in their tunics only, and sometimes with long poles in their hands. After the civil wars he never called those who served under him fellow-soldiers, but only soldiers, nor would he suffer his own or his wife's children to call them otherwise, thinking it inconsistent with military discipline, with the tranquillity of those times, and the grandeur of his family, to treat them with familiarity.

He was no less careful in administering justice, than severe in exacting military discipline: for he not only appointed such judges as were men of known integrity, but was himself very assiduous in hearing causes, often sitting up with great patience the best part of the night: when he was by any indisposition confined to his palace, he used then to hear causes in his own room lying upon a couch, thinking the administration of justice the chief and indispensable duty of a prince. Notwithstanding his assiduity in hearing causes, and continual application, he was at all hours ready to give audience even to the meanest of the people, to hear their complaints, and receive their petitions; and because one presented him his request somewhat timorously, he pleasantly rebuked him, saying, *That he had delivered his petition to him, as if he had been presenting something to an elephant*. To encourage persons of all ranks to recur freely to him, he carefully avoided all outward appearance of grandeur; hence he very seldom entered, or left any city, but in the night-time, to avoid all formalities, and the attendance of the inhabitants. He never went to the senate without saluting all the senators, in the order they sat, each

of them by his own name; and at his departure took his leave of them in the same manner. He assisted in person at all public and private feasts and entertainments till he began to be in years, and could no longer bear the inconveniencies of a croud. He had so great an aversion to the title of *dominus* or *lord*, that he looked upon it as a reproach, and even published an edict, forbidding any one, his own children and grand children not excepted, to give him that title. In the assemblies held for the election of magistrates, he gave his vote in his own tribe, as if he had been one of the people; and in the courts of judicature, he not only suffered himself to be interrogated, but allowed the judges and advocates of the adverse party to object against his deposition. How great and powerful soever his favourites were in *Rome*, he would not allow them any exemption from the judiciary laws, nor even recommend them to the judges. Of all the criminals and accused persons in his time, he saved but one, by whose means he had discovered a conspiracy formed against him, and him he preserved by prevailing with his intreaties upon his accuser to withdraw his accusation. The ancients give us several instances even of his clemency, after his authority was thoroughly established. One *Junius Novatus* published a letter full of bitter invectives against him in the name of young *Agrippa*, for which offence *Augustus* only laid a small fine upon him. One *Cassius Patavinus* declared boldly at a public entertainment, that he neither wanted will nor courage to rid *Rome* of her new monarch; and *Augustus* contented himself only with ordering him to depart *Rome*. *Æmilius Ælianus* being accused among other things of speaking of him with great contempt, the emperor turning to the informer, and pretending to be in a great rage, *I wish with all my heart you could prove it*, said he: *if you did, I would make Ælianus know, that I have a tongue as well as he, and can say twice as much of him*; and resented it no further. *Tiberius* likewise complaining in a letter to him of the insolence of *Ælianus*, he returned him this answer; *Do not, my dear Tiberius, indulge too much in this case your passion; let us despise words, and think ourselves happy if they can do us no greater harm*.

As for his liberality, it knew no bounds; he constantly supplied with corn above a hundred thousand families, which he caused to be distributed monthly among them: he frequently presented the people with large sums; giving them sometimes two, sometimes three, and sometimes four hundred sesterces a head, not excluding even the children. He was always ready to lend without interest, any sum to such persons as were able to secure him his principal by double the value. When he published the law excluding from the senate such as were not worth twelve hundred thousand sesterces, out of compassion for many noble families, he made up that sum with his own money. He exhibited at an immense charge twenty-four shows in his own name, and twenty-three for other magistrates, who were either absent, or not able to bear the expence attending them.

Thus far of *Augustus* as a public magistrate: as to his domestic and private life, *Suetonius* represents him as a tender and careful parent, a constant friend, and both a severe and gentle master. He brought up his daughter and her children with the utmost care, not allowing any but persons of unblemished characters

characters to have access to them: his grandchildren he taught himself the rudiments of learning, promising himself great happiness from his issue, and the care he took of their education; but he was therein, to his inexpressible grief, greatly disappointed, as we have related in the history of his reign. His friendship, when once acquired, was firm and constant: he not only rewarded his friends services, but patiently bore with their faults. Of all of them none ever received any ill treatment at his hands, except *Salvidienus Rufus*, and the famous poet *Cornelius Gallus*, who well deserved it, as we have related above. The rest of his favourites flourished in honour and riches to the end of their lives. As to his domestics, he conferred honourable employments, and heaped riches upon such of them as behaved well; but *Proculus*, a freedman, and one of his chief favourites, he caused to be put to death, for carrying on intrigues with married women. *Thallus*, another freedman, and his amanuensis, having betrayed some secrets for five hundred *denarii*, had his legs broke by his order. Several of his grandson *Caius's* attendants he ordered to be thrown headlong into a river, and drowned, for levying money in their master's province without his knowledge. He chose rather to turn into mirth the timorousness of *Diomedes*, another of his freedmen, than to impute it to any malicious design, when walking with him alone, a wild boar coming suddenly upon them, *Diomedes*, to secure himself, made bold to thrust his master to the boar.

He applied himself from his youth to the study of eloquence, and other liberal arts. During the war of *Modena* he is said not to have passed a day in the midst of his most important affairs without reading, writing, and declaiming. He wrote several books upon different subjects; viz. *An answer to Brutus's Cato*; *exhortations to the study of philosophy*; *the history of his life to the Cantabrian war* in thirteen books, an epic poem intitled *Sicilia*, and a book of epigrams, which he composed for the most part in his baths: he began a tragedy in a lofty style, but finding he could not hold out at that rate, he expunged what he had wrote, and being asked by his friends what was become of *Ajax*, who was the subject of the performance, he answered, *Ajax has dispatched himself with a sponge*. Though he was well acquainted with the *Greek* tongue, yet he neither spoke it readily, nor ever ventured to compose any thing in it; when he was obliged to use that language, he first wrote down in *Latin* what he had a mind to say, and then gave it to another to translate into *Greek*. In perusing the authors of both languages, his chief observation was what precepts and examples he might collect for the public or private instruction of his subjects and friends; when he thought any of them proper, he copied them word for word, and sent them to his domestics, the governors of the provinces, or the magistrates of the city, as any of them wanted admonition; nay, sometimes he read whole books to the senate, and recommended them afterwards to the people by proclamation. His generosity to men of learning knew no bounds, and hence so many famous writers flourished in his time, that the age of *Augustus* will ever be looked upon as the age of elegance and politeness; and every admirer of the poets and historians, who flourished in those days, will be an admirer of *Augustus*, who was so generous to them, and is the chief subject of their panegyrics.

But his virtues were not without the alloy of some vices highly unbecoming a person in his station. He abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness, without renouncing even in his old age the vices of his youth: his severe laws against adultery were no check upon him, no more than the sacred ties of friendship; for he did not spare the wife even of his own favourite, and faithful counsellor *Mecenas*. It was not extreme prudence in so great a politician

to be daily violating his own laws, especially after he had, by sentencing those to death, who were guilty of adultery, declared how heinous and unpardonable a crime he thought it. *Marc Antony* in one of his letters to him before they quarrelled, rallies him upon his intrigues with several married women of great distinction, whom he names. His friends, to excuse these scandalous practices, which were too notorious to be denied, pretended, that he courted the favour of the wives to discover by their means the plots and designs of their husbands. He is said to have divorced *Scribonia* for resenting the authority of one of his concubines: as for *Livia*, the out of policy indulged his vicious inclinations so far, as to make it her business to bring him acquainted with such women as she thought he might like: he employed many of his friends in the same vile ministry, which gave occasion to several lampoons, and sharp satires. *Marc Antony* reproached him with having gained the favour of his great uncle *Julius Cæsar* at the expence of his modesty; and his brother *Lucius Antonius* charged him with abandoning himself, while he was in *Spain*, to the will of *A. Hirtius*, who was afterwards consul, for three hundred thousand sesterces; hence the people at a comedy not only interpreted to his dishonour, but applauded the following expression spoke of a priest of *Cybele*, playing upon his timbrel, as if it had been spoken of him, *Videsne ut cinædus orbem digito temperet? Don't you see how the catanite governs the world with one finger?* Some writers have also represented him as covetous of rich furniture, especially of *Corinthian* vessels; and tell us, that in the time of the proscription the following pasquinade was writ under his statue, *Pater argentarius, ego Corinthiarius*, that is, *My father dealt in money, and I in Corinthian vessels*; for it was supposed, that several persons had been proscribed for their plate, and that his father had been a banker, which last supposition was intirely groundless, for his father was raised very early to the highest honours in the republic. As for his immoderate desire of rich furniture, *Suetonius* clears him from this imputation, by telling us, that the goods and furniture of his house, which were still to be seen in his time, were not rich enough for a private person of any taste, and adding, that at the taking of *Alexandria*, of all the queen's rich furniture, he reserved for himself only a porcelain cup. He was given to gaming, and took great pleasure in playing at dice, which gave occasion to the following distich, which was made during the war in *Sicily*:

*Postquam bis classe victus navas perdidit,
Aliquando ut vincat, ludit assidue aleam.*

That is, *having lost his fleet twice at sea, he plays daily, that he may at last win*. But *Suetonius* tells us, that he played only for his diversion, and not out of a desire of winning his friends money; to this purpose he quotes one of his letters to *Tiberius*, wherein he tells him, that he had passed the feast of *Minerva* merrily, and played every day at dice; *Your brother*, says he to *Tiberius* was at first a great loser, but in the end came off pretty well, having recovered himself beyond expectation: I lost twenty thousand sesterces; but had I exacted what was owing to me, or kept what I gave away, I should have won above fifty thousand. He was naturally very superstitious, a great observer of dreams, and looked upon the flight or chattering of birds as infallible presages. If in the morning his shoes were given him wrong, or the right foot shoe presented to him for the left, he counted it ominous. If it rained when he was setting out on a journey, he reckoned it a sign of a speedy and happy return: he would never begin a journey the day after the *nundinae*, nor undertake any business of consequence upon the *nones*; he was so afraid of thunder and lightning, that he carried a

paul's

had done. This alarmed *Crispus Sallustius* (G), who was privy to all the secret counsels of *Tiberius*, and had sent the tribune the warrant: he knew it was equally dangerous to confess the truth, and charge the emperor, or to clear the emperor, and accuse himself. In this perplexity he had recourse to *Livia*, advising her, by no means to divulge the secrets of the palace, the counsels of the ministers, or the services of the soldiery, adding, that *Tiberius* should beware of weakening the sovereign authority by referring all things to the senate, the nature of absolute power being such as could not be preserved intire but in one person*. *Livia* followed the advice of *Sallustius*, and no farther mention was made of the murder of the young prince (H).

Tiberius affects modesty.

As soon as the death of *Augustus* was known at *Rome*, the consuls, senators, and knights, ran headlong into slavery, as *Tacitus* expresses it. With servile flattery they took care to frame their faces so as to reconcile false joy for the accession of *Tiberius* with feigned grief for the loss of *Augustus*. The two consuls *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius* took first the oath of fidelity to *Tiberius*, and then administered it to the senate, the people and the soldiery; for *Tiberius* affected to derive all his authority from the consuls and senate, as if the ancient republic still subsisted, and he were yet in suspense about accepting or rejecting the sovereign power: he even owned in his edict for summoning the senate, that he issued it in virtue of the tribunitial power granted him under *Augustus*, and that he claimed no other authority, no other title for having a share in the public administration. But notwithstanding this pretended modesty, from the moment *Augustus* expired, he assumed all the prerogatives of an absolute prince, gave the word to the prætorian cohorts, placed guards about his person, went guarded in the streets, and to the senate, and writ letters to the several armies in the undisguised style of one who was already master of the *Roman* empire, and had under his command all its forces. This he did to prevent the armies in distant provinces from declaring for *Germanicus*, who was then in *Germany* at the head of seven legions, and a great body of allies. But with the senate he proceeded in a quite different manner: when the conscript fathers offered him the government, he pretended to refuse it, though he had already secured it to himself, and with a great deal of artifice began to discourse of the greatness of the *Roman* empire, and in modest terms of his own insufficiency; telling them, *That the divine genius of Augustus*

* *TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 6. Dio, l. lvi. p. 590.*

seal's skin always about him, imagining as was then generally believed, that it had we know not what secret virtue against thunder; but nevertheless, for his greater security, upon the least apprehension of an extraordinary storm, he used to seek for shelter in a vault or cellar under-ground.

Such were the virtues, such the vices of the famous *Augustus*. As for his conduct during the civil war, it was such as brought, we may say, disgrace upon usurpation itself. He stuck at no crime, however heinous; but after he had either by public proscriptions, or private assassinations, cut off all those who gave him umbrage, he reigned with moderation over the rest. He reigned long, and established a lasting peace, a great relief after so long and destructive a war. In this long tranquillity, the calamities which had been occasioned by the war were forgot, and *Augustus* cried up as the author of the blessings they enjoyed in a profound peace at home. Besides, the badness of his successors was a signal advantage to his name and memory; for in proportion as they were detested, he was regretted.

(G) *Crispus Sallustius* was born of an equestrian family, great-nephew by a sister to the famous historian *Caius Sallustius*, and by him adopted; he might have risen to the greatest honours in the state, but in imitation of *Mecænas*, whom he proposed to himself for his pattern, he contented himself with the title of a *Roman* knight, though he excelled in power many, who had been distinguished with consulships and triumphs. In *Mecænas*'s life-time he was next in favour with *Augustus*, and upon the death of that faithful counsellor, he became the chief confident

first of *Augustus*, and afterwards of *Tiberius*, who reposed an intire confidence in him: he was extreme nice in his dress, expensive in his manner of living, and no ways inferior in luxury and magnificence to *Mecænas* himself; but could, upon any exigency, exert a vigour equal to the greatest affairs, which he concealed under the appearance of indolence and sloth (62).

(H) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Agrippa* was killed by a military tribune, in whose custody he was at that time, after he had read the warrant for his execution to him; which warrant, adds that writer, whether left by *Augustus* when he died, to prevent any troubles which might happen upon his death, or contrived by *Livia* in *Augustus*'s name, with or without the privy of *Tiberius*, is a thing uncertain to this day (63). But *Tacitus* tells us in express terms, that *Augustus* never dipt his hands in his own blood; neither does he think it credible, that he would barbarously sacrifice the life of his grandson to the security of his step-son. It is therefore more probable, says that author, that this hasty murder was purely the work of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, and that the young prince fell thus untimely to satiate the hatred which *Livia* bore him, and to deliver *Tiberius* from a troublesome rival. Though the assassin, who was charged with the execution of this cruel order, was a bold and resolute centurion or tribune, as *Suetonius* calls him, and found young *Agrippa* unarmed, and little apprehending such a destiny, yet it was with the utmost difficulty that he dispatched him. In him ended the family of *Augustus*.

(62) *Tacit. annal. l. i.*

(63) *Sue. in Tiber. c. 22.*

gustus alone was equal to so great a charge; that as for himself, he knew by experience, ^{He affects to} having borne part of Augustus's cares, how many difficulties, contingencies and dangers, ^{decline the so-} are inseparably annexed to rule and sovereignty; that since the city was so happily replenished ^{vereign power.} with great numbers of illustrious patriots, they ought not to lay the whole burden of the administration upon one person, but divide it among many, &c. When he had ended his speech, the senators, who dreaded nothing so much as to seem to understand him, burst into tears, and throwing themselves at his feet, embraced his knees, begging him in the most low and servile manner imaginable not to abandon them, but to take upon him a charge, to which none but himself was equal. Then Tiberius, pretending to yield to their importunity, *I am, said he, unequal to the weight of the whole government; but if you think fit to intrust me with any particular part, what ever it be, I am ready to undertake it.* Hereupon Asinius Gallus (I) rising up, *I beg to know, Cæsar, said he, what part of the government you desire for your share?* This unexpected demand startled Tiberius, who for a while stood mute; but recovering himself, answered, that it ill became his modesty to chuse or reject any particular branch of the administration, when he desired to be excused from the whole. Gallus, perceiving him offended, as readily replied, that he did not offer that question, as if he designed to divide what was in itself indivisible, but to convince him by his own confession, that the commonwealth was but one body, and consequently could not be governed but by the wisdom of one person: then continuing his speech, he made a long descant upon the great merits and accomplishments of Tiberius, of his many victories and conquests, of the civil employments he had long borne with great credit and reputation, &c. but this did not assuage the wrath of Tiberius, who had long hated Gallus for having married *Vipsania Agrippina*, the daughter of *Agrippa*, whom Tiberius had been obliged by *Augustus* to divorce, to make room for his daughter *Julia*. He suspected that *Asinius Gallus* by this match designed to raise himself above the rank of a subject, and therefore upon this new provocation resolved to seize the first opportunity of delivering himself from his fears by the death of his supposed rival. *Lucius Arruntius* (K), *Quintus Haterius*, and *Mamercus Scaurus*, likewise incurred on this occasion the displeasure of Tiberius; *Arruntius* by a speech not much unlike that of *Gallus*; *Hirtius*, by asking him, *How long, Cæsar, will you suffer the commonwealth to remain destitute of a head?* and *Scaurus* for saying by way of raillery, *There is room to hope, that Tiberius will at length yield to the intreaties and prayers of the senate, since he has not opposed, as he might, in virtue of his tribunitial power, the motion of the consuls in his behalf.* The ill-timed pleasure, which these illustrious citizens took in shewing themselves well apprised of Tiberius's real intentions, cost them dear; for he afterwards sacrificed them all, under various pretences, to his jealousy and suspicions. Several senators incur his displeasure.

Some

(I) *Asinius Gallus* was the son of the famous *Asinius Pollio*, the favourite of *Augustus*, and great patron of learning, and men of letters. He had been consul eleven years before, with *Caius Marcius Censorinus*, and had also borne the office of *triumvir monetalis*, or overseer of the coinage, as appears from one of *Augustus*'s medals with this legend on the reverse, *C. Asinius Gallus III. vir. A. A. A. F. F.* that is, *triumvir, auro, argento, ære, flando, feriundo*. At first the consuls took upon themselves the care of the mint, and joined two senators with them in this office; but afterwards the heads of the republic were eased of this trouble, and sometimes two, sometimes three, sometimes four persons were appointed to direct and inspect the coinage, and were called, according to their number, *duumviri*, *triumviri*, *quatuorviri monetales, æris, argenti, auri flatores*, (64). These magistrates are sometimes described on medals which were probably the current coin of the Romans, thus; *Cur. X. Fl.* that is, *Curatores denariorum flandorum*, and they were so called till the *triumviri monetales* were created. But to return to *Asinius Gallus*, *Suetonius* ascribes to him a small performance, containing a parallel or comparison of *Cicero* and his father *Asinius Pollio*, in which he gave the preference to the latter; in answer to this work, the emperor *Claudius* published a book, which he

intituled, *A defence of Cicero against the writings of Gallus.*

(K) *A. Lucius Arruntius* was descended of an ancient and noble family, indowed with extraordinary talents, possessed of great wealth, and in high favour with the people. *Augustus* was well acquainted with his abilities, and not long before his death, in a familiar conversation with his friends, declared his opinion of him; for the discourse turning upon the great men in *Rome*, who were equal to the supreme power, and some naming *Marcus Lepidus*, others *Asinius Gallus*, and some *Lucius Arruntius*; *Marcus Lepidus*, replied *Augustus, is indeed capable of the supreme power, but will not, in my opinion, accept of it; Asinius Gallus will aspire at it, but is not qualified for it; as for Lucius Arruntius, he is both equal to so great a charge, and will not fail, upon a proper occasion, to seize it* (65). That he spoke thus of *Lepidus* and *Asinius* is agreed on all hands, but some writers, quoted by *Tacitus*, instead of *Arruntius* name *Cneius Piso*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the course of this reign. All these great men, except *Lepidus*, were soon cut off by *Tiberius*'s orders, being charged with various crimes feigned by him on purpose to get rid of all competitors to the sovereign power (66).

(64) Vide Pompon. l. ii. de orig. juris.

(65) Tacit. ibid.

(66) Idem ibid.

Some other senators spoke still more boldly; and yet we do not find that *Tiberius* ever resented the liberty they had taken; they were not, in all likelihood, so considerable, either for their birth or talents, as to give him any umbrage. Of these one, no longer able to bear the ambiguity of his answers, with which he held the senate in suspense, who were all the while at his feet, cried out, *Let Tiberius either accept of the empire, or declare in plain terms that he rejects it.* Another boldly addressing him, *Other men, said he, perform slowly what they readily promise; but you promise slowly what you have already performed.* And indeed he reigned already, having from the moment *Augustus* expired assumed all the prerogatives of a sovereign; but in this mysterious way of dealing with the senate, he had two things in view; the first was to make the world believe that he had been by the common wealth chosen, and called to the empire, which was more glorious for him than to owe it to the intrigues of a woman, or to the adoption of a superannuated prince; the second thing he had in view was to discover the designs and intentions of the great men, and by that means be able to distinguish his friends from his foes. At length pretending to be overcome by the importunities of the conscript fathers, and complaining of the heavy burden they laid upon him, he began to yield by degrees to their request, and in the end accepted the government, but so as to give them hopes that he would one day resign it; his words were, *I accept the empire, and will hold it till such time as you conscript fathers, in your great prudence shall think fit to give repose to my old age.* Thus was *Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero* (L), in the fifty sixth year of his age, raised to the empire, and invested

The boldest of some senators.

Tiberius takes upon him the empire.

¹ TACIT. *ibid.* c. 11, 12. Suet. *ibid.* Dio, l. lvii. p. 602.

² TACIT. *ibid.*

(L) The *Claudian* family, of which *Tiberius* was descended, was one of the most illustrious families of *Rome*. They were originally of *Regillum*, a city of the *Sabines*, whence, according to some writers, they removed to *Rome*, in the time of *Romulus*, being invited thither by *Titus Tatius*, who reigned jointly with him, according to others, whom we have followed (67), in the fourth consulship of *Poplicola*, when they were brought to *Rome* by *Attius Clausus*, chief of the family, and received into the number of the patricians by the senate, who assigned them a certain portion of land beyond the *Anio*, and a burying place under the capitol. *Attius Clausus*, on his arrival at *Rome*, whether he came with five thousand families of his friends and dependents, changed his name to *Appius Claudius*, and was immediately admitted into the senate. In process of time the *Claudian* family was honoured with twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, six triumphs, and two ovations. They were distinguished among themselves by several names and surnames, but they agreed absolutely to renounce the name of *Lucius*, which was common in their family, two of that name having been condemned and executed, and to take the name of *Nero* in its stead, which in the *Sabine* language signifies *strong* and *valiant*. Of this family were the famous *Appius Cæcus*, *Appius Claudius Caudex*, *Appius Claudius Nero*, *Appius Claudius*, the decemvir, *Appius Claudius Drusus*, *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, of whom we have spoken at length in different places of this work. Of the same family were the two celebrated *Claudias*, one of whom disengaged the vessel, which was stranded at the mouth of the *Tiber*, and laden with the sacred image and the utensils of the great mother of the gods; the other was arraigned of high treason before the people which had never happened before to any woman for saying as she passed in her chariot through the streets which were much crowded, *I wish my brother Pulcher were alive, that by losing another sea-fight, he might clear the streets of that throng, and make more room for my chariot:* for *Claudius Pulcher*, as we have related elsewhere (68), having engaged the *Carthaginians* at sea contrary to

the opinion of all his officers, was by them entirely defeated with the loss of ninety galleys, and twenty-eight thousand men, killed, drowned, or taken prisoners. *P. Claudius*, the declared enemy of *Cicero*, was likewise of this family; but in order to obtain the tribuneship, and by the power annexed to that office enabled himself effectually to destroy the *Roman* orator, he renounced his nobility, and got himself adopted by a mean plebeian into a very low family. The rest were all patricians, and had ever been the principal assertors of the power and dignity of that order. *Tiberius* was of the patrician family of the *Claudii* both by the father's side, who was descended from *Tiberius Nero*, the son of *Appius Cæcus*, and by the mother's, who was the daughter of *Appius Pulcher*, brother to the said *Tiberius Nero*. He was also allied to the family of the *Livii* by the adoption of his mother's grandfather. The *Livian* family was indeed plebeian, but nevertheless honour'd with eight consulships, two censorships, one dictatorship, and three triumphs. To this family *Rome* was indebted for many citizens of great prowess and renown, among whom we may well reckon *Livius Salinator*, and *Livius Drusus*; of *Livius Salinator* we have spoke elsewhere (69); as to *Livius Drusus*, he is said to have killed in a single combat a general of the enemy named *Drusus*, and to have in memory of that exploit assumed and transmitted to his posterity the name of *Drusus*. In his prætorship he recovered according to some writers, and brought back the gold which had been given to the *Senones*, when they besieged the capitol. The father of *Tiberius*, was quæstor to *Julius Cæsar*, and commanded his fleet in the *Alexandrian* war; after which he was by the dictator rewarded for his eminent services, and appointed first pontifex in the room of *Pablius Scipio*, and afterwards honoured with the command of the colonies which were sent into *Gaul*. However, when the dictator was slain, and most of the senators, apprehensive of new troubles, were passing an act of oblivion, *Tiberius*, not thinking that enough, moved, that rewards might be bestowed on the tyrannicides. In the *Perusian* war he sided with *Lucius Antonius* against *Octavianus*, and though

(67) *Vide Hist. Univers. Vol. IV. p. 477, 478, Univers. Vol. IV. p. 691. 736.*

(68) *Hist. Univers. Vol. IV. p. 673.*

(69) *Hist.*

a invested by the senate and people with the same unbounded power which *Augustus* had enjoyed.

Tiberius had no sooner accepted the empire, than the senators, to curry favour with their new sovereign, were for heaping extraordinary honours on his mother: some proposed decreeing her the general title of *mother*, others that of *mother of her country*, and almost all moved; that to the name of *Tiberius* should be added, *the son of Livia*. But *Tiberius*, jealous of his mother's glory, answered; that public honours ought to be conferred upon women warily; and with a sparing hand, adding, that he would use the same moderation in receiving the honours which should be offered to himself. He could not be prevailed upon to suffer so much as a lictor to be decreed her, tho' every vestal enjoyed that mark of distinction; nay, he prohibited the raising her an altar in memory of her late adoption into the *Julian* family; or paying her any honours of the like nature. Thus from the very beginning of his reign, he requited with the utmost ingratitude the infinite obligations he owed to his mother; being ashamed, as was commonly believed, to acknowledge himself indebted for the empire to the intrigues of a woman^w. He proved a no less cruel husband; than an undutiful son. *Julia* had been long since banished by her father into the island of *Pandataria* on account of her scandalous lewdness; and from thence some years after removed to the city

His ingratitude to his mother Livia.

^w *Idem ibid.*

though the rest abandoned *Lucius*, yet he could never be prevailed upon to forsake him; so that he was the only person who continued with him to the last. When the city of *Perusia* surrendered, he found means to make his escape first to *Præneste*, and from thence into *Campania*, where he armed the slaves with a design to make a stand against *Octavianus*; but his undisciplined troops betaking themselves to flight at the approach of *Octavianus*'s victorious legions, he was forced to shelter himself in *Sicily*, where he staid a very short time, being disgusted with *Pompey*, who neither deigned to admit him into his presence; nor would allow him to have the fasces carried before him, though the time of his prætorship was not yet expired. From *Sicily* he retired into *Greece*; where he was kindly received by *Marc Antony*, and entertained by him in a manner suitable to his rank; till a peace being concluded between *Antony*, *Octavianus*, and *Pompey*, and a general amnesty granted; he returned to *Rome* with the rest of the exiles; where *Augustus*, falling in love with his wife *Livia Drusilla*, obliged him to yield her to him, though she had already brought him children, among the rest *Tiberius*, and was then big with child. He died soon after; leaving behind him two sons, *Tiberius* and *Drusus*, surnamed *Nero's*, as we have related above.

Some authors have written, that *Tiberius* was born at *Fundi*, a city of the *Aufones* between *Terracina* and *Formia*; but the most credible writers assure us, that he was born at *Rome* on mount *Palatine*, the sixteenth day before the calends of *December*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* being consul the second time with *L. Munatius Plancus*. In his infancy he suffered great hardships, and was exposed to frequent dangers, his parents having taken him along with them in their flight and exile; nay, his mother *Livia*, in their painful journeys round *Sicily* and *Greece*, is said to have carried him great part of the way in her arms, her husband being abandoned by all his friends, and even his domestics, on account of his steady adherence to the republican party. Some time after his return to *Rome* one, *M. Gallius*, a senator, adopted him by his last will; and appointed him his heir: *Tiberius* accepted of the estate, but declined assuming the name of his benefactor, because he had been formerly a zealous stickler for the republican party. He made a funeral oration for his father, when he was but nine years old, which was received with great applause. In *Augustus*'s triumph for his vic-

tory over *Antony* at *Actium*, he attended him on horse-back with *Marcellus* the son of *Octavia*. He afterwards commanded the young noblemen in the *Trojan* solemnities, or tournament called *Troy*, which were celebrated in the circus, presided in the *Ætiac* games, instituted in memory of *Augustus*'s victory at *Actium*, and exhibited several combats of gladiators in honour of his father *Tiberius*, and grandfather *Drusus*, in one of which he engaged with three hundred thousand sesterces, some of the *rudarii*, or gladiators who had been discharged and exempted from fighting, to return to the arena. He entertained the people with several other magnificent shews, partly at the expence of his mother, and partly of his father-in-law. His first wife was *Agrippina*, the daughter of *Agrippa*, and granddaughter of the famous *Titus Pomponius Atticus*, by whom he had his son *Drusus*; but though she was with child again, he was obliged much against his will to divorce her, and marry *Julia*, the daughter of *Augustus*, by whom he had one son, who died while he was yet an infant. *Julia* had, in her first husband's life-time, expressed a great passion for *Tiberius*; but after their marriage she despised him, and was, as it is commonly believed, with her scandalous and lewd life, the chief cause of his sudden retreat to *Rhodes*.

He first served under *Augustus* in quality of military tribune in the *Cantabrian* war; some time after he was appointed commander in chief of the army which was sent into *Armenia* to place *Tigranes* on that throne. On his return from that expedition *Augustus* raised him to the prætorship, and took him with him into *Gaul*, whence he sent him against the *Rhætians* and *Vindelicians*, whom he conquered, reducing their country to a *Roman* province, as we have related above. He was no less successful in his expeditions against the *Pannonians* and *Germans*, whom he obliged to sue for peace. *Augustus* rewarded his victories with a triumph, which he obtained in his second consulship. But in the height of his glory he left *Rome*, and retired to *Rhodes*, whence after seven years banishment, as we may call it, he was allowed to return to *Rome*, reinstated in the favour of *Augustus* by the interest of his mother *Livia*, appointed to command the armies in *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Illyricum*, made in some degree partner of the empire with *Augustus*, and in his last will named his chief heir (70).

The death of
Julia,

Sempronius
Gracchus one
of her chief fa-
vourites mur-
dered by Tibe-
rius's orders.

He endeavours
to engage Ger-
manicus in his
interest.

The privilege
of creating ma-
gistrates trans-
ferred from the
people to the
senate.

city of *Rhegium* on the streights of *Sicily*, where she suffered a less painful exile. *Tiberius* in *Augustus*'s life-time had shewn great tenderness and compassion for his unhappy wife, and often solicited the prince to recall her, and reinstate her in his favour. But he was no sooner declared emperor, than he stopt the small pension which her father paid her yearly for her support; so that the unfortunate princess, after a long series of miseries, died of want in the fifteenth year of her banishment (M)*. At the same time *Sempronius Gracchus*, one of her chief favourites, was by *Tiberius*'s orders put to death in the island of *Cercina*, to which he had been confined by *Augustus*. He was descended of one of the most illustrious families in *Rome*; had a lively wit, great eloquence, and an engaging address and behaviour. With these parts he had captivated the heart of *Julia*, and debauched her while she was yet *Agrippa*'s wife; neither did he break off his intrigues with her, after she was married to *Tiberius*; nay, he is supposed to have inspired her with contempt and aversion for her new husband, and to have dictated the letters, which she wrote to her father, full of bitterness against *Tiberius*, and painting him in the most odious colours. He had therefore been banished by *Augustus* to the island of *Cercina*, where he had suffered great miseries for fourteen years. But *Tiberius*, not judging banishment an adequate punishment for the injuries *Sempronius* had done him, sent or ordered *Lucius Asprenas*, proconsul of *Africa*, to send a band of assassins to dispatch him. These upon their landing found the unhappy exile on the shore, who without betraying any fear or surprize, went to meet them, and intreat them, being well apprised of their design, to suspend the execution of *Cæsar*'s orders, till he wrote a letter to his wife *Alliaria*, to acquaint her with his last will; which he had no sooner done, than he offered his neck to the sword of the assassins with a constancy and intrepidity worthy of the *Sempronian* name, though he had in his life-time shamefully degenerated from the glory of his ancestors. Some authors have written, that the assassins were not sent directly from *Rome*, but from *Africa*, the crafty tyrant having committed the execution of his orders to *Lucius Asprenas*, governor of that province, in order to screen himself by that means from the imputation of putting to death an illustrious citizen of *Rome*, whom his father *Augustus* had only condemned to banishment, and cast the odium of such an action on *Asprenas*†. But *Tiberius*'s principal care in the beginning of his reign was to engage in his interest his nephew *Germanicus*, who on account of his extraordinary parts, and sweet temper, was equally adored by the people and soldiery. In order to this, though he hated *Germanicus* in his heart, yet pretending a tender affection for him, after he had forbid the senate to confer any particular honours on *Livla*, he recommended to them his nephew, and even asked for him the proconsular power; which being granted, he immediately dispatched into *Germany* persons of the first rank to acquaint him therewith, and condole with him in his name for the death of *Augustus*‡ (N). He then named twelve candidates for the prætorship, among whom were *Velleius Paterculus* the historian, and his brother; the senate desired him to appoint more, but as that number had been settled by *Augustus*, he not only refused to comply with their request, but bound himself by an oath never to depart from the regulations of his predecessor. The people had hitherto enjoyed the privilege of creating magistrates, or at least shared it with the emperor, one half of the magistrates being named by

* Idem ibid. c. 53. Suet. l. iii. c. 11.

† Tacit. ibid. c. 53.

‡ Idem ibid.

(M) *Augustus* had confined her only to the city of *Rhegium*, but *Tiberius* would not allow her the liberty of going out of the house in which she lodged, nor suffer any of the inhabitants to converse with her, or come near her. He deprived her, according to *Suetonius* (71), of the small pension which *Augustus* had allowed her for her maintenance, under pretence of an exact and religious observance of the last will of her father, in which no mention was made of her. But *Dion Cassius* tells us (72), that he left her a small legacy, though he ordained, that neither she nor her daughter should be laid in his mausoleum; and *Tacitus* says, that he caused her to perish with want, supposing that her tragical death,

as she was at a good distance from *Rome*, would remain concealed (73).

(N) *Germanicus* had been invested with the proconsular power three years before by *Augustus*, as *Dion* informs us; the power therefore, which was now conferred upon him at the request of *Tiberius*, was, no doubt, a confirmation of the proconsular authority for his life, such as had been formerly granted to *Augustus*. In virtue of this new dignity, *Germanicus* had an almost absolute authority over all the *Roman* forces both in the provinces and the city, and was every-where to be acknowledged as commander in chief; and under *Tiberius* generalissimo of the empire.

(71) Suet. ibid. c. 5.

(72) Dio, l. lvi.

(73) Tacit. annal. l. i.

a by him, and the other by the tribes, assembled in the field of *Mars* (O); but *Tiberius* in the first elections, deprived them of their ancient rights, and transferred them to the senate: the people complained of this innovation, but no disturbances ensued, the senate being well pleased with the change, since by it they were delivered from the charge of buying votes, and the shame of begging them^a.

Tiberius had scarce taken possession of the sovereign power, or, as we may well call it, the throne, when news was brought him, that the armies in *Pannonia* and *Germany* had mutinied. In *Pannonia* three legions, viz. the eighth, the ninth, and the thirteenth, being allowed by their general *Julius Blæsus* a relaxation for some days from their usual duties, either to mourn, according to the Roman custom, for the death of *Augustus*, or to rejoice for the accession of *Tiberius*, they grew wanton, quarrelsome and turbulent, began to hearken to seditious discourses, to be fond of an easy and idle life, and to have an utter aversion to the toils and discipline of the camp. They were headed and inflamed by one *Percennius*, a common soldier, who, before he served in the army, had made it his whole business to raise disturbances, and form parties in the theatres and play-houses to hiss or applaud such players as he disliked or favoured (P). As he had by this practice acquired a notable talent in speaking to a croud, and inflaming the mob, in the dusk of the evening, when those whom he distrusted were withdrawn to their tents, he used to assemble the most turbulent, stir them up to mutiny, inflame them against their officers, and encourage them to lay hold of the present occasion, while the emperor's authority was yet wavering, to prevail upon him either by force or intreaties to redress their grievances. How long, *Percennius* in-
said he, shall we obey, like slaves, a few centurions and tribunes? When shall we have flames them.
courage enough to demand a redress of our grievances, if we let slip the present opportunity? What hinders us from laying our complaints before the new emperor, and obliging him either by our prayers or menaces to listen to them? Are we doomed to be for ever miserable? Many of us have already served thirty or forty years, are decrepit with age, and maimed with wounds; and yet either cannot obtain our discharge, or after having obtained it, are still kept in the camp under the honourable title of veterans (Q), and obliged

^a Idem ibid. Dio, l. liv.

(O) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Julius Cæsar* shared the power of creating magistrates with the people, except in the election of consuls, one half of the magistrates being declared by them, and the other by himself, which he signified by billets sent to the tribes in these words; *I recommend such or such a person to you, that by your suffrage he may be admitted into such or such an office* (74). The same writer in the life of *Augustus* informs us, that he restored to the assemblies of the people the ancient rights, having first enacted severe laws against all sorts of bribery, and corrupt acquisition of offices. But whether *Suetonius* by ancient rights meant those which the people enjoyed in the times of liberty, or only the privilege of chusing one half of the magistrates, which they were allowed in the dictatorship of *Cæsar*, and afterwards deprived of during the triumvirate, is matter of dispute among the learned (75). As to the consuls, they were both named by *Cæsar* the dictator, and afterwards by *Augustus*, at least in the first years of his reign. *Dion* seems to insinuate, that *Tiberius* named the consuls himself, but allowed the senate to chuse the other magistrates, reserving to himself the recommendation of some who were to be elected without opposition: on the other hand, *Tacitus* tells us, that as to the consular elections, he can scarce affirm any thing, there being in this particular a great disagreement among the historians of those times, and a seeming contradiction in the speeches of *Tiberius* himself, always reserved, always mysterious (76).

(P) In the circus and theatres there were in the Roman times parties and factions, some favouring one actor, and some another: the opposite parties often came to blows; nay, much blood was sometimes shed in these frays. *Suetonius* tells us, that the emperor *Nero* took great pleasure in these theatrical

battles; and that being conveyed in his litter into the theatre, he not only beheld from the upper part of the *proscenium* the opposite parties quarrelling about the players, but set them together by the ears; and when they were engaged, took great delight in throwing stones, and pieces of broken benches, among the croud, with which he once wounded a prætor in the head (77).

(Q) In the times of the republic those were called veterans, who had served twenty years, after which they were discharged, and allowed to retire, if they pleased, as *Suidas* informs us: this discharge was called *Missio*. But under the emperors the veterans, that is, those who had served twenty years, were still kept in the camp till they received the rewards which were due to them on account of their past services, and in the mean time were exempted from all manner of drudgery, and only obliged to fight. This discharge or exemption from military toils was called by the ancients *exauſoratio*, which we must carefully distinguish from what they called *Missio*; for after the former they often continued many years under their colours, whereas the latter was an absolute discharge granted to them after they had received their rewards. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Tiberius* very rarely discharged his veterans, that he might be a gainer by their death (78); for the rewards due to them were not paid to their heirs. The same writer informs us, that *Caligula* in reviewing his army discharged several centurions, who had very near served their time, under pretence that they were too old, and unfit for the service (79). Thus some of the emperors declined discharging their soldiers after they had served their time, and others discharged them before; all with the same view, to defraud them of their rewards.

(74) *Suet. in Julio*, c. 41. (75) *Vide Lipsium in Ecurf. in ann. l. Tacit. l. i. litera E.* (76) *Tacit. annal. l. i. in fine.* (77) *Suet. in Ner. c. 16.* (78) *Suet. in Tib. c. 48.* (79) *Idem in Calig. c. 44.*

Blæsus endeavours to appease them.

obliged to undergo the same hardships, the same labours. But suppose any of us should escape a so many dangers, and outlive so many calamities, how in the end shall we be rewarded? Under the name of lands we shall be doomed to drain bogs and marshes, or to till barren mountains in countries far remote from our native soil. Could our pay afford us a comfortable subsistence, we should not have so much reason to complain of the poorness of our rewards. But our persons and lives are valued only at ten asses a day, and out of this we must buy cloaths, tents, and arms; out of this we must bribe our cruel centurions, and redeem ourselves from their blows: for so poor a price we must patiently suffer stripes, wounds, hard winters, laborious summers, bloody wars, or a barren peace. For these miseries there is no other remedy left us, than that we refuse to serve but upon certain conditions fixed by ourselves particularly, that our pay be a denarius, or sixteen asses a day (R); that sixteen years be the utmost term of serving, that when this time is expired, we be no longer kept under the colours, but have our rewards paid us in ready money in the camp where we earned it. Do the prætorian cohorts, who receive two denarii a day, and are discharged after sixteen years service, undergo greater dangers than we? I do not mean to detract from the merit of the city guards, but only say, that we are placed in the midst of barbarous nations, and cannot look out of our camp without seeing the enemy. This harangue was received with great applause by the enraged multitude: some of them immediately proposed the incorporating of the three legions into one; but every one claiming for his own legion the prerogative of denominating the other two, this project was defeated; however, they agreed to place the three eagles of the legions with the standards of the cohorts all together, and to raise with turf a tribunal, according to the Roman custom (S), for the new general they designed to chuse. While they were thus busy, Blæsus arrived; and having severely rebuked some, and threatened others, *Dip your hands rather in my blood*, he cried with a loud voice to all; *for to murder your general will be a less crime than to revolt from your prince; for I am determined, if I fall not by your hands, to keep you in your obedience; if you think fit to murder me, I hope at the sight of my blood you will repent of your crime, and return to your duty.* This discourse did not affect the mutinous soldiery, who continued their work, till it was breast-high, when at length, being overcome by the constancy and intrepidity of their general, they forbore. When their fury was somewhat assuaged, Blæsus, who was an able speaker, remonstrated to them, that sedition and mutiny were not the proper means of conveying their claims to the emperor; that their demands were new and extraordinary, such as no armies had in former times made to their generals, nor they themselves to the deified Augustus; besides, that they were ill-timed, since princes in the beginning of their government are taken up and imbarassed with various cares. However, if they expected to gain in peace what the conquerors, even after the civil wars, had never had the confidence to demand, why should they use violence, and trample upon the rules of military discipline? that they might appoint deputies, and in his presence give them their instructions. At these words they all cried out with one voice, that they were willing to send deputies; and that the son of Blæsus, who was a tribune, should be immediately dispatched to the emperor to demand in their name, that they might

(R) The Roman denarius was a piece of silver first coined in the year of Rome 484, Q. Ogulnius Gallus and Q. Fabius Pictor being consuls. It was at first worth ten asses, and therefore marked with the numeral letter X. It underwent in process of time many changes and reductions; but in the age we are now writing of, it was valued at sixteen asses, and hence the mutineers demanded, that their pay might be raised from ten asses to a denarius. Lipsius in his notes upon Tacitus pretends, that the denarius at this time was worth twelve asses only; but that he was therein mistaken, is manifest from Gronovius's learned observations on the money of the ancients (100.) The soldiers pay was at first five asses a day; but it was afterwards, at what time precisely we know not, raised to ten. Out of these ten asses they were to buy cloaths, tents and arms, as is manifest from this passage of Tacitus, contrary to the law published by Gracchus, enacting, that the soldiers should be supplied with arms, cloaths, tents,

&c. at the public expence. This law was probably revoked, when their pay was increased; but nevertheless some of the succeeding emperors clothed their soldiers at the expence of the public, namely Alexander Severus, who, as *Ælius Lampridius* tells us in the life of that emperor, gave his soldiers shoes, boots, breeches, coats and cloaks.

(S) The tribunal, from whence the emperors used to harangue their troops, was still, nay, and many ages after, raised with turf. *Flavius Vopiscus*, speaking of the elevation of the emperor Probus, *The whole army, says he, cried out unanimously, Probus we salute Probus our sovereign. The gods save you! Then they erected a tribunal of turf, and proclaimed him emperor.* This custom obtained likewise among foreign nations, especially in Britain, as *Xiphilinus* informs us, who, in speaking of the famous queen Boadicea, says, that she ascended a tribunal raised with turf after the Roman manner. Frequent mention is made of these tribunals by the ancient poets (1).

(100) Vide Gronov. pec. vet. l. iii. c. 2.

(1) Vide Stat. in syl. Lucan. l. v. & Claud. de bell. Getic.

a might be absolutely discharged after sixteen years service; they added, that when he had obtained this, they would trust him with their further pretensions.

In the mean time, some manipuli or companies, which had been sent, before the sedition, to *Nauportum* (T), to mend the roads, being informed of the tumult in the camp, plucked up their standards, and falling upon the neighbouring villages, plundered them, and *Nauportum* itself. The centurions endeavoured to restrain their violence, but the mutineers, instead of listening to their remonstrances, or betraying any fear at their menaces, first derided them, afterwards abused them with most outrageous language, and at length came to blows. They were chiefly incensed against *Aufidienus Rufus*, who, as he had been long a common soldier, and had raised himself by his courage and bravery to the post of *præfectus castrorum* (U), was a severe observer of the primitive discipline, which he exacted from others with the more rigor, as he had himself borne with patience the hardships attending it. Upon him the furious multitude first vented their rage; they dragged him from his chariot, loaded him with baggage, and driving him before the first ranks, asked him by way of insult, how he liked such burdens? how such marches? Upon the arrival of these mutinous companies in the camp, the sedition broke out anew with more fury than ever; the seditious, casting off all obedience, roved about the country without controul, ravaging it on all sides. Upon their return, *Blæsus*, who was still obeyed by the centurions, and the legionaries of any reputation, caused those, who were most loaded with plunder, to be beaten with rods, and cast into prison (W). But the furious multitude, flying to the relief of the criminals, rescued them out of the hands of the lictors, and, breaking open the prison, set all the prisoners at liberty. After so bold an attempt the mutineers grew more outrageous, and the mutiny more general. One *Vibulenus*, a common soldier, being raised on the shoulders of his comrades, before the tribunal of *Blæsus*, addressed those who had delivered the prisoners, thus: *I cannot sufficiently commend the zeal you have shewn for these innocent and unhappy sufferers: you have restored them to their liberty: but who will restore life to my brother? who my brother to me? He was sent from the army in Germany with proposals for our common good: but our cruel general caused him to be butchered last night by his gladiators* (X), *whom he entertains and arms for our destruction.* Then turning to *Blæsus*, *Tell me, Blæsus, said he, where have you thrown his mangled body? Even the most cruel enemies do not deny burial to the slain. When I shall have satisfied my grief with a thousand kisses, and a flood of tears, commanded me also to be massacred, that our fellow-soldiers may bury my brother and me together, both inhumanly murdered for consulting the common good of the legions.* When *Vibulenus* had ended his speech, he threw himself at the feet of his companions, and beating his breast, tearing his face, and shewing all the symptoms of the deepest sorrow, he endeavoured to raise at the same time pity and fury in the minds of the multitude, and indeed with good success; for they fell immediately

(T) *Nauportum* was a city of *Upper Pannonia*, and is placed by *Strabo*, who calls it *Naupontus*, in the country of the *Taurisci*, three hundred and fifty furlongs from *Aquileia*. It was so called from the river *Nauportus*, on which it stood (2). *Cluverius* is of opinion, that *Nauportum* stood on the spot where the present city of *Oberlauback* in *Carniola* was afterwards built.

(U) This was, without all doubt, a new office, instituted probably by *Augustus*; for no mention is made of the *præfectus castrorum* by any author, who wrote in the times of the republic. It was his province to pitch upon the ground for incamping, and lay it out, to distribute the quarters and pavilions, and to direct the workmen in raising the ramparts, digging the ditches, &c. He had also under his care all the military engines, carriages, and iron tools belonging to the army (3). Each legion had a *præfectus castrorum*, at least when they incamped separately; for *Tacitus*, speaking of one *Pænius Posthumus*, calls him *præfectus castrorum secundæ legionis* (4). The same writer seems to place them in rank above the tribunes; for in describing *Vitellius's* entry into *Rome*, he tells us, that before their several eagles

marched first the *præfecti castrorum*, next to them the tribunes, and after the tribunes the chief centurions (5). *Vespasianus Pollio*, the grand-father of the emperor *Vespasian*, was *præfectus castrorum*. But we must not on that account confound, as a modern writer has done whom *Lipsius* confutes, the *præfectus castrorum* with the *præfectus prætorii*, an officer of a much superior rank.

(W) From this passage it is manifest, that the Romans built prisons in their camp, and also from the following lines of *Juvenal*:

*Inde fides arti, sonuit si dextera ferro
Lævaque, si longe castrorum in carcere mansit* (6).

These criminals were dragged along with the army in chains, when they decamped.

(X) Most of the governors of provinces, generals, and other great men, maintained vast numbers of gladiators at an immense charge for the public shews. We must not therefore imagine, that the gladiators mentioned in this place were listed in the legions: they belonged to the general, and not to the army.

(2) *Vide Plin. l. iii. c. 18. & Vell. Patercul. l. xi. c. 110.* (3) *Vide Veget. l. xi. c. 10.* (4) *Tacit. l. xiv.* (5) *Tacit. histor. l. ii.* (6) *Juvenal. satyr. 6.*

They fall upon
their officers.

ately upon *Blæsus's* gladiators and domestics, and having bound them; dispersed themselves about the camp and the neighbouring fields in quest of the supposed corps, which if they had found, *Blæsus* himself would have been in great danger; but as they could find no corps, and it manifestly appeared from the depositions of *Blæsus's* slaves upon the rack, and of other credible witnesses, that the whole was a calumny maliciously invented, and that *Vibulenus* never had any brother, they spared their general; but nevertheless in the height of their rage, fell upon the *præfektus castrorum*, and the tribunes, drove them out of the camp, and plundered their baggage: they put to death the centurion *Lucilius*, whom they hated above all the rest on account of his severity, and had by way of sarcasm nicknamed *Cedo alteram*, *Reach me another*, because when he had broke one rod, or vine-twigg, which was made use of on such occasions, upon the back of a soldier, he was wont to call for another, and then a third (Y). The other centurions withdrew, and absconded, all except *Julius Clemens*, whom, as he was a man of parts, the mutineers detained with a design to commit the management of their affairs to him. Another centurion, nicknamed *Sirpicus* (Z), had like to have occasioned a bloody quarrel between the eighth and fifteenth legion, the former insisting upon his being put to death, and the latter protecting him; but the ninth legion, what with intreaties, what with menaces, composed the difference ^b.

Drusus sent to
quell the tu-
mult.

Tiberius no sooner received intelligence of this mutiny, than he dispatched his son *Drusus* to the rebellious legions at the head of the prætorian cohorts, the prætorian horse, and the main body of the *German* horse, at this time the emperor's guards (A). The prætorian cohorts were on this occasion reinforced with an extraordinary addition of chosen men. Among the persons of distinction who were ordered to attend and assist *Drusus* in bringing back the revolted legions to their duty, were *Cneius Lentulus*, an officer of great fame and experience, and *Ælius Sejanus*, who had been lately joined with his father *Strabo* in the commission of *præfektus prætorii*, that is, in the command of the prætorian guards (B). *Sejanus* was appointed governor to the young prince; and as his credit with the emperor was known to be great, it was hoped he might either with promises or intreaties bring the seditious to a sense of their duty. When news was brought to the camp that *Drusus* approached, the legions in token

How received.

of respect marched out to meet him, not with their usual gaiety and shouts of joy, but in a sullen silence, displaying in their countenances marks of sadness mixed with fierceness and rage. As soon as *Drusus* entered the camp, he placed guards at all the gates and parties under arms in several quarters to be ready against any surprise. *Drusus* immediately ascended the tribunal, and having made a sign with his hand to the crouds that surrounded it to be silent, he read to them his father's letter; the substance of which was, that he would take a particular care of the brave legions with whom he had successfully carried on so many wars; that as soon as his grief was allayed, he would treat with the senate about their demands; that in the mean time,

Tiberius's
letter to them.

^b TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 16—30.

(Y) We have another instance of a nick-name made up of different words in the life of the emperor *Aurelianus* wrote by *Flavius Vopiscus*, who tells us, that there being two *Aurelians* in the army, and both tribunes at the same time, the soldiers used by way of distinction to call the *Aurelian* who was afterwards emperor, *Aurelianus Manus ad ferrum*, because he was on all occasions ready to draw his sword.

(Z) The word *Sirpicus* may be derived from the ancient verb *Sirpare*, which signifies to bind, and is used in that signification by *Varro* (7). The centurion was perhaps called *Sirpicus*, because he had frequently in his mouth that obsolete verb; perhaps because he kept the soldiers to their duty with great severity, and caused them to be bound and cast into prison for the least breach of military discipline.

(A) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Augustus*, after the defeat of *Varus*, who was cut off with three legions in *Germany*, disbanded all his *German* guards (8).

But *Tiberius*, it seems, set that corps on foot again, in the very beginning of his reign.

(B) The *præfektus prætorii* was the chief commander of the emperor's guards called *Prætorians* from the Latin word *Prætorium*, which at first signified the general's quarters in the camp, the word *prætor* being in the first ages of the republic common to all magistrates, whether civil or military. In the times of the emperors, by *prætorium* was meant the emperor's quarters in the camp, and his house in the city: hence in *prætorium accipi*, is to be listed among the prætorian soldiers, or the emperor's guards (9). *Augustus* was the first, as *Dion* informs us (10), who gave the title of *præfektus prætorii* to the chief officer of his guards. The *præfektii prætorii* under *Constantine the Great*, and his successors, were the first officers of the empire, and had quite different functions from those of the *præfektii prætorii* appointed by *Augustus*.

(7) *Varro*: l. iv. ling. Latin. (8) *Suet. in Aug.* c. 48. (9) *Vide Tacit. hist.* l. iv. c. 48. (10) *Dion*, l. iv. p. 555.

a time, he had sent them his son, and impowered him to make them forthwith such concessions as could be made without further consultation; but as to other demands, they were to be referred to the senate, whom he would not by any means deprive of the right of distributing rewards and punishments. When *Drusus* had read his father's letter, the assembly appointed the centurion *Julius Clemens* to be their speaker; who accordingly began with proposing to *Drusus* their demands, which were, that they should be discharged after sixteen years service; that they should upon that discharge receive the rewards which they claimed; that their pay should be increased to a *Roman denarius*, and that the veterans should be no longer detained under their ensigns. To these demands *Drusus* answered, that they exceeded his power, and therefore ought to be laid before the senate and his father. He had scarce uttered these words, when the multitude cried out with one voice, *To what end then are you come, since you can neither increase our pay, nor redress our grievances? Every officer is allowed to punish us with blows, and even death; and the son of the emperor has not power to relieve us by one beneficent action!* *Drusus*, we find, has already attained to a great perfection in the arts and policy of his father, who, to frustrate the requests of the soldiers, used to refer all to Augustus. It is surprising, that the emperor should take upon himself the command and whole direction of the army, and at the same time refer the soldiery to the senate for their rewards! Why should he not in like manner consult the senate, when a battle is to be fought, or a soldier to be punished? Are punishments to be inflicted without any controul or restraint, and rewards not bestowed without the consent and approbation of many? Having thus spoke, they left the tribunal, threatening and insulting all those they met belonging to *Drusus*, either as friends or guards, in order to pick a quarrel with them, and have some pretence to fall upon them sword in hand. They were chiefly enraged against *Cneius Lentulus*, who they suspected had hardened the young prince against their complaints, and encouraged him to despise the menaces of the soldiery. Of this *Lentulus* was well apprised, and therefore resolved, before their fury broke out, to quit the camp, and return to his winter quarters. But as he was departing, the mutineers surrounding him, asked, whither he went? to the emperor or senate, to oppose their advantages with them as he had done in the camp with *Drusus*? These words were followed with a shower of stones, and he had been soon dispatched, had not the troops that attended *Drusus*, who was with him, rescued him already covered with wounds and blood. As the enraged multitude seemed now determined to keep no measures, *Drusus* was under dreadful apprehensions of the following night, which every one believed would prove fatal to many, perhaps to *Drusus* himself. But it happened quite otherwise. Ignorance and superstition that very night put an end to the revolt, restored calm to the alarmed camp, and quieted the minds of the soldiery, after they had so long continued deaf to reason, and trampled upon all the laws of military discipline. The moon all on a sudden began to darken in the midst of a clear sky, till she was by degrees totally eclipsed (C). The soldiery, ignorant of the natural causes of this phenomenon, and imagining that the gods were angry with them on account of their revolt, and the crimes attending it, began to shew some signs of repentance. *Drusus* did not fail to improve this their disposition; he immediately sent the centurion *Julius Clemens*, and other officers and soldiers, in whom he could confide, to mix with the mutineers, and try whether they could, while they were thus alarmed, inspire them with a love of their duty. These, pursuant to the prince's orders, going round from tent to tent, and insinuating themselves everywhere, first prevailed upon the legionaries to abandon the veterans, and the three legions to separate. After this the love of duty and obedience returning by degrees, those who guarded the gates to keep *Drusus*, as it were, besieged, retired from their posts; the eagles and other ensigns, which, in the beginning of the tumult, had been thrown together, were carried back each to its proper place; and, after so dreadful a storm, calm and tranquillity restored to every quarter of the camp.

EARLY next morning, *Drusus*, having summoned an assembly ascended the tribunal, and though unskilled in speaking, yet with a haughtiness natural to the *Claudian* family, inveighed against their past, and commended their present behaviour. After this great debates arose in his council, some advising him to suspend all proceedings

b Idem ibid.

(C) This total eclipse happened, according to the learned bishop *Usher*, on the twenty-seventh of September at five in the morning.

The authors of
the revolt con-
demned and
executed.

ings till the return of the deputies, whom he had allowed them to send with their petitions to *Tiberius*, while others were for immediately condemning and executing the ring-leaders of the sedition. *Drusus*, as he was naturally inclined to severity, followed the advice of the latter; and having summoned *Vibulenus* and *Percennius* before his tribunal, he condemned them, and caused them immediately to be executed. Some writers say, that they were privately executed, and buried in *Drusus's* tent; others, that their bodies were ignominiously thrown over the infrenchments to strike terror into the rest. The other ring-leaders of the sedition were discovered sculking about the camp, and either slain by the centurions and prætorian guards, or delivered up to *Drusus* by their comrades as a proof of their sincere repentance. After this they were terrified anew with dreadful storms, and such violent rains, that they could not stir out of their tents; which they looking upon as sent by the angry gods, resolved to abandon a camp, which they had polluted with so many crimes, and return to their several garisons. Accordingly the eighth legion departed first, and then the fifteenth, though earnestly pressed by the ninth to wait till the return of their deputies: at length the ninth likewise, their courage failing them after they were deserted by the other two, abandoned the camp, and quietly followed them. *Drusus*, seeing tranquillity thus restored, returned to *Rome* to acquaint *Tiberius* with the success of his negotiations, which indeed was more owing to chance than his address^c.

The legions in
Germany re-
volt.

ALMOST at the same time, and for the same causes, the legions in *Germany* revolted with far greater fury, as they were far more numerous. On the *Rhine* were quartered two armies, the one called the *Upper*, commanded by *Caius Silius*, the other the *Lower*, by *Aulus Cæcina*; but the chief command of both was vested in *Germanicus*, who was then busy in collecting the tribute in *Gaul*. The legions under *Silius*, however discontented, waited for the success of the revolt, which the *Lower* army had begun. The latter, consisting of four legions, viz. the first, the fifth, the twentieth, and the one and twentieth, were incamped on the borders of the *Ubii* (D); where they no sooner received the news of *Augustus's* death, than the recruits lately raised in *Rome*, men accustomed to the softness and gaieties of the city, and impatient of military labour and discipline, began to stir up the rest with seditious harangues, insinuating, that a favourable opportunity offered at length for the veterans to demand an absolute discharge, for the soldiers who had not served out their time, to insist upon larger pay, and for all to obtain by some means or other a mitigation of their miseries. We could not have wished for a more favourable conjuncture, said they, to be revenged on the centurions for their cruelties: the fate of *Rome* depends upon us:

Their demands.

we

^c Idem ibid.

(D) The *Ubii* in *Cæsar's* time dwelt on the other side of the *Rhine*, as is manifest from his commentaries, where he speaks of them thus: *The country of the Suevi is bounded on the other side by that of the Ubii, who possess a large and flourishing city, and are a people far more polite than the other Germans, because lying nearer the Rhine, they have more commerce with merchants, and conversation with the Gauls; with these the Suevi had many disputes; and tho' the Ubii were so experienced soldiers, so powerful and so numerous a people, that they could not expel them the country, yet they made them their tributaries, and reduced them to a very low condition* (11). And elsewhere; *The Ubii*, says he, *the only people on the other side of the Rhine, who had sent ambassadors to Cæsar, had entered into an alliance with him, and delivered hostages, earnestly desired him to assist them against the oppressions of the Suevi; if the state of affairs did not permit him to go in person, they begged, that he would only send his army into Germany; for so great was the reputation which the Romans had acquired by defeating Ariovistus, that if they appeared in defence of the Ubii, if they owned them for their allies, their name alone would be sufficient to defend them from the insults of the remotest Germans* (12). For their sake chiefly, *Cæsar* resolved to cross the *Rhine*, and not thinking it either safe to transport

his army in boats, or suitable to his character, and the dignity of the *Roman* name, he built the famous bridge, which he minutely describes in his commentaries. As the *Ubii* continued faithful to *Rome*, and were on that account greatly harassed by their *German* neighbours, they were allowed by the *Romans* to settle on the opposite bank of the *Rhine*. This migration happened, according to *Strabo*, in the reign of *Augustus*; for that writer, speaking of the *Treviri*, adds, *Next to them dwelt the Ubii, whom Agrippa, agreeably to their inclination, placed on this side of the Rhine* (13). *Dion Cassius* mentions two expeditions of *Agrippa* into *Gaul*, the first in his first consulship, the second eighteen years after in the consulship of *C. Sentius* and *Q. Lucretius* (14). It is most likely, that the migration of the *Ubii* happened in the first expedition; for then he built, as *Dion* informs us, a bridge cross the *Rhine*. *Tacitus*, speaking of the *Ubii*, says, that they came from beyond the *Rhine*, and that for the many proofs of their fidelity, they were settled upon the bank of that river, not to be there guarded, but to guard and defend that boundary against the rest of the *Germans*. The country allotted to them comprehended the greater part of the present duchy of *Juliers*, and almost the whole archbishoprick of *Cologne*.

(11) *Cæsar comment. l. iv. c. 3.*
l. xlviii. & liv.

(12) *Idem ibid. c. 16.*

(13) *Strab. l. iv. p. 134.*

(14) *Dio,*

a we have enlarged the empire with our victories: to us the *Cæsars* are indebted for the glorious surname of *Germanicus*. As *Cæcina*, instead of exerting his authority, betrayed fear, and gave way to their fury, they fell at once upon the centurions, the chief objects of their resentment, and, dragging them to the ground, discharged upon each of them sixty blows, that is, as many as there were centurions in a legion (E). *They fall upon their centurions.* Then, thus bruised and near expiring, they drove them ignominiously out of the camp, nay, some they threw into the *Rhine*. One *Septimius* fled for refuge to the tribunal of *Cæcina*; but the general was forced to deliver him up to the incensed multitude. *Cassius Chærea*, another centurion, afterwards famous for the murder of the emperor *Caligula*, boldly opened himself a way, sword in hand, through the croud. After this the mutineers, despising the authority of their tribunes and their *præfetti castrorum*, set and relieved the centries themselves, appointed the guard, and gave such orders as they judged proper in the present conjuncture.

In the mean time, *Germanicus*, who, as we have hinted above, was collecting the tribute in *Gaul*, no sooner heard of this insurrection, than he flew to the camp. The legions, as he drew near, marched out to meet their general, expressing their dissatisfaction with hideous clamours; nay some, taking him by the hand, as if they designed to kiss it, thrust his fingers into their mouths, to shew him they had with age lost all their teeth; others desired him to behold their hoary heads, the wounds they had received, &c. *Germanicus*, instead of returning any answer to particulars, as soon as he had entered the intrenchments, ordered them to range themselves into manipuli, and place before them their several ensigns, as was customary when the general assembled and harangued his troops. They obeyed slowly and with reluctance; then *Germanicus* beginning his speech with an encomium upon *Augustus*, proceeded to the many victories of *Tiberius*, enlarging on the glorious exploits he had achieved in *Germany* with those very legions; he then acquainted them, that all *Italy*, both the *Gauls*, and every province of the empire had received and acknowledged *Tiberius* for emperor, without betraying the least disaffection. Thus far they listened to him with attention; but when he began to expostulate with them about their seditious behaviour, the scene changed; *Germanicus* was interrupted with loud clamours and a general uproar: some stripping themselves shewed him the scars of the many wounds they had received; others the marks of the stripes inflicted on them by the merciless centurions; they urged their scanty pay, their great labours, the hardships attending a military life, &c. Above all, from the veterans arose a dreadful cry; they enumerated thirty years of service and upwards, and begged, that to men quite spent and worn out he would at length grant some respite, that he would not suffer them to be indebted to death for their relief, but discharge them forthwith, and allow them a comfortable maintenance. Some demanded the money which had been bequeathed to them by *Augustus*, mixing with their demands zealous vows and omens of happiness for *Germanicus*; nay, some went so far as openly to declare, that they would stand by him to the last, if he would himself assume the empire. At these words *Germanicus*, struck with horror, leaped from the tribunal and attempted to make his escape, lest he should be stained with their treason: but the seditious legionaries, drawing their swords, stopt him, and even threatened to kill him, if he offered to withdraw. Then the generous *Germanicus*, protesting, that he would rather die than betray the trust reposed in him, drew his sword, and would have sacrificed his life to his fidelity; had not those who stood next to him seized his hand, and restrained him by force. There were not, however, some wanting in the assembly, who cried out to him to strike and not spare himself; nay, one *Calpurnius*, a common soldier, offered him his naked sword, saying, *Take this, Germanicus, it is perhaps sharper than your own*; a behaviour which was highly condemned by the rest as savage and barbarous. In the mean time, the friends of *Germanicus* had time to convey him out of the croud to his tent, and there to consult about the most proper measures in so critical a juncture. For *Germanicus* was informed, that the ring-leaders of the sedition were preparing to dispatch messengers to the *Upper* army, in order to draw them

(E) There were in a complete legion thirty *manipuli* or companies: each company consisted of a hundred and twenty men, and was divided into two bands, or, as the ancients style them, *orders*; each order consisted of sixty men, and had its peculiar centurion; so that there were in a complete legion sixty centurions; and each centurion had sixty men under his command (15).

(15) Vide *Lips. de militia Rom. l. ii. dial. 5. & 8. & Dion. Hal. l. ix.*

He feigns letters from Tiberius, granting their demands.

And satisfies some with his own money.

Some veterans in the country of the Chauci revolt, but are quelled by Memmius.

them too in the revolt; that they designed to plunder the city of the *Ubii* (F); and that the *Germans*, already acquainted with the sedition in the *Roman* army, were ready to invade *Gaul*, as soon as the banks of the *Rhine* were left unguarded. In the council, which *Germanicus* held in his own tent, various measures were proposed, and at last the following resolution unanimously agreed to, viz. that letters should be feigned from *Tiberius*, with directions, that those who had served twenty years should be finally discharged; that such as had served sixteen should be deemed veterans; and that the legacy, which they demanded, should not only be paid, but doubled. But the mutineers, suspecting these concessions to be forged purely to gain time, insisted on their being forthwith executed. The tribunes therefore were obliged to discharge immediately the veterans; but as to the payment of the legacy, *Germanicus* would have fain put it off, till they were retired to their winter-quarters; and indeed the first legion and the twentieth trusted him upon his word, but the fifth and the one-and-twentieth refused to stir from the camp, till they were satisfied; so that he was obliged to raise the sum out of the money which he and his friends had brought with them, to defray the expences of their journey, which they no sooner received, than they retired quietly to their winter-quarters. *Germanicus* then hastened to the upper army under the command of *Silius*, and easily prevailed upon the second, the thirteenth, and the sixteenth, to swear allegiance to *Tiberius*; the fourteenth shewed some hesitation, but *Germanicus* discharging forthwith the veterans, and paying the rest the money bequeathed them by *Augustus*, cut off all occasion of complaints.

BUT a party of veterans (G) belonging to the mutinous legions, and then in garrison in the country of the *Chauci* (H), began a sedition there, which was at first quelled by *Memmius*, præfect of the camp, who, though not vested with any such power (I), put instantly two of the ring-leaders of the sedition to death. But the tumult breaking out afterwards with fresh fury, *Memmius* was obliged to withdraw himself from their rage and lie concealed: the mutineers discovered him, and then *Memmius* declaring that these outrages were not offered to him, but to *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*, who would not fail to resent them, he snatched the colours, faced about towards the *Rhine*, and boldly threatening those, who should dare to abandon their ranks, with the punishments due to deserters, he led them back to their winter-quarters. In the mean time, deputies sent either by *Tiberius* or the senate, probably to quell

(F) By the city of the *Ubii* *Tacitus* means *Colonia Agrippinensis*, which he calls the city of the *Ubii*, either because it was their metropolis, or because they had not yet built any other. They probably laid the foundations of this city upon their first settling on this side of the *Rhine*. It was afterwards made a *Roman* colony, and peopled by veterans in the consulship of *C. Antistius* and *M. Silius*, at the request of *Agrippina*, the daughter of *Germanicus* and wife of the emperor *Claudius*, who was born there. From her it was called *Colonia Agrippinensis*, and in after-ages *Agrippina*; which has made some writers doubt, whether it borrowed its name from *Agrippina*, or from her grandfather *Agrippa*, who brought the *Ubii* over the *Rhine*. But to *Lipsius* this doubt seems quite groundless, since the colony, had he been the founder of it, would have been called *Colonia Agrippensis*, and not *Agrippinensis*. What name it bore before it was made a *Roman* colony we find no where mentioned; for *Tacitus* calls it constantly the city of the *Ubii*.

(G) The veterans formed a corp apart, and had their peculiar standard called *Vexillum*, whence they are commonly styled by the ancients *Vexillarii* and also *Emeriti*, from their being exempted from all manner of drudgery, and only obliged to fight the enemy. In this condition they continued till they received the rewards due for their service; and their final discharge, which the emperors used, under various pretences, to put off for many years, in order to defraud them of the promised lands or money.

(H) The *Chauci* inhabited *East-Friesland*, the counties of *Hoy* and *Oldenburg*, the duchy of *Bremen*, and part of *Lauenburg*. *Tacitus* describes the situation of their country and the manners of the people, thus: *Germany* extends northward a great way; first of all occurs the nation of the *Chauci*, who, though they begin immediately at the confines of the *Frisians*, and possess part of the shore, extend so far as to border upon the several people, of whom I have already spoken, till they reach quite to the borders of the *Catti*; so vast a country the *Chauci* not only possess, but fill! They are the most noble people of *Germany*, and chuse rather to maintain their grandeur by justice than violence: they live quietly, free from the ambition of possessing more, and of domineering over others. They give no occasion to wars, they ravage no countries: without wronging or oppressing others, they are come to be superior to all (16). However, they drove out the *Anfibarii*, and seized on their country, and made incursions into *Lower Germany*, as *Tacitus* himself informs us elsewhere (17).

(I) The power of life and death was at first lodged only in the commander in chief of the whole army, but afterwards extended by *Augustus* to his lieutenants, and by the other emperors to the proconsuls, proprætors, and all the governors of provinces: but no such power was ever granted to the præfects of the camp, to the tribunes, or other inferior officers.

(16) *Tacit. de mor. German. c. 35.*

(17) *Idem annal. l. xiii. c. 55. & hist. l. v. c. 19.*

a quell the sedition, meeting *Germanicus* near the altar of the Ubii (K), gave occasion to new disturbances. The first and the twentieth legions, who were incamped there with those legionaries, who had been lately placed under the standard of the veterans, apprehending that these deputies were come to revoke the concessions, which they had extorted by their sedition, and imputing the imaginary decree to *Munatius Plancus*, who had been consul the year before and was at the head of this deputation, they resolved to vent their rage chiefly upon him; which he being aware of, fled for refuge to the quarters of the first legion, and there embracing the eagle and other ensigns, hoped the veneration, which the soldiers paid them, would restrain their fury. But had not *Calpurnius* the eagle-bearer, with great bravery and resolution, repulsed the audacious multitude, the Roman camp had been stained with the blood of an ambassador of the Roman people. This disorder happened in the night, and early next morning *Germanicus* entering the camp, ascended the tribunal, and placing *Plancus* by himself on the tribunal, inveighed against the horrible disorders of the preceding night, acquainted the soldiery with the true purposes of that embassy, complained in an affecting manner of the unheard-of outrages offered to *Plancus* without any provocation, aggravated the disgrace which the violating of the sacred person of an ambassador brought upon the legions, &c. But as the assembly shewed no great tokens of repentance, he first dismissed the deputies under a strong guard of auxiliary horse, and then, at the motion of his friends, solicited his wife *Agrippina*, who had attended him with her son *Caius*, at that time an infant, into Germany, and was big with child, to withdraw out of the camp, and not expose herself to the fury of an outrageous multitude. *Agrippina* was unwilling to leave him, urging, that it was below her, who was the grand-daughter of *Augustus*, to betray any fear, or abandon her husband in time of danger. But *Germanicus*, tenderly embracing her and their little son, prevailed upon her at length by his tears and intreaties to depart. As she was attended by many women of distinction, wives of the chief officers in the camp, who it seems in those days accompanied their husbands in all their military expeditions, their tears, cries, and lamentations, in parting with their husbands, occasioned a great uproar in the camp, and drew together the soldiers from all quarters. This was so melting a scene, that the most obstinate among the rebellious legionaries were touched with it. They could not behold, without being at the same time seized with shame and compassion, so many women of rank travelling thus forlorn without a centurion to attend them, or a soldier to guard them, and their general's wife among them, carrying in her arms her little child, and repairing, like an exile, for shelter against the fury of the Roman legions to *Treves*, as if she reposed greater confidence in foreigners, than in her own countrymen. This made so deep an impression on their minds, that some ran to stop her, while the rest recurring to *Germanicus*, earnestly conjured him to recall her, that it might not be said, to their eternal shame and disgrace, that the daughter of *Agrippa*, the grand-daughter of *Augustus*, the daughter-in-law of *Drusus*, whose memory they adored, had been frightened from the Roman camp, and obliged to seek sanctuary among foreigners. *Germanicus*, observing both their sentiments and countenances changed, resolved to improve their present disposition; and accordingly in a long and affecting harangue, which in the height of his grief he uttered with great vehemence, he painted to them the blackness of their guilt in such lively colours, that they not only confessed, that all his reproaches were true, but, their minds being quite changed, they earnestly besought him to punish the authors of the late sedition, by whom they had been misled, and offered to march forthwith against the enemy, provided he would recall his wife and his son. *Germanicus*, finding them intirely reclaimed, answered, that his son should return, but against the recalling of *Agrippina* he alledged the season already far advanced, and her approaching delivery; and as to the punishing the authors of the sedition, he told them, that he left that to them. He had scarce uttered these words, when the legionaries ran to seize the chief authors of the sedition, and dragged them in chains to *Caius Cetronius*, commander of the first legion, who judged and punished them in the following manner: The legions with their drawn swords surrounded the tribunal,

The disturbances reviewed.

Germanicus sends away his wife Agrippina, and his son Caius.

Their departure affects the soldiery.

Germanicus improves this opportunity.

(K) This altar was probably raised in honour of *Augustus*, and seems to have been at a small distance from Cologne: *Cluverius* is of opinion, that the city of Bon, called by the ancients *Bonna*, was built in the place where this altar stood; but he is therein

contradicted by *Lipsius* and others, who from several passages out of *Tacitus* shew pretty plainly, that the altar of the Ubii stood in the neighbourhood of their city, that is, of Cologne, whereas *Bonna* was twelve miles distant from it.

They seize and
punish the
ring-leaders
of the revolt.

Two legions
continue obsti-
nate in their
revolt.

Germanicus
proposes to
march against
them.

But they pre-
vent him by
punishing the
sedition them-
selves.

The sedition
intirely quel-
led.

banal, from whence the prisoner was exposed to their view; if they pronounced him guilty, he was immediately thrown down headlong, and cut in pieces by his comrades. As *Germanicus* did not order, but only permitted, this new method of condemning and executing, he did not forfeit by it the reputation he had acquired of a humane and good-natured commander. The veterans followed the example of the legionaries, punishing the most seditious of their corps in the same manner. But, notwithstanding these signs of remorse and pledges of fidelity, *Germanicus*, glad to get rid of them, ordered them into *Rhætia* to defend that province against the *Suevi*, who were said to be in motion. After this he made a strict inquiry into the conduct and characters of the centurions, who were all cited before him to give each an account of his country, rank, the years of his service, his exploits in war, military presents, &c. If the tribunes or his legion were satisfied with his conduct, he kept his post, if they charged him with cruelty or avarice, he was immediately discharged. Thus were the first and the twentieth legion intirely reclaimed, and brought back to a sense of their duty. But the fifth and twenty-first, who were in winter-quarters sixty miles off in a place called *Vetera*, that is, *the old camp* (L), continued obstinate in their revolt, nor was there any wickedness which they did not commit. Against them therefore *Germanicus* resolved to lead the legions that had returned to their duty, and give them battle, if he could not reclaim them by fair means. With this view he prepared vessels and arms, and drew together his troops; but before he put them on board the vessels which were to convey them down the *Rhine*, judging it proper to allow the mutineers time to return to themselves, he wrote a letter to *Cæcina* who commanded them, acquainting him, that he approached with a powerful army, resolved to put them all to the sword without distinction, if they did not prevent him by taking vengeance themselves on the guilty. This letter *Cæcina* communicated only to the chief officers, and such of the soldiers as had all along disapproved of the revolt, exhorting them at the same time to enter into an association against the seditious, and redeem themselves from death and ignominy, by putting those to the sword who had brought them into the present danger. The officers approved of the proposal, and having, by sounding the legionaries and veterans, found, that the majority disapproved of the conduct of their comrades, they privately acquainted them with the contents of *Germanicus's* letter, and easily prevailed upon them to concur with their commanders, in sacrificing to their own safety the chief authors of the sedition. The time therefore was settled for falling sword in hand upon the most notoriously guilty and turbulent; and when it came, upon a signal agreed on before-hand, the faithful legionaries, rushing into the tents of the most seditious, massacred them without mercy, before they were aware of their danger: nothing was to be heard but dreadful outcries and groans in all the quarters of the camp; nothing to be seen but streams of blood and heaps of dead bodies. Neither *Cæcina*, nor any of the tribunes, offered to stop the fury of the enraged soldiery; so that the slaughter was general, and the camp in an instant turned into a shambles: comrades were butchered by comrades, and friends by friends, in the same tents where they used to eat and sleep together. The massacre was scarce ended, when *Germanicus* arrived, who, as he was naturally inclined to pity and mercy, could not behold the camp streaming with blood and filled with carcases, without bursting into tears, and crying out, *This is not a remedy; but slaughter and desolation*. After he had with a flood of tears given vent to his grief, he caused the bodies of the slain to be burnt, and celebrated their obsequies with the usual pomp^d. Thus was this dangerous sedition intirely quelled, discipline re-established, the rebellious legions thoroughly reclaimed, and the supreme power secured to *Tiberius*, by the address and intrepidity of the brave *Germanicus*; who, had his unbounded greatness of mind and

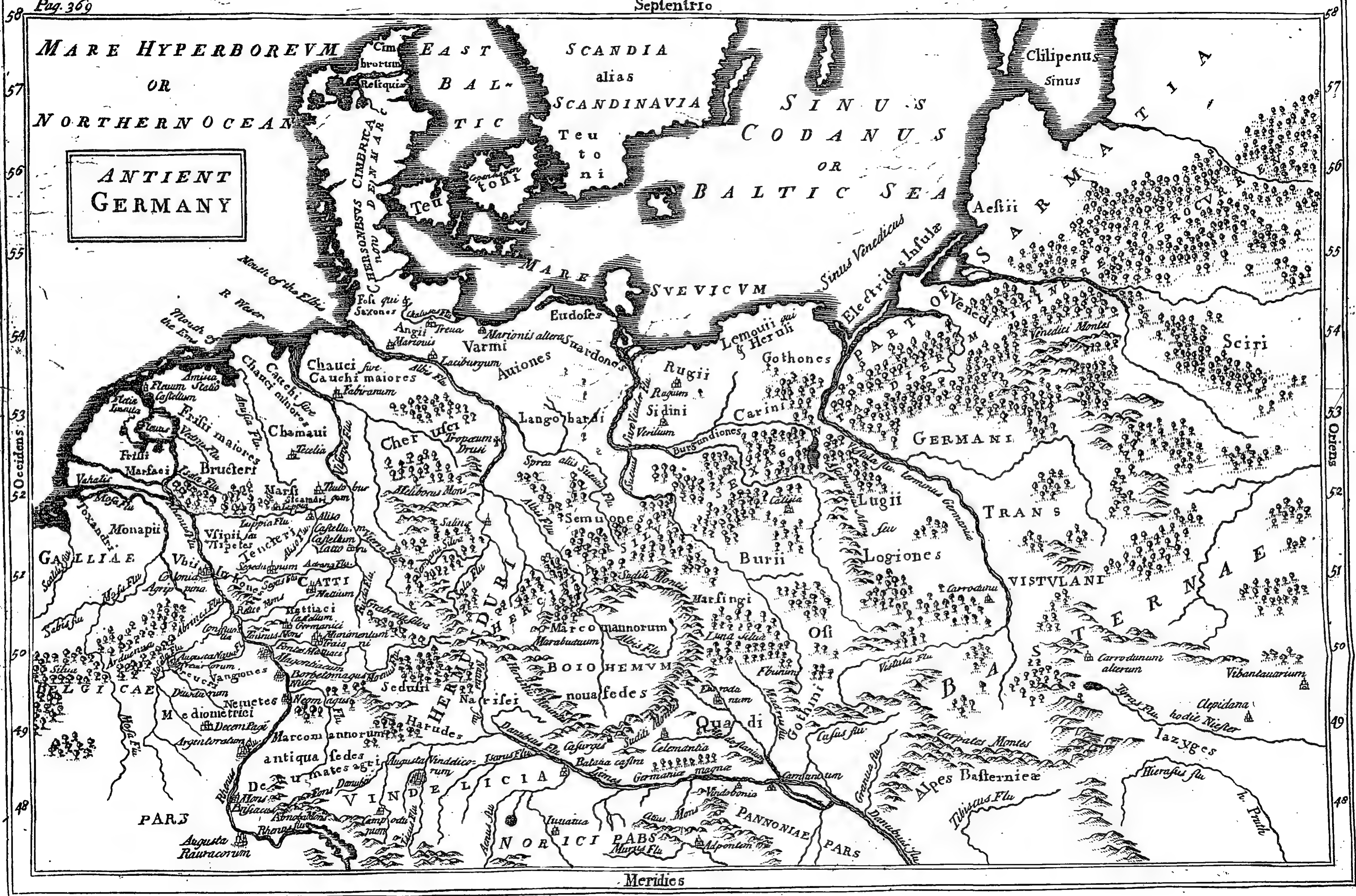
unshaken

^d TACIT. annal. l. i. c. 40---51. DIO, l. lvii. p. 604, &c.

(L) This place began, no doubt, to be styled *the old camp*, after the *Romans* had formed a new camp in the country of the *Ubii*, or their neighbours the *Vangiones*. *Tacitus* often mentions this camp in his history (18); whence *Cluverius* concludes, that it was not a naked camp, but a considerable town, built on occasion of the stay the *Romans* made there. As it was distant sixty miles from the camp between *Cologne* and *Bon*, the above-mentioned writer thinks that the present city of *Santen* stands on the same spot of ground; in which opinion he is confirmed by the description *Tacitus* gives us of *the old camp* (19), which, he says, perfectly agrees with the situation of *Santen*.

(18) Vide Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 18. c. 21. & alibi.

(19) Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 21.



a unshaken loyalty suffered him to second the ardent wishes of the soldiery, might have easily seized it for himself; for he was the darling of the soldiers, and adored by the people, both on account of his own merit, and that of his father *Drusus*, whose memory was dear to every true *Roman*, no-body doubting, but he would have restored the republic to her former state, had he succeeded to the empire; nay, the letter he wrote to his brother *Tiberius* about compelling *Augustus* to restore the public liberty, was commonly believed to have been the occasion of his death, as we have observed above. Of *Germanicus* they entertained the same hopes, and thence their zeal for his safety and advancement; but the noble youth himself was the only person who defeated all their measures, and resolutely opposed his own promotion. We shall soon see what return *Tiberius* made him for his unalterable attachment to his person and interest (M).

b IN the mean time; such of the veterans and legionaries as had been no-ways concerned in the late sedition, in order to give *Germanicus* new proofs of their fidelity, begged him to lead them against the enemy, who had enjoyed some respite, first by the death of *Augustus*, and afterwards by the intestine tumult in the camp. *Germanicus* complied with their request, and laying a bridge cross the *Rhine*, marched over twelve thousand legionaries, twenty-six cohorts of the allies, and eight *alæ* (N) of horse. With these he traversed the *Cælian* forest (O), and other woods lying between him and the enemy; and being informed on his march, that the *Germans* were celebrating that night a festival with great mirth and revelling, he advanced with such expedition, having sent *Cæcina* before with the cohorts, to clear a passage through the forest, that he reached the villages of the *Marfi*, before the inhabitants had recovered themselves from their debauch. Here he divided his army into four bodies, and giving them full liberty to make what havock they pleased, sent them into different quarters of the unhappy canton, that no part of it might be exempt from ravage and devastation. We may well imagine what slaughter they made of those unfortunate wretches, whom they found scattered here and there and asleep, some in their beds, others lying by their tables; no sex or age was spared; places sacred and profane were equally plundered and laid in ashes, and among them the temple of *Tanfana* (P), the tutelar god of the *German* nation. In short, the country was wasted with

The generosity of Germanicus.

He invades Germany.

Commits a dreadful havock in the country of the Marfi.

(M) *Tacitus* tells us, that *Tiberius* was highly blamed at *Rome* for not going in person to quell the sedition of the mutinous legions. "The rebellion," said they, speaking both of the *Pannonian* and *German* legions, has gathered too much strength to be suppressed by two young princes, whose authority the soldiery despises. Why does he not go himself to awe the mutineers with his uncontrouled power? They would, no doubt, return to their duty at the bare sight of their emperor, a man of great experience in war, and in whose power alone it is to punish with severity, and liberally to reward, every one according to his deserts. How many journies did *Augustus* take into *Germany*, even in his old age? And shall *Tiberius*, in the vigor of his, continue unactive and idle in the city, without any other employment, but to cavil at the speeches of the senators?" *Tiberius*, tho' not ignorant of these complaints, was determined not to leave *Rome*, judging his presence more necessary in the capital, where all affairs were transacted, than in the camp. Besides, he was at a loss to which army he should repair first, and at the same time afraid, lest the last he visited should think themselves affronted, and thence become more outrageous. To treat them therefore both equally, and maintain the majesty of an emperor, which is ever most revered at a distance, he thought it safest to visit neither, but to send to the one his natural, to the other his adopted, son. Moreover he considered, that the two young princes might well refer many things to him, which would be gaining time; and that if the mutineers despised them, his own authority still remained to awe them into obedience; whereas if they contem-

ned, in the first transports of their rage, the emperor himself, no authority was left to controul them. However, to obviate the complaints and clamours of the people, he gave out, that he designed to visit the rebellious armies; and even chose his attendants, provided his equipage, and prepared a fleet; but sometimes pretending business, sometimes alledging the approach of winter, he deceived not only the common people, but even the wisest senators.

(N) An *ala*, which we may call a squadron, consisted of three hundred horsemen, and was divided into *turmæ* and *decuriæ*, each *turma* consisting of thirty men, and each *decuria* of ten; so that there were in every *ala* ten *turmæ*, and in every *turma* three *decuriæ*.

(O) The *Cælian* forest was part of the *Hercynian*, and is placed by *Cluverius* partly in the duchy of *Cleves*, partly in *Westphalia* between *Wesel* and *Koefeld*. Some modern critics think, that it was called by the ancient *Germans*, not the *Cælian*, (for this, say they, is a *Roman* name) but the *Hesian* forest, from *Hesus*, the god of war amongst the ancient *Germans* and *Gauls*.

(P) *Gronovius* derives the name of this *German* deity from the words *tan*, or *than*, signifying in the *German* language a *fir-tree*, and *fachna* or *fan*, which in the ancient *Gotho-Teutonic* tongue signifies *Lord* or *God*; so that the import of *Tanfana* is the lord or the god of *fir-trees*. That author concludes, that the *Tanfana* of the *Germans* was the same as the *Sylvanus* of the *Romans*, and called the god *Tanfana*, or the god of *firs*, because his chief temple was in a forest of *fir-trees* (20), as *Jupiter* was styled by the *Romans*, *Fagutalis*, from a grove of beeches consecrated to him. the word *fagus* signifying in *Latin* a *beech* (21).

Lipsius

(20) *Vide Gron. in Tacit*

(21) *Vide Plin. l. xvi. c. 10, & ult.*

Several German nations, falling upon the Romans in their retreat, are defeated.

Tiberius jealous of Germanicus's glory.

Tiberius's excellent behaviour in the beginning of his reign.

His modesty.

with fire and sword fifty miles round, without the loss, nay, without the wound, of a single man on the side of the Romans^e. This general massacre roused the *Brueteri* (Q), the *Tubantes* (R), and the *Usipetes* (S), who besetting the passes of the forest through which the Roman army was to return, fell upon their rear, and put the light-armed cohorts into disorder; but *Germanicus*, riding up to the twentieth legion, and crying out, That the time was come for them to redeem their reputation, and cancel the memory of their late sedition, by falling upon the enemy, they attacked them so briskly, that the Germans were broke at the first onset, and driven out of the wood into the neighbouring plain, where great numbers of them were cut in pieces. In the mean time, the van-guard, passing the forest, had time to form a camp, whither the rest of the army retired to rest themselves that night after so fatiguing a march. The next day they pursued their rout uninterrupted, and arrived, loaded with booty, at the place appointed for their winter quarters^f. The fame of these exploits soon reached Rome, and filled the city with joy. As for *Tiberius*, he was highly pleased to hear, that the sedition was suppressed, and the beginning of his reign signalized by so remarkable a victory. But his joy was not without alloy: *Germanicus*, by finally discharging the veterans, by shortening the term of service for the rest, and by liberally distributing money among them, had gained the affections of the army, and besides, great glory by his late expedition. This gave the jealous and suspicious emperor great uneasiness, which, however, he artfully disguised, giving the senate a pompous account of the exploits of his nephew, and bestowing upon him the highest encomiums. He commended at the same time the address of his son *Drusus* in quelling the sedition of the *Pannonian* legions in few words, but which seemed dictated by his heart and more sincere^g. In short, he spoke of *Germanicus* like an orator, but of *Drusus* like a father. However, he approved whatever *Germanicus* had done, and, to gain the affections of the *Pannonian* legions, extended to them all the privileges which *Germanicus* had granted to his own.

THESE disorders in Germany and Pannonia and the great veneration which the soldiery, as well as the people, had for *Germanicus*, were a great restraint upon *Tiberius*, who now with wonderful art disguised those vices, which afterwards displayed themselves so openly. He acted in most things like a truly generous, good-natured, and clement prince. Of the many and extraordinary honours that were offered him, he accepted but few, and those of the meanest sort. He forbade any priests or temples to be decreed for him, or statues erected but by his own permission, which he granted sometimes, upon condition that they should be placed, not among the images of the gods, but the ornaments of their houses. He refused the title of *father of his country*, and never took upon him the name of *Augustus*, though it was hereditary,

^e Idem ibid. c. 49—51.

^f Idem ibid. c. 52, 53.

^g Idem ibid. c. 54.

Lipsius derives the name of *Tanfana* from the *Flemish* word *taensanct*, signifying the principal or first cause of things; so that the Germans, under the name of *Tanfana*, adored, according to him, the supreme being.

(Q) The *Brueteri* are placed by most geographers next to the *Frisii*, between the *Amisia*, now the *Ems*, and the lake *Flevus*, now the *Suydersee*. *Tacitus* speaks of them thus. "Next to the *Teneteri* dwelt the *Brueteri*, in whose room the *Chamavi* and *Angriarii* are said to have settled, after having driven out and utterly extirpated the *Brueteri*, with the concurrence of the neighbouring nations, either in detestation of their pride, or enticed by the love of booty, or through the special favour of the gods towards the Romans. They were even pleased to indulge us the pleasure of seeing the battle, in which there fell above sixty thousand men, without a blow struck by the Romans, &c. May the gods continue and perpetuate among these nations, if not any love for us, yet by all means their animosity and hatred to each other, since fortune cannot more signally befriend us, than in sowing divisions amongst our enemies." As to the time of this general

slaughter of the *Brueteri* mentioned here by *Tacitus*, we are quite in the dark; for this nation was still in being in *Tiberius's* reign, nay, and many years after *Tacitus's* time, but probably at a greater distance from the *Rhine*; for they are mentioned by *Eumenius* and *Nazarius* in their panegyrics upon *Constantine*, and also by the poet *Claudian* (22). The slaughter therefore was not so general as is by *Tacitus* supposed (23).

(R) The *Tubantes* possessed great part of *Westphalia*. *Cluverius* places the ancient city of *Tecla* mentioned by *Ptolemy*, now *Teklenburg*, on the borders of the *Tubantes* and *Chamavi*.

(S) The *Usipites*, *Usipii*, or *Usipetæ*, are placed by *Rhenanus* between the *Rhine* and the mountains of *Hesse*. In *Cæsar's* time they bordered upon the countries of the *Sicambri* and *Teneteri*, of whom we have spoken above. *Dion Cassius* seems to place them between the *Rhine* and the *Lupias*, now the *Lippe*, and the *Sicambri* beyond the latter of these rivers; for, in describing *Drusus's* expedition into Germany, he tells us, that he passed the *Rhine*, and having subdued the *Usipetes*, laid a bridge over the *Lupias*, and entered the country of the *Sicambri* (24).

(22) Vide *Claud. 4. consul Honor. ver. 450. Dio, l. liv. p. 544.*

(23) Vide *Tacit. de mor. Ger. c. 33.*

(24)

tary, but in his letters to foreign potentates. For flattery he had an utter aversion. If, in private conversation or public speeches, any thing was said to his praise, he immediately not only interrupted, but rebuked, the speaker. One calling him *Domini-*
nus or *Lord*, he desired him not to mention him any more in derision. Another call-
ing his employments *sacred*, he entreated him to change his epithet, and to style them
troublesome. He would not permit the senate to swear to the observation of his acts,
urging against it the instability of all mortal things, and that the higher he was raised,
the more he was exposed to danger. All slanderous reports, libels, and lampoons ^{His extraordi-}
upon him and his administration he bore with extraordinary patience, saying, *That* ^{nary patience}
in a free city, the thoughts and tongues of every man ought to be free; and when the
senate would have proceeded against some, who had published libels against him, he
would not consent to it, saying, *We have not time enough to attend such trifles: if you*
once open a door to such informations, you will be able to do nothing else; for, under that
pretence, every man will revenge himself upon his enemies by accusing them to you. Being
informed that one had spoke very detractingly of him; *If he speaks ill of me*, said he,
I will give him as good an account of my words and actions as I can; and, if that is not
sufficient, I will satisfy myself with having as bad an opinion of him as he has of me. His
carriage towards the senate was very respectful; nothing of moment was transacted ^{His respect}
without their advice and approbation. To them were referred the collecting of the ^{for the senate,}
taxes and tributes, the building and repairing of all public edifices, the raising or dis-
banding of forces, the mustering of the legions and auxiliaries, the prolonging or grant-
ing commissions upon any extraordinary war, the returning of answers to the letters of
kings, &c. He never entered into the senate with any attendants but once, when
he was brought in, on account of an indisposition, in a litter; and then he immedi-
ately ordered his company to withdraw. In the senate he allowed every one to speak
his mind with great freedom. Having one day dissented in his opinion from *Q. Ha-*
terius; *Pardon me, I beseech you* said he, *if as a senator I speak against you with more*
freedom than ordinary. Then turning to the whole assembly, he addressed them thus;
Most venerable fathers, what I say now I have often said before; a good and prudent
prince, to whom you have given so great and absolute a power, ought to be serviceable, not
only to the senate and the body of the city, but to every particular citizen: nor do I repent
of any thing I have said of this nature, having always accounted you, as I still do, my
good, just, and most gracious lords. If in the senate any thing was decreed against his
judgment, he did not complain, nor seem the least displeased. He allowed the con- ^{And the}
suls so much power, that certain ambassadors from *Africa* had recourse to them, ^{consuls.}
desiring they would return them a speedy answer, since *Cæsar*, to whom they had
been sent, put them off from day to day. When the consuls came into the senate,
the theatre, or any other place where he was, he always rose up to them, and
turned out of the way, if he met them in the streets. He often assisted at the trials in
the courts of justice, especially if any criminal was reported to be like to escape by
favour or connivance; he then appeared unexpectedly, and with a grave air put the
judges in mind of the laws and the crimes before them. He applied himself with ^{Applied him-}
great care to the reformation of manners, and made many excellent regulations, by ^{self to the re-}
which he restrained the immoderate expences of plays and public shews, retrenched ^{formation of}
the salaries of the players, and reduced the gladiators to a fixt number. The prices ^{manners.}
of *Corinthian* vessels growing extravagant, and the luxury of entertainments to such
an excess, that thirty thousand sesterces were paid for three mullets, he complained
of these disorders to the senate, and got a law passed, setting bounds to the expences
in furniture, and ordaining, that the prices of provisions in the markets should be
annually regulated by the senate. As to the eating-houses and taverns, which at this
time were very numerous in *Rome*, they were all, by *Tiberius's* orders, utterly sup-
pressed; and that he might, by his own example, countenance frugality and parsimony ^{His frugality.}
in others, he had, at his public and most solemn entertainments, meat served
up, which had been dressed and cut up the day before, contrary to the custom which
then obtained, saying, that *every part had the same taste as the whole.* To check the
progress of vice, he drove out of *Rome* a great number of young noblemen, and also
some women of distinction, who were noted for their debaucheries; and at the same
time revived an ancient law, empowering all parents to punish their daughters, even
after they were married, if, by their debauched lives, they brought disgrace upon
their families. In this particular he was so strict, that by proclamation he prohibited
the kisses that were, according to custom, given by way of salutation. He seemed
intirely

Lessens the
taxes.

intirely averse from loading his people with any new taxes ; and when some governors of provinces advised him to raise their taxes, he answered, that *it was the duty of a good shepherd to shear, not to slay, his flock*, and was so far from hearkening to the remonstrances of his presidents and governors, that, instead of raising, he lessened the tributes that were annually remitted to *Rome* from the provinces^h. Such was the deportment of *Tiberius*, while his authority was yet wavering ; but we shall soon see him pull off the mask, and abandon himself without controul to those vices, which he now so artfully disguises with the opposite virtues. But to return to the brave *Germanicus* :

Germanicus
invades and
ravages the
country of the
Catti.

THE following year, *Drusus Cæsar* and *Caius Norbanus* being consuls, *Germanicus* made vast preparations, with a design to pursue the war against the *Germans*, and revenge the death of *Varus* and the slaughter of his legions. He had indeed no thoughts of attempting any thing till the summer ; but being informed, that violent diffentions reigned among the enemy, he resolved early in the spring to make an irruption into the country of the *Catti* (T). These intestine broils, of which *Germanicus* resolved to take advantage, were occasioned by the opposite parties of *Arminius* and *Segestes*, the former the incendiary of *Germany*, and chief author of the insurrection in which *Varus* perished with his legions ; the latter a sincere and faithful friend to the *Romans* ; nay, he had even given *Varus* notice of the intended revolt, and advised him to secure himself, *Arminius* and the other chiefs assuring him, that, without their leaders, the multitude would not dare to attempt any thing. But the *Roman* general despised his advice, which cost him dear, as we have related above. *Segestes*, tho' forced to join his countrymen in that general revolt, yet remained at constant variance with *Arminius* ; and at this time their animosities were heightened by a domestic quarrel, *Arminius* having carried away by force the daughter of *Segestes*, named *Thusneldes*, and married her, though already betrothed to another. This attempt gave rise to an open rupture between the two chiefs, of which *Germanicus* no sooner had intelligence, than he put four legions, five thousand auxiliaries, and some *German* troops drawn suddenly together, under the command of *Cæcina*, ordering him to scour the country, while he himself, at the head of as many legions and double the number of allies, advanced with incredible expedition into the country of the *Catti* ; and falling upon the enemy before they were apprised of his march, put vast numbers of them to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. Most of their youth escaped by swimming over the *Adrana* (U), and attempted to prevent the *Romans* from lay-
ing

^h SUEP. in Tiber. c. 26—36. TACIT. ibid.

(T) The *Catti* or *Chatti* possessed, as we have hinted above, part of the duchy of *Brunswick*, of the bishopric of *Hildesheim*, of *Thuringen*, *Hesse*, and the territories of *Fulda*, with the counties of *Schauen-
wemberg*, *Waldeck*, and *Mansfeld*, *Tacitus* speaks of them thus : “ The territories of the *Catti* begin at
“ the *Hercynian* forest, and consist not of such wide
“ and marshy plains as those of the other commu-
“ nities contained within the vast compass of *Ger-
“ many* ; but of hills, which, for a long tract, run
“ high and contiguous, then by degrees sink. More-
“ over, the *Hercynian* forest attends for a while its
“ native *Catti*, and then forsakes them. They are
“ distinguished with more hard and robust bodies,
“ compact limbs, stern countenances, and a more
“ sprightly vigor of mind. For *Germans*, they
“ are men of much sense and address. They com-
“ mit the government to chosen men, and listen to
“ them when set over them. They know how
“ to maintain their ranks, to discern occasions, to
“ restrain their own ardour, how to employ the
“ day, how to intrench themselves by night. They
“ reckon fortune among uncertain things, and va-
“ lour among such as are secure ; and, what is very
“ rare, and never learnt but by men inured to di-
“ scipline, they repose more confidence in the con-
“ duct of the general, than in the strength of the
“ army. Their whole strength consists in foot,
“ who, besides their arms, carry iron tools and their
“ provisions. Other *Germans* take the field equip-

“ ped for a battle ; but the *Catti* equipped for a
“ war. They seldom make excursions, or expose
“ themselves to the dangers of casual encounters. It
“ is peculiar to cavalry suddenly to conquer, or sud-
“ denly to fly. Such haste and expedition borders
“ upon fear : wariness and deliberation are more a-
“ kin to intrepidity.” *Tacitus* adds, that a custom,
“ practised only by some particular persons of other
“ *German* nations, universally obtained among the
“ *Catti* ; which is, to let their hair and beards grow
“ till they have slain an enemy, being persuaded,
“ that only by the death of a foe they can acquit
“ themselves of the debt and duty contracted by their
“ birth, and render themselves worthy of their coun-
“ try and parents ; so that the cowardly and unwar-
“ like among them were easily distinguished by their
“ long hair and beards. The most brave likewise
“ wear an iron ring, which is a mark of great disho-
“ nour in that nation, as a chain or badge of slavery,
“ till they set themselves, as it were, at liberty, by
“ killing an enemy (25). However, as *Germanicus*
“ came upon them unawares, they were forced either
“ to submit, or shelter themselves in the woods, that
“ is, in the *Hercynian* forest, which, as *Tacitus* has
“ told us, began in their country.

(U) The *Adrana*, now the *Eder*, rises in *Upper
Hesse*, waters the county of *Waldeck* and *Lower
Hesse*, and falls into the *Fulda* or *Fulden* about two
miles above *Cassel*.

(25) *Tacit. de mor. Ger.* 30, 31.

ing a bridge over that river; but their efforts proving unsuccessful, some of them submitted to *Germanicus*; but the greater part, abandoning their villages, took refuge in the woods; so that the *Romans*, without opposition, laid waste all the open country, set fire to their dwellings, laid *Mattium* (W) their capital in ashes, and then began their march back to the *Rhine*. The *Cherusci* alone made some motions, as if they designed to assist the *Catti* and fall upon the *Romans* in their retreat, but were restrained by *Cæcina*, who, with his army of observation, moved about from place to place, and had even defeated the *Marfi* (X), who had dared to engage him¹.

Germanicus had scarce reached his camp, when deputies arrived from *Segestes*, praying relief for that faithful friend to the *Romans* against his and their declared enemy *Arminius*, who had besieged him in his camp. At the head of this embassy was *Segimundus*, the son of *Segestes*, whom, though he had formerly revolted from the *Romans*, *Germanicus* received with great kindness; but sent him, as he could no longer depend upon his fidelity, under a strong guard to the frontiers of *Gaul* (Y). As to his request, he readily complied with it, led back his army without loss of time to the relief of *Segestes*, engaged the besiegers, put them to flight, and rescued that faithful friend of the *Romans* out of the hands of his most inveterate enemy. On this occasion the *Romans* took a great many prisoners, among whom was *Thusneldis*, the wife of *Arminius* and daughter of *Segestes*, who had been the chief occasion of the present rupture between the two illustrious families (Z). She was then big with child, and seemed to be concerned only for the fate of her unhappy babe destined to be born in slavery. As for her own captivity, she bore it with the intrepidity of a true heroine, without shedding a tear, or uttering a word in the style of a suppliant. Among the booty were found

Marches against Arminius.

Whom he defeats and takes his wife prisoner.

¹ Idem ibid. c. 56.

(W) *Tacitus* in this place styles *Mattium* the capital of the *Catti*; but elsewhere (26) distinguishes the *Mattiaci* from the *Catti*: *The army*, says he, *was composed of Catti, Usipii, and Mattiaci*. Their country, according to the accounts of the ancient geographers, was inclosed on all sides by the territories of the *Catti*; whence they are often confounded with them. *Cluverius* and *Cellarius* think, that the situation of *Mattium*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Mattiacum*, agrees with that of the present city of *Marburg*; for it stands on the road leading from mount *Taunus*, now known to the natives by the names of *Der Heyrick* and *Die Hobe*, over-against *Mentz*, to the *Adrana* or the *Eder*, which was the rout *Germanicus* took in this irruption, as *Tacitus* informs us. *Pliny* mentions the hot baths of *Mattium* (27), which all modern geographers take for the hot waters of *Wiesbaden* over-against *Mentz* or *Moguntiacum*, as it was called by the ancients; so that the territories of the *Mattiaci* extended at least from the *Rhine* to the *Eder*. Whether they reached beyond that river, and how far, we know not. *Tacitus* tells us, that the *Mattiaci* in his time were friends to the *Romans*. The *Roman* people, says he, have carried the awe and esteem of their empire beyond the *Rhine* and the ancient boundaries. Thus the *Mattiaci*, living on the opposite bank, enjoy a settlement of their own; but by inclination are *Romans* (28).

(X) Part of *Westphalia* and of the bishoprick of *Paderborn* were, according to most of our modern geographers, the ancient habitation of the *Marfi*.

(Y) *Segimundus* had been greatly favoured by the *Romans*, and by them appointed priest of the altar of the *Ubii*, of which we have spoken above; but when his countrymen revolted, he rent the sacerdotal tiara and fled to the revolters. Hence, when his father declared to him his intention of putting him at the head of the embassy which he was sending to *Germanicus*, he desired at first to be excused; but afterwards trusting to the clemency of the *Roman* general he undertook the execution of his father's orders, and was favourably received by *Germanicus*,

but not suffered to return among his countrymen. What became of him afterwards, *Tacitus* does not tell us; but *Strabo* names him among the illustrious captives, who marched before the chariot of *Germanicus*, when he entered *Rome* in triumph (29). If he did not join the rebels a second time, *Germanicus* acted contrary to the law of nations in thus seizing the person of an ambassador, and treating him as if he had been taken in war.

(Z) *Tacitus* tells us, that the *Germans* carried about with them in all their wars their wives and children, whom they placed near the field of battle, that, by the tears of their wives and the cries of their tender infants, they might be the more encouraged to exert themselves in the defence of those interesting pledges of nature. Their armies, when yielding and ready to fly, have been often prevailed upon to maintain their ground and stand the shock of the enemy, by the importunity and intreaties of their women, presenting their breasts, and putting them in mind of their impending captivity; an evil which they far more dreaded in their women than in themselves. When any of them happened to be so wounded in battle, that they could not continue the fight, they retired to their mothers or wives, who, without being shocked, sucked their bleeding wounds. The wife among them brought no dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife, viz. a couple of oxen yoked together, a horse accoutred, a shield, a javelin, and a sword. The woman on her part too made her husband a present of some arms. By the mutual approbation and acceptance of these gifts, in the presence of their parents and relations, they were married. The oxen joined in the same yoke, the horse ready equipped, and the present of arms, served to put the woman in mind, that she came to her husband as a partner of his hazards and dangers in war as well as in peace, and that she was not exempt from fighting and exerting her courage in battle for the defence of her husband or country (30).

(26) *Tacit. histor. l. iv. c. 37.*

(27) *Plin. l. xxxi. c. 20.*

(28) *Tacit. de mor. Ger. c. 29.*

(29) *Strabo, l. vii.*

(30) *Tacit. ibid. c. 7 & 18.*

Segeſtes';
ſpeech to Ger-
manicus.

found *Roman* ſpoils taken from *Varus* and his ſlaughtered legions, and divided among thoſe who were now priſoners. *Arminius* being now put to flight, *Segeſtes* thought it his duty to wait upon his deliverer; and accordingly, from a confidence in his ſincere attachment to the *Roman* intereſt, he appeared before *Germanicus*, without betraying the leaſt fear, and, addreſſing him with a majeſtic air, enumerated, with great modeſty, the ſervices he had rendered the republic, which had drawn upon him the hatred of *Arminius*; offered his mediation for the *German* nation, if they perhaps would rather chuſe to repent than be deſtroyed; and earneſtly recommended to his known clemency his ſon and daughter, intreating him to forgive the former the error he had been guilty of in his youth, more out of imprudence than malice, and to conſider the latter rather as the daughter of *Segeſtes* than the wife of *Arminius*. *Germanicus* answered with his uſual good-nature and humanity, promiſing to take his ſon, daughter, and all his relations under his protection, aſſigned to him a ſafe retreat in one of the neighbouring provinces long ſince ſubject to *Rome*, and then returned with the army to his former camp, where the wife of *Arminius* was delivered of a male child (A)^k.

Arminius
ſtirſ up the
neighbouring
nations againſt
the Romans

In the mean time, *Arminius*, more enraged than ever for the loſs of his wife, whom he tenderly loved, and the fate of his child doomed to be born in captivity, flew about the country of the *Cheruſci*, inflaming that warlike nation againſt *Segeſtes* and *Germanicus*, and encouraging them to let *Arminius* rather lead them to liberty and glory, than the wicked and treacherous *Segeſtes* to infamy and bondage. His credit, and the bitter inveſtives he was conſtantly uttering againſt the *Romans*, roused not only the *Cheruſci*, but all the neighbouring nations; nay, *Inquiomerus*, one of the chief lords of the country, and hitherto a friend to the *Romans* and in high credit with them, though uncle to *Arminius* by the father's ſide, was drawn into the confederacy, and prevailed upon to declare for his nephew, and join him with all his friends and dependents. *Germanicus*, upon intelligence of ſo powerful a confederacy, that he might not be obliged to engage ſuch numerous forces united, reſolved to make a di- verſion; and with this view detached *Cæcina* at the head of forty *Roman* cohorts to the river *Amiſia*, now the *Ems*, through the territories of the *Brueteri*. The cavalry took another rout, under the conduct of *Pedo* (B), who led them by the confines of the *Friſians* (C). As for *Germanicus* himſelf, he imbarqued the four remaining legions on a neighbouring lake, and transported them on rivers and canals to the place appointed for the general rendezvous on the banks of the *Amiſia*, where the three ſeparate bodies met. The *Chauci*, as the legions paſſed through their country, joined them: the *Brueteri*, upon the approach of *Germanicus*, attempted to ſet fire to their houſes and retire; but were reſtrained by *Stertinius*, who was detached againſt them. That commander had the good luck to find in the country of the *Brueteri* the eagle of the nineteenth legion loſt in the overthrow of *Varus*. The army, now united, purſued their march to the fartheſt borders of the *Brueteri*, and laid waſte the whole country between the rivers *Luppias* and *Amiſia*, that is, the *Lyppe* and the *Ems*. As the foreſt of *Teutoburgium* (D) was not far off, where the bones of *Varus* and the three legions

Germanicus
marches a-
gainſt him.

^k Idem, c. 57, 58.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that this child was brought up at *Ravenna*, and promiſes to relate in a more proper place the miſfortune which beſel him. The fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, in their *Roman* hiſtory, make the ſame promiſe. If *Tacitus* performed his, it was in his books which have not reached our times. We ſhall therefore be the more obliged to thoſe learned writers for the performance of theirs; for we know nothing of this unhappy captive or his miſfortunes.

(B) It is uncertain whether *Pedo*, mentioned here by *Tacitus*, was *Pedo Albinovanus*, or *Pedo Pompeius*. *Seneca* ſpeaks of the latter as a perſon of great merit (32), and *Ovid* commends the former as an excellent poet. Some fragments of his book intituled *De navigatione Germanici*, have reached our times (33). The elegy he wrote on the death of *Drufus* and inſcribed to *Livia* is a maſter-piece of the kind, and worthy of a heavenly poet, as *Ovid* ſtyles him

(34). *Joſeph Scaliger* aſcribes to him the elegy on the death of *Mecænas*, wherein he diſagrees with moſt other critics. *Voffius* ſuppoſes him to have written alſo epigrams, which he gathers from one of *Martial's* (35).

(C) The country of the *Friſii* was divided into two, called the *Greater* and the *Leſſer*. The former lay between the mouths of the *Rhine* and the *Weſer*. The latter extended along the coaſt of the ocean on the oppoſite ſide of the *Rhine*; but how far, we cannot determine.

(D) The foreſt of *Teutoburgium*, now *Teuteberg*, lay in *Weſtphalia*, between the *Ems* and the *Lyppe*. The preſent inhabitants pretend to ſhew the very ſpot where *Varus* with his legions were cut off. It is a plain in the neighbourhood of a ſmall town called *Horn*, and is known by the name of *Winſeldt*, which it took, they ſuppoſe, from the *Germans* winning the field.

(32) *Senec. in lud. de morte Claud.*
(35) *Mart. l. ii. epig. 77.*

(33) *Senec. ſuaſor. 1.*

(34) *Ovid. in Pont. eleg. ult.*

legions slaughtered with him were said to lie still unburied, *Germanicus*, touched with a tender compassion on their unhappy fate, resolved to march thither and pay them the last offices. Accordingly *Cæcina* was sent before to clear the way, to examine the avenues leading to the forest, and lay bridges over marshy places. The rest of the army followed, and, marching in good order and with great caution, entered the gloomy forest, where they soon discovered the ruins of two Roman camps, the one very spacious and capable of containing three legions, the other much less in circumference, which, they concluded, had served for a place of retreat for the small number of legionaries, who had escaped the first day's slaughter. The ramparts of both were half ruined; and the ditches near filled up. The open fields were covered with bleached bones, some separate, some in heaps, as those unhappy men had happened to fall flying singly, or resisting in bodies. In the adjacent groves were seen still standing the altars, where the barbarians had sacrificed to their gods the tribunes and chief centurions, whom they had made prisoners. On the trees surrounding the altars were stuck the skulls of those unhappy victims. In *Germanicus's* army there were some who had served under *Varus*, and had the good luck to escape the general slaughter; and these related the particulars of that tragical event to the rest. Here, said they, the commanders of our legions were slain; there our eagles were taken: here *Varus* received his first wound; there he fell by his own hand: in that place stood the tribunal, whence *Arminius* harangued his men; in this he caused gibbets to be erected for the execution of his captives, &c. So many doleful objects awakened in the hearts of the Romans and their commander a tender compassion for the fate of their countrymen, friends, and comrades, and at the same time an eager desire of appeasing their manes, with the slaughter of an enemy so cruel and inhuman. With these sentiments they first carefully gathered the bones scattered up and down the fields; and, having dug a deep trench, buried them there six years after the slaughter, *Germanicus* laying the first turf on the common tomb (E). Having thus paid the last offices to their friends, they abandoned that solitude dismal to their sight and memory, and, full of resentment, advanced against the author of so many evils, who, understanding that he was pursued by *Germanicus*, retired, and incamped in an advantageous post close to the woods. The Roman general followed him, and coming up with him, ordered his cavalry to advance and dislodge him. *Arminius*, at the approach of the Roman horse, pretended to fly; but wheeling suddenly about, and at the same time giving the signal to a body of troops, which he had concealed in the forest, to rush out, he fell upon the enemy with such vigor, that the Roman cavalry, not able to stand the shock, began to give way. *Germanicus* immediately detached some cohorts to their relief; but they too were soon put in disorder and broken, more by their own men who fled, than by the enemy. *Arminius*, taking advantage of the confusion the Romans were in, doubled his efforts, and would have pushed them into a morass, had not *Germanicus* advanced at the head of his legions in order of battle. *Arminius*, finding his men already tired, did not think it advisable to engage the fresh legions, and therefore retired in good order, leaving the Romans masters of the field. *Germanicus*, not judging it safe to pursue the enemy through pathless woods and forests, contented himself with this small advantage, and returned with the army to the river *Amisia*. There he imbarqued with four legions, ordered *Cæcina* to reconduct the other four by land, and sent the cavalry to the sea-side,

They advance against Arminius.

Who at first gains some advantage; but in the end is defeated.

(E) *Tiberius* did not approve of this pious office performed by *Germanicus* and his army. Whether it was, says *Tacitus*, that he put a bad construction upon every action of *Germanicus*, or believed, that the sight of so many Romans slain by the enemy, and left thus unburied, might sink the courage of his men, and heighten their terror of so dreadful a foe. Besides, *Germanicus* was a member of the college of the augurs, and of the priests sacred to the deity of *Augustus*, and, as such, ought not, according to the ancient rites, to have been any ways concerned in the ceremonies and solemnities of the dead, since by them pontiffs, augurs, and priests of all denominations, were thought to be defiled. Hence *Augustus*, who was pontifex maximus, pronounced the funeral

oration of *Marcellus* with a veil between him and the corps, as *Suetonius* informs us, that he might not be polluted with the sight of it. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Sylla* divorced his wife *Metella* a little before she died, and caused her to be conveyed into another house, that his own, as he was then pontifex and augur, might not be defiled with funeral ceremonies (36). But we are apt to believe, that *Tiberius* did not, out of any principle of religion, find fault with *Germanicus's* conduct; for he little mattered the gods or their rites, being himself a fatalist, and possessed with notions of astrology. What displeased him was, that *Germanicus*, by so popular an action, had gained the hearts of the soldiery and Roman people.

Cæcina is attacked by Arminius.

And reduced to great straits.

The Romans saved by the greediness of the enemy.

The Romans seized with a panic.

side, with orders to march along the shore to the *Rhine*. Tho' *Cæcina* was to return through roads well known, yet *Germanicus* warned him to pass with all possible speed the causeway called *the long bridges* (F). *Cæcina* made what haste he could; but nevertheless *Arminius* arrived there before him. This causeway led cross vast marshes, surrounded on all sides with woods and hills, which gently rose from the plain. The woods *Arminius* had already filled with his men, who, as soon as *Cæcina* approached, rushing out, fell upon him with such fury, that the legions, not able to manage their arms in the deep waters and slippery ground, were already yielding, and would in all likelihood have been entirely defeated, had not night coming on soon put an end to the combat. The *Germans*, encouraged with their success, instead of refreshing themselves with sleep, employed the whole night in diverting the courses of the springs rising in the neighbouring mountains, and turning them into the plains; so that the camp, which the *Romans* had begun, was all on a sudden laid under water, and their works overturned. We may well imagine what a melancholy night they passed under these circumstances. We are told, that *Cæcina* himself was terrified with a frightful dream: he thought he saw *Quintilius Varus* rising out of the marsh besmeared with blood, stretching forth his hand, and calling upon him; but that he rejected the invitation, and pushed him away. *Cæcina* had served either as a common soldier, or as an officer, forty years, was well experienced in all the vicissitudes of war, and thence undaunted even in the greatest dangers. Having therefore calmly weighed with himself all proper expedients for the present conjuncture, he at length resolved to attack the barbarians the next day, to drive them to their woods, and there keep them in a manner besieged, till the baggage and the wounded men had passed the causeway, and were out of the enemy's reach. With this view at break of day he drew up his legions, placing the fifth in the right wing, the one-and-twentieth in the left, the first in the van, and the twentieth in the rear. But the legions posted on the wings, seized with a sudden fear, as soon as day began to appear, deserted their stations, and took possession of a field beyond the marshes. *Cæcina* thought it adviseable to follow them; but the baggage sticking in the mire, as he crossed the marshes, and the soldiers about it being embarrassed and in great disorder, *Arminius* laid hold of this opportunity to begin the attack; and crying out, *This is a second Varus; the same fate attends him and his legions*, he rushed upon them at the head of a chosen body with a fury hardly to be expressed. As he had ordered his men to aim chiefly at the enemy's horses, great numbers of them were killed, and the ground becoming slippery with their blood and the slime of the marsh, the rest either fell, or casting their riders and galloping among the ranks, put them into disorder. *Cæcina* on this occasion distinguished himself in a very eminent manner; but his horse being killed under him, he would have been taken prisoner, had not the first legion rescued him. The greediness of the enemy was what saved *Cæcina* and his legions from utter destruction; for while they were already yielding and quite spent, the barbarians all on a sudden abandoned them to seize the baggage. The *Romans*, during this respite, struggled out of the marsh, and gaining the dry fields, tired as they were, formed with all possible speed a camp there, and fortified it in the best manner they could.

AND now the legionaries, quite spent and exhausted, retired to repose themselves a while after so fatiguing a combat. But their repose was soon interrupted by an accident, which, as it caused a general alarm in the camp, shews what fear and terror had seized them. A horse having broken loose and being frightened with the noise, as he strayed about, ran over some who were in his way. As this happened when it was dark, it raised such a consternation among the legionaries, imagining that the *Germans* had broke into the camp, that they all ran to the gate *Decumana*, which was farthest from the enemy, in order to make their escape. *Cæcina*, having learned the true cause of this general uproar, endeavoured to stop the fugitives, assuring them, that

(F) *Tacitus* tells us, that this causeway was made by *Lucius Domitius*, who, according to that writer, led an army over the *Elbe*, and advanced farther into *Germany* than any *Roman* before him, which procured him the ensigns of triumph. Whence we conclude him to have been the grandfather of *Nero*; for *Suetonius*, in his life of that emperor, tells us, that *Lucius Domitius* his grandfather was no less fa-

mous for his dexterity in driving chariots, than for the triumphal ornaments which he acquired by his conduct in the *German war* (37). This causeway, according to *Lipsius*, led cross the marshes between *Lingen*, *Wedden*, and *Coe-verden*, where some remains of it are still lying under water. These marches are now known to the *Dutch* by the name of *Bretan-scheheyde*, that is, *the marshes of Bretan* (38).

(37) *Suet. in Ner. c. 4.*

(38) *Vide Lipf. in hunc loc. Tacit.*

that their fear was quite groundless ; but none of them hearkening to him, he flung himself at length cross the gate. The awe and respect they had for their general restrained them from running over his body, and put a stop to their flight ; and, in the mean time, the tribunes and centurions satisfied them, that it was a false alarm. Then *Cæcina*, calling them together, told them, that they must be indebted for their lives to their valour ; but that their valour ought to be tempered with art ; that they must keep close within their camp till the *Germans* attempted to storm it, and then make a sudden sally, break through the enemy, and pursue their march to the *Rhine*. This, he told them, was the only means of retrieving their glory, of saving their lives. In the mean time, it was resolved in the *German* camp, pursuant to the advice of *Inguiomerus*, to attack the *Roman* entrenchments the next morning, no-body doubting, except *Arminius*, but they might be easily forced. That commander, no less prudent than brave, was for suffering the *Romans* quietly to depart, and falling upon them on their march, when embarrassed again amongst forests and marshes. But the advice of *Inguiomerus* prevailing, as soon as it was light, the *Germans* beset the camp, and having filled the ditches, were already climbing up the ramparts, when *Cæcina* ordered the signal to be given to the cohorts, who, sallying out with loud shouts, fell upon the aggressors, and made a dreadful slaughter of them, while they were busy in scaling the entrenchments. The *Germans*, who imagined that few *Romans* were remaining, and had therefore promised themselves an easy victory, were so surprised and frightened at this sudden and altogether unexpected attack, that they immediately betook themselves to a shameful flight. The *Romans* pursued them, and made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives. *Arminius* had the good luck to escape unhurt ; but *Inguiomerus* was dangerously wounded. After this the *Germans*, as destitute of conduct in distress, as void of moderation in prosperity, appeared no more ; so that *Cæcina* pursued his march unmolested to the *Rhine*¹.

In the mean time, a report being spread, that the *Roman* forces were cut in pieces, and a *German* army in full march to invade *Gaul*, some timorous partizans of *Rome* were for breaking down the bridge which the *Romans* had built over the *Rhine* near *Treves* ; but *Agrippina*, who still continued in that city, not giving credit to the public report, opposed with a manly courage the execution of this design, and preserved the bridge. She had soon after the satisfaction to see the legions under *Cæcina*, which were supposed to have met with the same fate as those of *Varus*, arrive, ill-treated indeed and extremely fatigued, but victorious. As they drew near, this undaunted heroine went out with her son *Caligula* to receive them ; and, standing at the head of the bridge, commended, as they passed, their gallant behaviour, and returned them thanks for it in a most obliging manner ; nay, in the absence of her husband, she discharged all the duties of a general, relieved the necessities of the soldiers, bestowed medicines on the wounded, supplied some with cloaths, and to all extended the effects of her unbounded generosity. This behaviour, however commendable, roused the jealousy of *Tiberius* : It is not, said he, against foreigners only that she thus studies to win the affections of the soldiery ; she has already given manifest proofs of her aspiring views, in carrying her child, the general's son, about the camp in the habit of a common soldier, with the title of *Cæsar Caligula*. *Sejanus*, who was well acquainted with the distrustful temper of *Tiberius*, and already entertained ambitious designs, which he could not compass without the destruction of *Germanicus*'s family, with his groundless and ill-natured suggestions, heightened the emperor's jealousies, and sowed in his mind the seeds of an irreconcilable hatred against *Agrippina*.

In the mean time, *Germanicus*, having conveyed the four legions he had with him down the *Amisia* into the ocean, in order to return by sea to the *Rhine*, and finding that his vessels were overloaded, delivered the second and fourteenth legions to *Publius Vitellius*, one of his lieutenants, with orders to reconduct them by land. But this march proved fatal to great numbers of them, either buried in the quick-sands, or swallowed up by the billows and overflowing tide, to which they were utter strangers. Those who escaped lost their arms, utensils, and provisions, and passed a melancholy night on an eminence, which they had gained wading up to the chin. The next morning the land returning with the tide of ebb, *Vitellius* with a hasty march reached the river *Ufingis*, which some judicious critics take for the *Hoerenster*, on which stands the present city of *Groeningen*. There *Germanicus*, who had reached that

¹ TACIT. annal. l. i, c. 60---69. DIO, l. lvii. p. 615, & seq.

Sigimerus a
German
prince submits
to the Ro-
mans.

that river with his fleet, took the two legions again on board, and conveyed them^a to the mouth of the *Rhine*, whence they all returned to the city of the *Ubii*, or *Cologne*, when fame had given them for lost. *Germanicus* on his arrival found in that city *Sigimerus*, the brother of *Segestes*, with his son *Sesithacus*, who, having renounced the confederacy of their countrymen, were come to implore the clemency of the *Romans*, and enter into an alliance with them. The father, though one of the chief authors of the revolt, was kindly received by *Germanicus*; but it was with much ado that he prevailed upon himself to pardon the son, who was said to have insulted the dead body of the unfortunate *Varus*. In this expedition *Germanicus* gained no great advantages, and lost a vast number of men. The greater part of those, who had escaped so many dangers, returned without arms, horses, utensils, &c. half-naked,^b lamed, and unfit for the service; but the fame of his name and amiable qualities having already filled both the *Gauls*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, the inhabitants of these countries strove who should be most forward in supplying him with arms, horses, money, and whatever else was necessary for the prosecution of the war. *Germanicus* thanked them for their zeal; but accepted only the horses and arms, defraying the other charges of the war with his own money. We shall soon see what success attended him in this war: but let us return, in the mean time, to *Tiberius*.

Tiberius af-
fects popula-
rity by vari-
ous methods.

THOUGH the jealous emperor repined at the glory of the brave *Germanicus*, yet, glad of his success, he confirmed to him the title of *imperator*, which the legions had bestowed on him, and decreed the triumphal ornaments to *Aulus Cæcina*, *Lucius Apronius*, and *Caius Silius*, three of his lieutenants, who had distinguished themselves above the rest. To gain to himself the affections of the people, which seemed to centre wholly in *Germanicus*, he affected popularity, rejecting the pompous titles offered him by the senate, relieving the distressed with great generosity, and easing the inhabitants both of *Rome* and the provinces of several taxes, with which *Augustus* had burdened them. A senator, by name *Pius Aurelius*, his house falling, had recourse to the senate for relief. The prætors of the treasury opposed his suit; but nevertheless *Tiberius*, who, as *Tacitus* observes, was generous upon honest occasions, even after he had renounced all other virtues, ordered him the price of his house. *Propertius Celer*, once prætor, desiring to resign the senatorial dignity, as too burdensome to his small estate, *Tiberius*, upon information that his misfortunes were owing to his father, and not to himself, presented him with a thousand great sesterces. The *Tiber* having overflowed the lower parts of the city, he caused the bed of that river to be cleaned, and appointed according to *Dion* five, according to *Tacitus* only two, magistrates of the senatorial order, whose whole business was to watch the overflowing of the *Tiber*, and restrain it within its banks. These magistrates were for diverting the chanel of the several rivers and lakes by which it was swelled; but this project met with great opposition in the senate, where it was resolved, that nothing should be altered, the direction of nature, which appointed to rivers their courses and discharges, being, as it was suggested, best in all natural things. The provinces of *Achaia* and *Macedon*, begging to be eased of their public burdens, were this year taken from the senate and given to the emperor (G). Hence it is manifest, that the government of the prætors, who commanded in the provinces immediately subject to the emperor, was less burdensome than that of the proconsuls, who were sent into the senatorial provinces; but in what the one was more chargeable than the other, we are no-where told. Thus *Tiberius* affected popularity; but nevertheless did not acquire the reputation of being truly popular, having this very year revived the law of *treason* or *majesty* with relation to libels or words; a law above all others execrable to the people, since by it those, who wrote or spoke any thing reflecting on the emperor, were deemed guilty of high treason. In the times of the republic, says *Tacitus*, actions were punished, but words were free. *Augustus* was the first, as we have related above, who brought words under the penalties of this law; and *Tiberius*, exasperated by satyrical verses dispersed about the city, exposing his cruelty, his pride, and the misunderstanding which already began between him and his mother (H), thought it necessary to revive this

He revives
the law of
majesty.

(G) *Achaia* and *Macedon* were afterwards restored by the emperor *Caius* to the senate (39). Hence we read in the *Acts*, that *Gallio* was proconsul of *Achaia* at the end of that prince's reign (40).

(39) *Dio*, *ibid.* p. 258.

(H) The verses were as follows:

Asper & immitis, breviter vis omnia dicam?
Dispeream si te mater amare potest.

(40) *Acts*. viii. ver. 12.

a this dreadful law ; a law which occasioned under him and his successors so much bloodshed in *Rome* and all the parts of the empire. He did it, however, with great address, and freely forgave the first criminals ; for, being asked by *Pompeius Macer* the prætor, whether, in the execution of his office, he should proceed against the authors of libels as guilty of treason, he answered, *The laws must be executed*. *Tiberius*'s answer was no sooner known, than several persons were prosecuted upon this law, the emperor having as he was naturally suspicious and distrustful, his spies and emissaries dispersed all over the city. Some of these accused *Falanius*, a Roman knight, of having admitted into his house, where he had erected an altar in honour of *Augustus*, among the other adorers of the deified emperor, one *Cassius* a pantomime, infamous for his debaucheries. To this charge they added another, viz. that having sold his gardens, he had sold with them the statue of *Augustus*. *Rubrius*, another Roman knight, was charged with swearing falsely by the divinity of *Augustus*. *Tiberius*, well satisfied with having restored this law to its former vigor, and by that means checked the freedom of speech and the licentiousness of libellers, would not allow any punishment to be inflicted on the pretended criminals ; but wrote to the consuls, that the senate, in bestowing divine honours on his father, did not intend thereby to lay a snare for the people ; that his mother *Livia* had never excluded *Cassius*, nor others of his profession, from the scenic sports, which she consecrated to the memory of *Augustus* ; that it did not affect religion to comprehend his statue, as well as the images of other gods, in the sale of houses and gardens ; that as to the swearing falsely by his name, it was a crime of the same nature, as if *Rubrius* had profaned the name of *Jupiter* : but that it belonged to the gods to punish affronts offered to the gods. By these answers, judicious in themselves and in appearance full of clemency and moderation, *Tiberius* hoped to decline the odium, which the revival of such a dangerous and ensnaring law carried along with it. But, notwithstanding all his art, it was not long ere he betrayed his real intention, and plainly shewed, that he designed to make more account of such informations than he would then have believed ; for soon after *Granius Marcellus*, prætor, or rather proprætor, of *Bithynia*, being charged with high treason of this nature by his own quæstor *Cæpio Crispinus*, *Tiberius*, in a manner forgetting himself, flew into a violent passion, and in that sudden transport was for condemning without further inquiry the pretended criminal. *Marcellus* was accused of having spoke with disrespect of the emperor ; and the accuser, to render his accusation more credible, collecting whatever was most detestable in the prince's character, alledged it as the expressions of the accused. To this he added, that *Marcellus* had placed his own statue higher than those of the *Cæsars* ; and that having taken the head from off the statue of *Augustus*, he had placed the head of *Tiberius* in its room. This enraged him to such a degree, that, no longer able to dissemble his resentment, he cried out, That he would himself in this cause give his vote openly and upon his oath. Hereupon *Cneius Piso* asked him, *In what place, Cæsar, will you chuse to give your opinion ? If first, I shall have your example to follow ; if last, I am afraid I may disagree with you*. These words touched *Tiberius* to the quick ; nevertheless he bore them patiently, being ashamed of his transport, and suffered *Marcellus* to be acquitted of high treason (H)^m. It was not out of any principle of religion, nor from any regard to *Augustus*, that *Tiberius* was for punishing the supposed crimes against his godhead, but because he apprehended the same affronts might be one day offered to himself. We shall see in the

Several persons accused and acquitted.

An unwary transport of *Tiberius*.

m TACIT, *ibid.* c. 73, 74.

Non es equus. Quare ? non sunt tibi millia centum :

Omnia si quæras, & Rhodus exilium est.

Aurea mutasti Saturni sæcula, Cæsar :

Incolumi nam te ferræa semper erunt.

Fasidit vinum, quia jam sitit ipse cruorem.

Tam bibit hunc avide, quam bibit ante merum.

Adspice felicem sibi, non tibi, Romule, Syllam :

Et Marium, si vis, adspice, sed reducem.

Nec non Antoni civilia bella moventis,

Nec semel infectas adspice cæde manus.

Et dic, Roma perit : regnabit sanguine multo.

Ad regnum quisquis venit ab exilio (40).

(H) *Suetonius* tells us, that he was condemned.

His words are : " About the same time the prætor

" having asked him, Whether he would have the

" judges to hear and determine matters of high

" treason, he replied, *The laws must take their course ;*

" and he was as good as his word, for from that

" time they were executed with the utmost severity.

" A certain person having taken the head from off

" the statue of *Augustus*, with a design to put up-

" on it the head of another, the matter was brought

" before the senate ; and because the fact was not

" clear, recourse was had to the rack. The guilty

" person being condemned, this kind of calumny

" became by degrees so dangerous, &c." The per-

son arraigned, and, according to *Suetonius*, con-

demned, could be no other than *Granius Marcellus*.

(40) *Suet. in Tiber. c. 59.*

the course of this history with what an extravagant and inviolable sanctity the statues and images of *Augustus* and the other emperors were invested, and what a source for informations, punishments, confiscations, &c. was opened by the worship paid to them.

Dissensions of the theatre.

THE dissensions of the theatre, which had begun the year before, broke out now with great violence, and rent almost the whole city into factions and parties, some protecting one player, and some another; nay, the opposite parties often came to blows, and turned the play-house into a field of battle. In one of these frays, several, not of the people only, were killed, but of the soldiers who attended in the play-house and at the gate to prevent disturbances, and among them a centurion; even the tribune of a prætorian cohort was wounded, while he was endeavouring to secure the magistrates from insults, and to quell the licentious rabble. The senate took this affair into consideration, and several expedients were proposed for the preventing of such riots. The majority were for empowering the prætors to whip the players, who, as was supposed, were the chief authors of these tumults. But *Haterius Agrippa*, tribune of the people, opposed this motion, alledging, that *Augustus*, upon a certain occasion had declared, that players should not be whipt; and indeed that emperor, who took great delight in such diversions, had, as *Suetonius* informs usⁿ and we have hinted above, restrained the power of punishing the players, which, by an ancient law, the magistrates had till that time exercised over them in all places and ages. *Asinius Gallus* with great sharpness reprimanded the tribune for his opposition;

Laws for the curbing of the insolence of players.

which, however, prevailed, out of respect to *Augustus*, whose laws were to be inviolably observed. In order therefore to curb the insolence of the players, their wages were, by a decree of the senate, curtailed; and it was moreover enacted, that no senator should visit a player, that no Roman knight should attend them abroad, and that they should act no-where but in the theatre or public play-house. What gave occasion to this decree was, the great court which the nobility paid them; for not only the people, but knights and senators, as *Pliny* informs us^o, attended their levees, and waited upon them when they went abroad. Hence *Seneca* called the nobility of his time *the slaves of the pantomimes*^p. They acted not only in the public theatre, but in private houses, gardens, &c. drawing after them vast crowds, and by that means heaping up immense wealth. The above-mentioned decrees of the senate were therefore well calculated to humble their pride, and check that insolence which naturally arises, especially in persons of a mean condition, from wealth and honours. As to the spectators, the prætors were empowered to punish with banishment such of them as should raise the least disturbance in the theatre^q. Thus was an end put for a while to these riots and tumults. This year *Tiberius* discharged the legacies which *Augustus* had left to the people; but sullied the glory naturally accruing from so plausible and popular an action, by another equally base and cruel; for as he seemed not to be in haste to satisfy the people, a merry jester seeing a dead body carried by to the grave, accosting the bier, and pretending to whisper in the ear of the deceased, said aloud, *Remember to let Augustus know, that the legacies which he left to the people, are not yet paid*. This pleasantry being related to *Tiberius*, he commanded the jester to be brought to him; and, having paid him his full due, caused him to be put to death immediately, telling him, That he should go himself to *Augustus*, since he could give him fresher accounts than the deceased. However, a few days after, he paid the legacy^r. This same year, the people intreating him to ease them of the tax of one per cent. established at the end of the civil wars upon all vendible commodities, he declared by an edict, that the fund for maintaining the army (I) depended intirely upon this tax;

Tiberius punishes a joke with death.

ⁿ Suet. in Aug. c. 45.
^r Suet. in Tiber. c. 57.

^o Plin. l. xxix.

^p Senec. epist. 47.

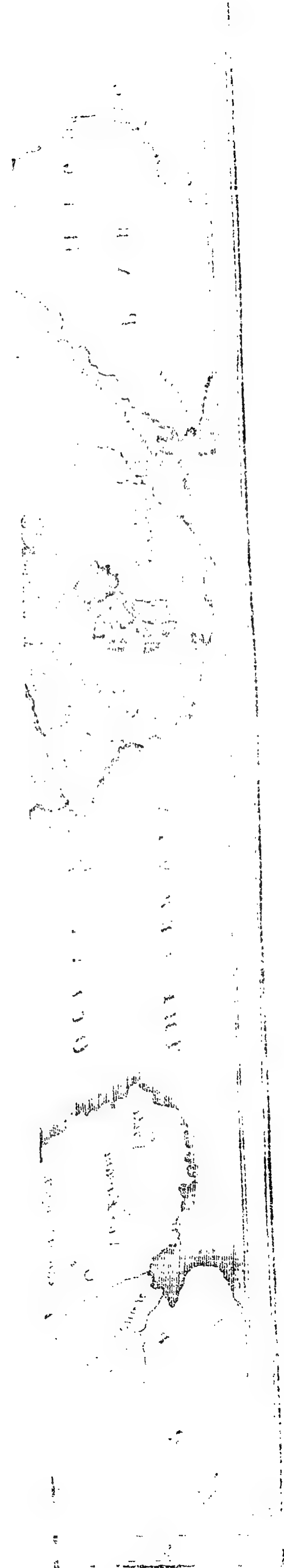
^q Tacit. ibid. c. 77.

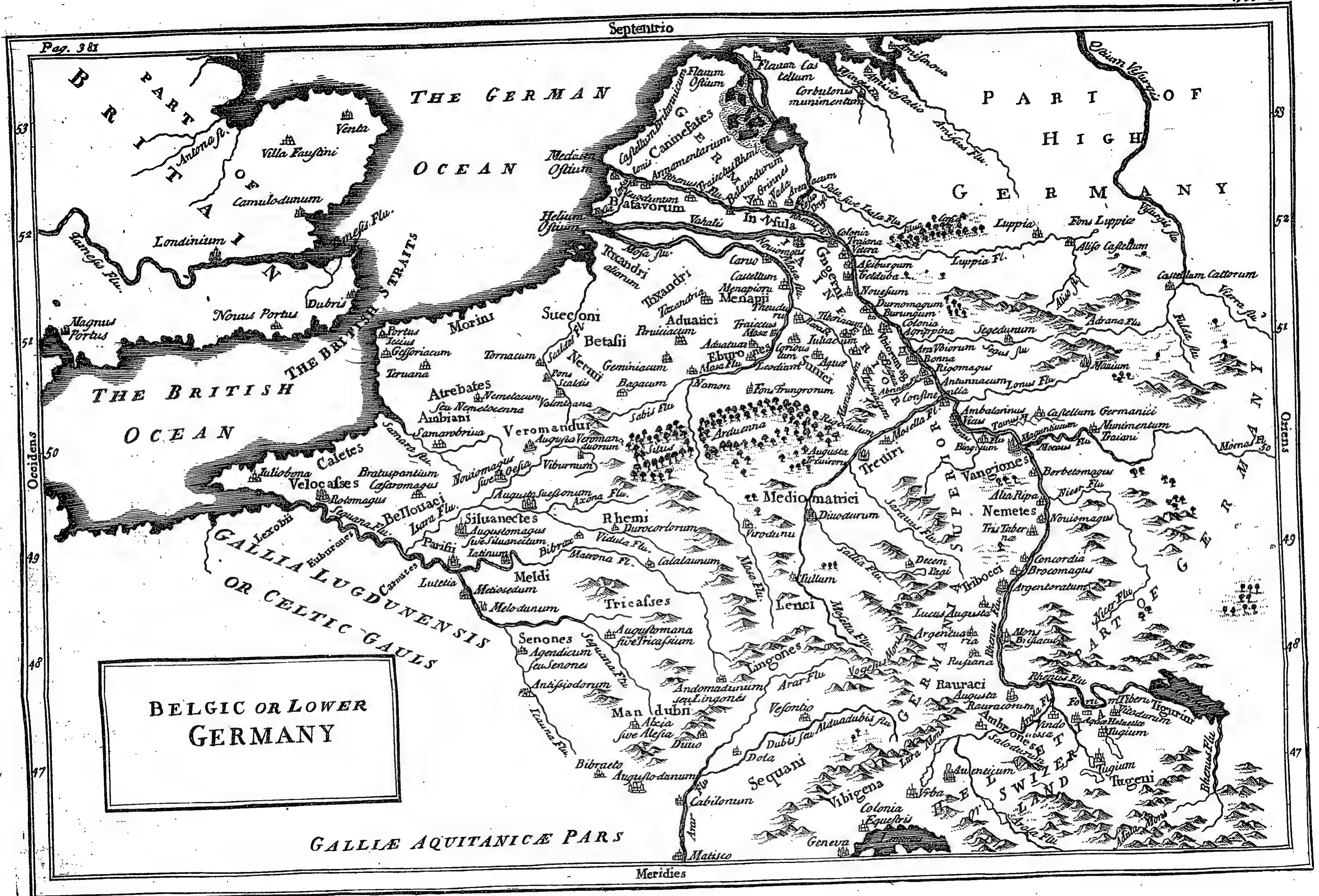
(I) This fund is called by *Suetonius* *ærarium militare*, the military treasury: "That the soldiers," says that writer, speaking of *Augustus*, when discharged, might not be tempted to raise disturbances by their age and poverty, he assigned to each of them an allowance according to the time and quality of their service; and that the province allotted them might be easy and perpetual, he established a military treasury, and imposed

"new tributes for their maintenance(41)". The superintendency of this fund was committed to three persons, as *Dio* informs us (42), who had been prætors, chosen by lot, and continued in the office three years. They were styled *prefects*, or *superintendants of the military treasury*, as we gather from the following inscription on an ancient marble found in Samnium: *L. Neratius C. F. Vol. Proculo, Præ. Ærari. Militaris*.

(41) Suet. in Aug. c. 49.

(42) Dio, l. lv. p. 565.





BELGIC OR LOWER
GERMANY

GALLIAE AQUITANICAE PARS

tax; and that even thus the republic would not be able to defray the vast charges attending the final dismissal of veterans before the twentieth year of their service. By this decree, the concessions made to the soldiery, during the late sedition, were implicitly revoked, and they obliged to serve twenty years as before, instead of sixteen^a. Thus *Tiberius*, even while he was studying to win the hearts of the people and soldiery, gave them just motives to complain of his present, and to dread his future; behaviour. Let us now leave *Tiberius* for a while, and return to *Germanicus*.

THAT brave prince spent the winter, when *Sisenna Statilius* and *Lucius Scribonius Libo* were consuls, in vast preparations for another expedition into *Germany*, having his heart and mind wholly bent on the intire reduction of that vast continent. He weighed with himself the methods he had hitherto pursued in that war, the misfortunes and successes which had attended him since he first undertook it; and finding that the *Germans* were chiefly indebted for their safety to their woods and marshes, to their short summers and early winters, and that his own men suffered more from their long and tedious marches than from the enemy, he resolved to enter the country by sea, hoping by that means to begin the campaign earlier and surprise the enemy. Having therefore built, with great dispatch during the winter, a thousand vessels of different sorts (K), early in the spring *Germanicus* ordered them to fall down the *Rhine*, appointing the island of the *Batavians* (L) for the place of the general rendezvous, as the most convenient for receiving the forces, and conveying them from thence to those parts of *Germany* which he designed to invade. While the fleet sailed, *Germanicus* detached *Silius*, one of his lieutenants, with orders to make a sudden irruption into the country of the *Catti*, and in the mean time he himself, upon intelligence that a *Roman* fort upon the *Lupia* was besieged by the enemy, hastened with six legions to its relief. *Silius* was prevented by sudden rains from doing more than taking some small booty, with the wife and daughter of *Arpus* prince of the *Catti*; neither did those who had invested the fort stay till *Germanicus* arrived, but, upon the news of his approach, breaking up the siege, fled and dispersed. However, in their retreat, they threw down the monument lately raised in honour of *Varus* and his legions, and also an altar formerly erected to *Drusus* (M). The altar *Germanicus* restored, and performed with the legions the funeral ceremony of running round it to the honour of his father, according to the ancient custom (O); but not thinking fit to set up the monument again, he fortified with new works the whole space between the fort, which the enemy had besieged, the *Aliso*, now the *Yffel*, and the *Rhine* (P). In the mean time,

^a TACIT. *ibid.* c. 78.

(K) Some of these vessels, says *Tacitus*, were short, sharp at both ends, and wide in the middle. Vessels of this kind are still in use among the *Dutch*. Some had flat bottoms, that they might run aground without danger. Several had rudders at each end, that the rowers might, only by turning their oars, work them either way. This kind of vessels, now no longer in use, *Tacitus* describes in his book of the manners of the *Germans*, and likewise in his history, where he styles them *cameræ* (42).

(L) *Tacitus* describes the island of the *Batavians* thus: The *Rhine*, says he, flowing in one chanel, or only broken by small islands, is divided at its entering *Batavia*, as it were, into two rivers. One continues its course through *Germany*, retaining the same name and violent current, till it falls into the ocean. The other, washing the coast of *Gaul* with a broader and more gentle stream, is called by the inhabitants *Vabales*; which name it soon changes for that of the *Mosa*, by the immense mouth of which river it discharges itself into the same ocean; so that, according to *Tacitus*, the island of the *Batavians* was bounded by the ocean, the *Rhine*, and the *Vabales*, now the *Wale*. *Cæsar* extends it to the *Mosa* or *Meuse*; but *Pliny* agrees with *Tacitus* (44). However, the island of the *Batavians* was of greater extent in *Tacitus*'s time than in *Cæsar*'s, *Drusus*, the father of *Germanicus*, having, by a new ca-

nal, conveyed the waters of the *Rhine* into the ocean a considerable way north of the former mouth of that river. By this means the ancient chanel being dried and filled up, the island of the *Batavians* extended to the new canal (45).

(M) *Dio* and *Suetonius* tell us, that a monument was erected in honour of *Drusus* upon the banks of the *Rhine*. Some writers place the altar mentioned here close to this monument, and both at *Mentz*; but it is manifest from this passage in *Tacitus*, that the altar stood not on the *Rhine*, but between that river and the *Lyppé*.

(O) The ceremony of celebrating the funerals of great men with races, was practised in *Homer*'s time, and is described by most of the ancient poets, among the rest very minutely by *Statius* (46). *Livy* tells us, that this ceremony obtained even amongst the *Carthaginians* (47).

(P) Some commentators take *Aliso* to be the name of the fort, and read *Tacitus* thus, *cuncta inter castellum Alisonem, & Rhenum, &c.* but *Vertranius*, *Frienshemius*, and *Lipsius*, *cuncta inter castellum, Alisonem, & Rhenum*, more agreeable perhaps to what we read in *Dion Cassius*, who tells us, that *Drusus* built a fort at the conflux of the *Lupias* and the *Aliso* (48). The latter river, now known by the name of *Alme*, runs at a small distance from the city of *Paderborne*.

(42) *Tacit. hist. l. iii. Cellar. geograph. antiq. l. ii.*

(43) *Cæsar. comment. l. iv. c. 10.*

(44) *Plin. l. iv. c. 15.*

(45) *Vide*

(46) *Stat. l. vi.*

(47) *Livy. l. xxxv.*

(48) *Dio, l. liv.*

He imbarques
his arm

Arrives at
the Amisia.

Finis Armi-
nius at the
Visurgis.

An interview
between Ar-
minius and
his brother.

time, the fleet arriving at the island of the *Batavians*, the provisions and warlike engines were put on board and sent forward; ships were assigned to the legions and allies, and the whole army being imbarqued, the fleet entered the canal formerly cut by *Drusus*, and from his name called *Fossa Drusiana*, or the canal of *Drusus* (Q). Here the pious general did not forget to invoke the manes of his father, beseeching him to encourage with his example, and inspire with wholesome counsels, his son, who was following his footsteps. Hence he sailed prosperously through lakes (R) and the ocean to the *Amisia* or *Ems*, and having landed his troops at the mouth of that river (S), marched strait to the *Visurgis* or *Wefer*. While he was incamping on the banks of that river, news was brought him, that the *Angrivarii* (T) had revolted behind him. Hereupon he immediately dispatched a body of horse and light-armed foot against them, under the command of *Stertinius*, who with fire and sword spread desolation throughout their country. In the mean time, the famous *Arminius*, being informed of *Germanicus*'s design, appeared on the opposite bank of the *Visurgis* (U) at the head of his *Cherusci*, determined to dispute with the *Romans* the passage of the river. However, before hostilities began on either side, he asked, whether *Germanicus* was come; and being answered that he was, he begged leave to speak with his brother, who, under the name of *Flavius*, had long served in the *Roman* army, and had lost an eye in fighting under *Tiberius*. His request being granted, *Flavius* advanced; and *Arminius*, having first saluted him and ordered his own attendants to withdraw, desired, that the *Roman* archers, who were drawn up close to the bank of the river, might likewise retire. When they were removed, *How came you, brother, by this deformity in your countenance?* said *Arminius*. *Flavius* having told him in what place and battle he had lost his eye; *And what reward,* asked *Arminius* in the next place, *have you received for so dangerous a warfare?* *Increase of pay,* answered *Flavius*, *a crown, a chain, and other military gifts;* which *Arminius* treating with derision and styling the vile wages of slavery, a warm contest arose between the two brothers, the one extolling the greatness of the *Romans*, the power of the emperor, the unhappy condition of the conquered, the *Roman* clemency to such as submitted, the kind treatment of the wife and son of *Arminius*, not used like captives, &c. *Arminius*, on the

(Q) The *Fossa Drusiana* was a canal cut by *Drusus* to convey the waters of the *Rhine* into the *Sala*, now the *Sale*, and from thence through the lake *Flevus* into the ocean. It extended eight miles, from the present village of *Iseloort* to the town of *Doefburg*, and was very convenient for the conveying of the *Roman* troops by water, to the countries of the *Frisii* and the *Chauci*. It was this convenience that put *Drusus* upon such an undertaking. By means of this new canal the *Rhine* came to have three branches, and to discharge itself into the ocean by three separate and distant mouths, of which the northern was called *Ostium Flevum*, the western *Ostium Helium*, and the middle *Ostium Medium* or *Ostium Rheni*. *Cæsar*, in describing the course of the *Rhine*, says, that it discharges itself into the ocean by many mouths; but he was therein mistaken, depending probably on the accounts of others, or taking the canals, which were cut for the draining of the neighbouring lands, for mouths of the *Rhine*. It was well known to the geographers of his time, that the *Rhine* emptied itself into the ocean by two mouths only; for *Strabo*, who maintains this opinion, confirms it with the authority of *Afinius Pollio*, who was contemporary with *Cæsar* (47). Hence *Virgil* gives the *Rhine* the epithet of *bicornis*, or two-horned. By means of the canal cut by *Drusus* between the north branch of the *Rhine* and the *Sala*, these two rivers ran in one channel to the lake *Flevus*, and from thence emptied themselves into the ocean. This mouth was called *Ostium Flevum*. *Tacitus* and *Mela*, who wrote after *Drusus*'s time, mention only two mouths, viz. the *Flevum* and *Helium*, the middle one being very inconsiderable and almost quite choked up, after the stream was by the *Fossa Drusiana* conveyed into the *Sala*.

(R) From this and several other passages in *Ta-*

citus, it is manifest, that, in former times, there were several lakes in this country, though, at present, there is but one, called in the language of the country the *South Sea*.

(S) In this place *Tacitus* charges *Germanicus* with two oversights. The first is, that he landed his troops too near the mouth of the river, by which means they suffered much upon the return of the tide, which reached and overflowed the plain where they landed. The other is, that he landed them on the wrong side of the river, so that many days were spent in making bridges. That *Germanicus*, not yet well acquainted with the flux and reflux of the ocean, was guilty of the first mistake, is not unlikely; but that he should land his men on the side of the river most remote from the enemy, and then consume many days in making bridges to convey them over, is a blunder so palpable and notorious, that we could hardly charge with it the most unthinking man of his army, much less a person of his penetration and forecast. We shall therefore conclude, without entering into the long and tedious disputes of the critics, that this passage is not genuine, but has been some way or other maimed and corrupted.

(T) The *Angrivarii* had often changed their habitation, as *Tacitus* informs us (48); but at this time dwelt, as is manifest from the passage before us, between the *Amisia* and *Visurgis*. Some modern geographers think, they possessed part of the present province of *Overyssel*, of the country of *Bentheim*, and of the diocese of *Paderborne*.

(U) The *Visurgis*, as *Lipsius* observes in this place, is chiefly indebted to *Tacitus* for its fame, and *Tacitus* for his to the *Visurgis*; for in a monastery on this river were found the five first books of his annals, after they had been long looked upon as lost.

(47) *Strabo*, l. iv. p. 133.

(48) *Tacit. de mor. German. c. 33.*

the other hand, alledged the rights of their common country, their ancient liberty, the gods of their ancestors, beseeching him by their common mother not to prefer the name of a traitor, of a betrayer of his friends, relations, and country; to that of their general and commander. By degrees they came to reproaches, and, though parted by the river, would have come to blows, had not *Stertinius* laid hold of *Flavius*, and, calling for his horse and armour, restrained him. On the opposite bank, *Arminius*, swelled with rage, was heard to utter dreadful threats, and menace the *Romans* as he departed with an approaching battle; for with his native language he mingled many *Latin* words, which he had learnt while he served as general of his countrymen in the *Roman* armies.

THE next day, the *German* army appeared on the opposite bank of the *Visurgis* in order of battle. But *Germanicus*, not thinking it adviseable to attack them, ordered the horse to ford over under the conduct of *Stertinius* and *Æmilius*, who, to divide the enemy's forces, crossed the river in distant places. At the same time *Cariovalda*, leader of the *Batauvians*, passed it where it was most rapid; but being drawn into an ambuscade by the enemy and furrounded on all sides, he fell under a shower of darts, while he was with incredible bravery attempting to break through the enemy's numerous battalions. Many of the *Batavian* nobility fell round him; the rest were saved either by their own bravery, or by the cavalry of *Stertinius* and *Æmilius*, who, upon the first notice of their danger, flew to the relief of their distressed allies. *Germanicus* having, during this skirmish, passed the *Visurgis* without molestation, was informed by a deserter, that *Arminius*, being joined by several *German* nations, had resolved to attack his camp by night. Hereupon the *Roman* general sent out scouts to reconnoitre, who, upon their return, reported, that they had heard a great noise of men and horses, and discerned the enemy's fires in a neighbouring wood. Then *Germanicus*, no longer doubting, but they designed to venture a decisive battle, in order to be informed in this critical conjuncture of the real inclinations of his soldiers, and not to depend on the reports of the tribunes and centurions, who were often apt to conceal the truth and relate only what was pleasing, in the beginning of the night, went out of the prætorium in disguise, only with one attendant; and listening from tent to tent to the discourses of the soldiery, while over their meals they frankly disclosed their hopes and fears, he had the satisfaction to hear his own praises in every one's mouth, and the soldiers encouraging each other to exert themselves in the approaching battle, out of gratitude to so deserving a general. While *Germanicus* was thus agreeably employed, one of the *Germans*, who spoke *Latin*, riding up to the *Roman* intrenchments, offered in the name of *Arminius* to every deserter a wife, land, and a hundred sesterces a day, as long as the war lasted. This offer the legions looked upon as an affront; and, full of rage and resentment, *Let day come*, said they, *we will seize their lands; we will take, not receive, German wives*. About the third watch the enemy approached; but finding the *Romans* ready to receive them, they retired without discharging a single dart. Early next morning, *Germanicus*, having assembled his troops, acquainted them with his design, which was to put an end to so tedious and fatiguing a war with a decisive battle; made them sensible of their advantage over the enemy both as to their arms and manner of fighting; represented the *Germans* as men of a frightful aspect and violent in the beginning of a battle; but disheartened with wounds, unaffected with their own disgrace, unconcerned for their general, cowards in distress, in prosperity despisers of all divine and human laws. In the end of his speech he exhorted his men to put an end of so great fatigues by sea, to their tedious marches by land, by making him conquer in those very countries, where his father and uncle had conquered. His harangue inspired the whole army with great ardour, which was expressed with a general shout and loud acclamations. Neither did *Arminius* and the other *German* chiefs neglect to animate their respective corps, and encourage them, either to maintain by their bravery the liberty they had received from their ancestors, or to prevent slavery by a glorious death. Having thus animated their men, they led them calling for battle into a plain called *Indistavisus* (W), which was bounded on one side by the *Visurgis*, and on the other by a ridge of

The *Batauvians* drawn into an ambuscade by the *Germans*.

Germanicus passes the *Visurgis*.

How he discovered the sentiments of the soldiery.

Germanicus encourages his men.

† *TACIT.* *ibid.* c. 5—10.

(W) *Lipfius*, who surveyed with great care, and no less pleasure, the places here described by *Tacitus*, takes the plain called by him *Indistavisus* to be that plain, which begins at a village called *Vegeſack*, about

two *German* miles from the city of *Breme*, and extends a great way towards the sea, between a ridge of hills and the *Weſer*.

He engages
the enemy.

The Germans
defeated with
great slaugh-
ter.

of hills. Behind this plain was a forest of tall trees, thick of branches above, but clear of bushes below. The *Germans* were all drawn up on the plain and at the entrance of the forest, except the *Cherusci*, who were posted on the hills, and ordered to fall upon the *Romans* from thence in the heat of the fight. *Germanicus* had scarce entered the plain with his troops in battle array, when he observed the *Cherusci*, impatient of delays, pouring down the hills. Hereupon he commanded a chosen body of horse to charge them in flank, and at the same time detached *Stertinius* with the rest of the cavalry, ordering him to wheel about and fall upon their rear (X). In the mean while, the *Roman* infantry advancing attacked the enemy in front with such vigor, that the *Germans*, not able to stand the shock, immediately gave ground. Those who were posted at the entrance of the forest fled to the plain, and those in the plain to the forest. The *Cherusci* alone maintained the fight, being encouraged by the example of the valiant *Arminius*, who, though wounded, would have broke through the *Roman* archers, had not the auxiliary cohorts of the *Rhetians*, *Vindelicians*, and *Gauls* hastened to their relief. However, by his own valour and the swiftness of his horse, he escaped the present danger, having first dyed his face with his own blood, to avoid being known. Some writers have related, that the *Chauci*, who served in the *Roman* army, having known him, suffered him to retire unmolested. The same bravery or connivance procured *Inguiomerus's* escape; the rest were either cut in pieces, or drowned in attempting to swim cross the *Visurgis*. The slaughter lasted from morning till night, and the country was covered ten miles round with arms and dead bodies. Among the spoils chains were found, which they had brought, not doubting of success, to bind the *Roman* captives. The *Romans* were no sooner returned from the pursuit, than *Germanicus*, ascribing the whole glory of so remarkable a victory to *Tiberius*, under whose auspices he had fought, caused him to be proclaimed emperor on the field of battle, and raising a mount, placed upon it as trophies the arms of the enemy, and inscribed underneath the names of the conquered nations.

A second battle

THE *Germans*, though vanquished, and already determined to abandon their country and seek for shelter beyond the *Albis* or *Elbe*, were so enraged at the raising of this mount, which they looked upon as an affront not to be borne, that, forgetting their wounds and misfortunes, they ran to arms again, people, nobility, young and old, all in a confused body, rushed suddenly upon the *Romans*, like men in despair, and put them, as they were on their march and under no apprehension of an enemy, into some disorder. Being repulsed, they incamped in a plain shut in between a river and a forest; the forest was surrounded by a deep marsh, except on one side, which was inclosed by a broad rampart raised formerly by the *Angrivarii*, as a barrier between them and their neighbours the *Cherusci*. In this plain the enemy posted their infantry, concealing their cavalry among the neighbouring groves, that they might fall upon the rear of the *Roman* army, as soon as they had entered the forest. *Germanicus*, being informed of their design and of every step they took, ordered *Seius Tubero*, one of his lieutenants, to enter the plain at the head of the cavalry; his infantry he divided into two bodies, commanding the one to attack the enemy in the wood, and leading the other himself to force the rampart. The foot, that fought on even ground, broke easily in; but the attack of the rampart cost *Germanicus* dear, the *Germans* defending it with great boldness and intrepidity. However, having at length, by showers of darts poured upon the enemy from his engines, beat them off and taken the rampart, he entered the wood at the head of the prætorian cohorts, and there made a most dreadful havock of the enemy, who fought indeed with as much courage as the *Romans*, but could not, for want of room, manage their long spears. However, they made a most vigorous resistance, and disputed the ground inch by inch. *Arminius* did not on this occasion exert his usual activity, being disabled and weakened by a wound he received; but *Inguiomerus*, with great intrepidity, flew about the ranks, animating his countrymen more by his example than by words. *Germanicus*, that he might be known, pulled off his helmet, and animated his men to pursue the slaughter: *No quarter*, he cried; *we want no captives*, nothing

^u Idem ibid. c. 11—13.

(X) *Tacitus* tells us, that as the troops were marching towards the enemy, eight eagles were seen to fly towards the wood and enter it; which *Germanicus* looking upon as a presage of victory, Advance, he cried, follow the Roman birds; follow the tutelar gods of the legions.

^a nothing but an utter destruction of these perfidious nations will put an end to the war. ^{The Germans defeated ancw.} However, as the day was already far spent, he detached a legion to form a camp for his weary troops; but the rest continued the slaughter till night, when they retired glutted with the blood of the enemy. This second victory was intirely owing to the foot, for the horse fought with double success. *Germanicus*, having from his tribunal commended his victorious troops, of the arms taken from the enemy formed a monument with this inscription: TO MARS, TO JUPITER, AND TO AUGUSTUS, THE ARMY OF TIBERIUS CÆSAR, HAVING INTIRELY VANQUISHED THE NATIONS BETWEEN THE RHINE AND THE ALBIS, CONSECRATES THIS MONUMENT. He made no mention of himself, either to avoid giving umbrage to *Tiberius*, or because ^b he thought the recording of the fact a sufficient testimony of his valour and conduct. After this he detached *Stertinius* against the *Angrivarii*, who by a ready submission ^{The Angri-varii submit.} prevented the calamities that threatened them. *Germanicus*, no less compassionate than brave, pardoned them without reserve, and suffered them to live quietly, according to their own laws, under the protection of *Rome* ^w.

As the summer was already far spent, *Germanicus* with the reduction of the *Angrivarii* ^{Germanicus returning by sea suffers a violent storm.} put an end to the campaign, sending some of the legions back into winter-quarters by land, and imbarquing himself with the others on the *Amisia* in order to return by sea. The ocean proved at first very calm and the wind favourable; but all on a sudden a storm arising, the fleet, consisting of a thousand vessels, was dispersed; some of ^c them were swallowed by the waves, others dashed in pieces against the rocks, or driven upon remote and inhospitable islands, where the men either perished with famine, or lived upon the flesh of the dead horses, with which the shores appeared soon strewed; for in order to lighten their vessels and disengage them from the shoals, they had been obliged to throw over-board their horses and beasts of burden, nay, even their arms and baggage. The galley of *Germanicus* alone landed on the coast of the *Chauci*, where the good-natured general, deeply affected with the misfortunes of his fellow-soldiers, wandered day and night about the rocks and promontories, keeping his eyes stedfast on the sea, in hopes of descrying some of the dispersed vessels. As none of them appeared, he was heard accusing himself as the author of this ^d dreadful havock; nay, distracted with grief, he would have thrown himself head- ^{His great concern.} long into the deep, had not his friends with much ado restrained him. At length to his infinite satisfaction he discovered part of the fleet returning, though in a very bad condition, some of the vessels being without oars, others without sails, using in their stead the soldiers cloaks; many were quite disabled, and towed by such as had suffered less. The latter he caused to be immediately repaired, and dispatched them to the neighbouring islands in quest of his dispersed legionaries. By this means the greater part of them were at length brought back. The *Angrivarii*, who had lately submitted, to give *Germanicus* on this occasion an undoubted proof of their fidelity, redeemed many, who had been made captives by their neighbours, and restored ^e them. Some, who had been driven into our island, were generously sent back by ^{Recovers many of his men.} the petty kings, who at that time reigned here ^x (Y).

UPON the news of this wreck, the *Catti*, taking new courage, ran to arms; but *Caius Silius*, detached against them with thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, kept them in awe. As for *Germanicus* himself, at the head of a more numerous body, ^f he made a sudden irruption into the country of the *Marfi* (Z), where he was informed by one *Malovendus*, who had once commanded their troops but had lately taken party with the *Romans*, that the eagle of one of *Varus*'s legions was concealed underground in a neighbouring grove, and guarded only by a small body of troops. This intelligence filled *Germanicus* with joy: he immediately dispatched two parties, the one to face the enemy and draw them from their post, the other to fall upon their rear and dig up the eagle. Success attended both, and the *Roman* general, having ravaged ^{Invaades the country of the Marfi, and recovers one of Varus's eagles.}

^w Idem ibid. c. 21, 22.^x Idem, c. 23, 24.

(Y) *Tacitus* tells us, that those who came from distant countries related wonders at their return, and entertained their comrades with strange accounts of violent whirlwinds, of birds never before heard of, of sea-monsters, which from their ambiguous forms appeared to be a new species between men and beasts. Travellers we find have ever been apt to magnify what they have seen,

and relate what they have never seen:

(Z) Before the canal, of which we have spoken above, was cut by *Drusus*, the *Marfi* inhabited part of the territories of *Veluwe* and *Zutphen*, where the present cities of *Arnhem*, *Grolle*, and *Bredfort* stand: but afterwards they settled between the *Rhine* and *Isala*, and in process of time changed the name of *Marfi* for that of *Marfasi* or *Marfatti*.

ravaged and laid waste the enemy's country, brought back the eagle in triumph; he then returned to the frontiers of *Gaul*, and there put his troops into winter-quarters, having by this glorious and successful expedition, retrieved, in some degree, the glory of the *Roman* name, and balanced his late misfortune at sea. He hoped in one campaign more to complete the reduction of *Germany*, and, in order to keep up the spirit of the soldiery, and encourage them to pursue with alacrity that great work, he made good at his own expence all the losses they had sustained in the late storm, causing as much to be paid to each legionary as each declared he had lost.

He is recalled by Tiberius. BUT, in the mean time, *Tiberius*, jealous of the great fame and reputation which his nephew acquired, by his repeated victories over the *Germans* and his popularity, resolved to separate him from his old and faithful legions. In order to this, he pressed him by frequent letters to return to *Rome*, and there enjoy the triumph decreed him: he urged, that he had already undergone dangers enow; that though success had attended him, yet he had sustained great losses, which indeed were owing to no fault of his, but to the winds and waves; that he himself, having been sent nine times into *Germany* by *Augustus*, had more by policy than force of arms brought the *Sicambri* into subjection, and drawn the *Suevi* and *Maroboduus* king of the *Marcomanni* to conclude a peace with *Rome*: he added, that the *Cherusci* and other barbarous nations, now the *Romans* had been fully revenged on them, might be left to pursue their domestic feuds and destroy one another. *Germanicus*, in answer to the emperor's letters, earnestly intreated him to indulge him but one year more to complete his conquest, since the enemy were already concerting measures for obtaining peace. *Tiberius* was inflexible; in order therefore to intice him home, he offered him a second consulship, adding in his letter, that if the war was still to be pursued, he ought to have some regard for his brother *Drusus*, and not ingross all the glory to himself; that *Rome* had at present no other enemies to wage war with but the *Germans*, and *Drusus* no other field of glory but *Germany*. Though *Germanicus* was well apprised, that these were but specious pretences; suggested by envy, to rob him of the glory he was likely to acquire by another campaign; however, finding it was in vain to persist any longer, he complied at length, and, leaving *Germany*, set out for *Rome* with his wife and children. But, before we speak of the reception he met with from *Tiberius* and the *Roman* people, we shall give a succinct account of what passed in the metropolis, while he was signalizing himself in *Germany*.

Libo Drusus accused of high treason. *Tiberius* had the foregoing year revived, as we have related above, the law of majesty, and upon this law was now arraigned *Libo Drusus*, tried, and condemned, and his estate divided amongst his accusers, which was encouraging that baneful set of men, and sounding the trumpet, to use the expression of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, to informations and arraignments. *Lucius Scribonius Libo Drusus* was descended of the *Scribonian* family, one of the most illustrious in *Rome*, was the great grandson of *Pompey the Great*, nephew of *Scribonia*, once the wife of *Augustus*, nearly related to the *Cæsars*, and no ways inferior in nobility to the reigning house. His high quality rendered him obnoxious to *Tiberius*, which a senator, by name *Firminus Catus*, being well apprised of, resolved to gain the emperor's favour, by giving him a plausible pretence to deliver himself from his fears. With this view, having insinuated himself into the favour of the unwary youth, by flattering his hopes and ambition and constantly magnifying the nobility of his family, he prevailed upon him to consult the *Chaldeans* and magicians, whether he should not be one day vested with the sovereign power, to which he had as good a claim, said the treacherous *Firminus*, as the family of *Tiberius* who enjoyed it. This was sufficient matter for a charge of high treason; and accordingly *Firminus* immediately acquainted the emperor by means of *Flaccus Vesularius*, a *Roman* knight, who had free access to him, with the pretended crimes of the unhappy youth, whom he had basely ensnared with specious delusions. *Tiberius*, though overjoyed at this information, refused the accuser a private audience, sending him word, that the communication might be still carried on by the same *Flaccus*, and accordingly *Firminus* by his means informed the emperor of all *Libo's* steps and words; for the unwary youth, deluded by the predictions of the *Chaldeans* and astrologers, began now to entertain thoughts of soaring above the rank of a private citizen. In the mean time, *Tiberius* with the deepest dissimulation preferred *Libo* to the prætorship, entertained him at his table, and familiarly conversed with him, without

^a without ever betraying the least resentment, either in his words or countenance. At length *Libo*, having recourse to one *Junius*, who pretended, by charms and the superstitious rites of the magicians, to call up the infernal shades, and learn of them future events, the magician discovered this to one *Fulcinus Trio*, a famous informer, who immediately hastening to the consuls, imparted the whole to them, and demanded that the senate might meet forthwith to deliberate upon an affair of so much moment, and of such dangerous consequence to the state. The fathers, not doubting but *Tiberius* was at the bottom of this prosecution, did not fail to assemble at the time appointed, when *Libo* appeared in the habit of a suppliant, and presenting himself before *Tiberius* who was present, endeavoured by his tears and intreaties to soften him. The emperor

^b heard him with a countenance quite unmoved, and, instead of returning him any answer, recited to the conscript fathers the charge against him and the names of the accusers, without betraying the least emotion of anger or resentment, or seeming either to lessen or magnify the crimes laid to his charge. When the emperor had done, four accusers

^c appeared against the criminal, viz. *Firminus Catus*, *Fulcinus Trio*, *Fonteius Agrippa*, and *Caius Vibius*, and produced such extravagant, foolish, and chimerical articles, as rather deserved pity than punishment. One of these, from which we may judge of the others, was, that he had asked the fortune-tellers, whether he should not one day be possessed of riches sufficient to cover with money the great *Appian* road from *Rome* to *Brundisium*? *Vibius* produced a paper containing the names of the *Cæsars*, that

^d is, of *Tiberius*, *Drusus*, and *Germanicus*, and those of some senators, with mysterious characters and magical notes joined to them. These the accuser pretended were written with *Libo*'s own hand, which he denying, it was moved, that his slaves should be examined upon the rack, but because by an old *Roman* law slaves could not be put to the torture in a trial touching the life of their masters, the crafty *Tiberius* found a trick to evade that law without seeming to violate it: he ordered the slaves to be sold to the public, that they might then be evidence against their late master: this poor evasion was first contrived and practised by *Augustus*, as we have shewn above. The unhappy *Libo*, concluding from this step, that *Tiberius* was resolved upon his destruction, begged the conscript fathers that they would put off till the next day the

^e final decision of his cause. His request being granted, he returned to his own house; whence soon after he sent *Publius Quirinius* to speak to the emperor in his behalf. *Quirinius* was nearly related to *Libo* and in great favour with *Tiberius*, having been formerly, as we have related above, instrumental in reconciling *Caius Cæsar* to him while he lived in the island of *Rhodes*, and by that means the chief cause of his returning into favour with *Augustus*. But, unmindful of ancient obligations, he received *Quirinius* with great coldness, and returned him no other answer, but that he must apply to the senate. This answer threw *Libo* into a deep melancholy, which, however, he dissembled, and ordered a great entertainment to be got ready, in order to pass the last night of his life in the company of his friends and relations. But the banquet

^f was scarce begun, when a band of soldiers, surrounding the house, with a studied noise and dreadful cries, so terrified the guests, that many of them, rising from table, endeavoured to make their escape. *Libo*, not doubting but they were sent to dispatch him, drawing his sword, offered it to his slaves, begging them to put an end with it to his unhappy life: but they, trembling and shunning the sad task, fled with such hurry and confusion, that they overturned all the lights, and then *Libo* in the dark gave himself two mortal wounds. As he fell and groaned, his freedmen ran in; and the soldiers seeing him dead retired; for they had been sent on purpose to frighten him, so as to make him lay violent hands on himself, *Tiberius* hoping by that means to avoid the odium, which, he was well apprised, the execution of one of the most illustrious citizens of *Rome* would reflect upon his person and government. The charge, however, was carried on in the senate, as if he had been still alive; but the deceitful *Tiberius* at the same time declared upon oath, that he would have interceded for his life, had he not prevented his clemency by laying violent hands on himself. The deceased was by the senate declared guilty of high treason, and his estate divided amongst his accusers: such of the informers as were of the senatorial order (for the first lords of the senate were not ashamed to debase themselves to this vile office) were, without the regular method of election, named prætors for the ensuing year. This was the most effectual means imaginable of multiplying these pests of the empire: they were raised to the highest offices in the state, and the metropolis of the world often saw her public dignities bestowed, as spoils, upon parricides, for spilling her best blood. We

may

Is tried by the senate.

Articles produced against him.

He lays violent hands on himself.

Is found guilty of high treason after his death by the senate.

The debasement of the senate.

Fortune-tellers driven out of Rome.

The use of plate and massy gold, &c. forbidden

The free spirit of L. Piso.

Tiberius's generosity to some senators.

may well imagine, that the servile senate did not let slip so favourable an opportunity of gaining the emperor's favour, by branding the memory of the pretended criminal. *Cotta Messalinus* moved, that the image of *Libo* might not be carried at the funerals of his posterity; *Cneius Lentulus*, that none of the *Scribonian* family should thenceforth take the name of *Drusus*: at the motion of *Pomponius Flaccus* days of thanksgiving were appointed. *Lucius Publius*, *Asinius Gallus*, *Papius Mutilus*, and *Lucius Apronius* were of opinion, that gifts should be presented to *Jupiter*, to *Mars*, and to the goddess *Concord*; and that the ides of *September*, the day on which *Libo* killed himself, should be for ever observed as a festival². So great was the debasement of the once venerable *Roman* senate, even in the beginning of *Tiberius's* reign. It was not enough for the conscript fathers to have condemned *Libo*; they issued a decree for driving astrologers, magicians, and the whole herd of fortune-tellers out of *Italy*; nay, *Lucius Pituanus*, one of them whom *Libo* had probably consulted, was thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock; and *Publius Marcius*, another of the same profession, was by the consuls sentenced to death, and executed accordingly, without the *Esquiline* gate.

At the next meeting of the senate, *Quintus Haterius*, once consul, and *Octavius Fronto*, formerly prætor, moved, that a stop might be put to the excessive luxury which prevailed in the city; and at their motion a law passed, forbidding all to use plate of massy gold, and men to debase themselves with wearing silks, which were then thought peculiar to women. *Fronto* went farther, and proposed, that the quantity of silver-plate, the expence of furniture, and the number of slaves might be regulated. But he was opposed therein by *Asinius Gallus*, who with plausible arguments defended the prevailing luxury. Besides, *Tiberius* himself did not approve of *Fronto's* motion; for after *Gallus* had done speaking, he added, that it was not a season for reformation, and that if there was any corruption of manners, there would not be wanting one to redress that evil, alluding thereby, no doubt, to himself and his office of perpetual censor. As it was common for the senators to depart from the present debate, and offer as their advice whatever they judged conducing to the public welfare, *Lucius Piso*, who still retained the ancient *Roman* spirit and declared his sentiments with great freedom, after having bitterly inveighed against the corruptions of the state, particularly against the pestilent pursuits of the informers, who were daily arraigning and circumventing all men, protested, that he was resolved to leave *Rome*, and live in some quiet and distant corner of the country. With these words he went out of the senate; but *Tiberius*, though highly provoked, smothered his resentment, and following *Piso*, endeavoured to sooth him with kind intreaties; nay, he even condescended to solicit his relations to divert him with their prayers and authority from the resolution he had taken; which they did accordingly. *Piso* not long after gave another instance of a spirit truly *Roman*, in suing for a debt one *Urgulania*, a woman of distinction, and placed by the favour of *Livia* above the laws. *Piso* summoned her to appear before the prætor; but she, despising the summons, fled for refuge to the palace; whence *Piso* would have carried her by force before the prætor, notwithstanding the complaints of *Livia*, had not *Tiberius*, to prevent disturbances, obliged her to comply with the summons, and at the same time proposed, in civility to his mother, to attend the trial and assist her favourite. On the day appointed for the decision of the cause, the emperor left the palace, ordering his guards to follow him at a distance; but walked so slow, that before he reached the forum the trial was over, and *Urgulania* adjudged to pay the sum claimed by *Piso*. The money was immediately advanced by *Livia*, who, finding *Piso* inflexible and the emperor no-ways inclined to oppose him, was glad to redeem her favourite from the trouble, which so bold and resolute a creditor would not have failed to create her (A). The proceeding of *Tiberius* on this occasion was highly applauded by the *Roman* people, as was also his generosity at this time towards some necessitous senators, whom with his gratuities he enabled to live suitable to their rank. However, he rejected with haughtiness the petition of *Marcus Hortalus*, the grandson of *Hortensius* the famous orator, who, as we have related above, had been encouraged by

Augustus

² Idem ibid. c. 27—32.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that the power of *Urgulania* was so great, that she disdained to appear as a witness in a certain cause before the senate; so that a prætor was sent to examine her at her own house,

though it had been always usual even for the vestal virgins to attend the forum and courts of justice, whenever their evidence was required.

^a *Augustus*, with a bounty of a thousand great sesterces, to marry, in order to prevent the extinction of his illustrious family. As he had now four children, he placed them before the door of the senate house, and shewing them to the conscript fathers, in a moving speech besought both them and the emperor to defend from want the offspring of so many consuls, the descendants of so many dictators, whom he had not brought into the world by his own choice, but in compliance with the desire of the deified *Augustus*. The conscript fathers, touched with compassion, were inclined to relieve him; but *Tiberius* opposed it, saying, that if they relieved all who were poor, and took upon them to maintain their children, the public would soon fail; that if the public treasury came to be exhausted by popular bounties, it must be supplied with rapine and oppression; that by such bounties industry would languish, and sloth prevail, &c. The greater part of the fathers sufficiently declared with their silence, that they did not like this speech; which *Tiberius* perceiving, after having paused a little, to qualify what he had said, added, that his answer was addressed in particular to *Hortalus*, but that if the senate thought fit, he was ready to give his sons two hundred great sesterces each. The senators returned him thanks for his generous disposition; but *Hortalus* himself was silent, affronted at the emperor's speech, and even in poverty full of the ancient grandeur of his family; which so estranged *Tiberius* from him, that he never after took any notice of him or his family, though reduced to extreme poverty ^a.

^b This same year, a slave of *Posthumus Agrippa*, by name *Clemens*, would have raised great disturbances in the state, and kindled a civil war in the bowels of *Italy*, had he not been prevented in good time. As he was much about the same age with his late master, and not unlike him in his person, he took upon him his name, and caused it to be reported in all parts by his emissaries and associates, that *Agrippa* was still alive. This raised great tumults in many cities of *Italy*, and brought over to the pretended *Agrippa* vast numbers of people, such as are ever fond of public disturbances and changes. The report was even credited at *Rome*, and his supposed arrival at *Ostia* privately celebrated in the city by multitudes of people. *Tiberius*, informed by his emissaries of all that passed, was long in suspense whether he should order his troops to march against the audacious slave; or suffer the imposture to vanish of itself, which he was well apprised must soon happen. On one hand, he was ashamed to betray any fear of a vile slave; and on the other he apprehended the danger which might arise from the credulity of the people, if they were not soon undeceived. In this perplexity he committed the whole affair to *Sallustius Crispus*, the same whom he had employed to dispatch *Agrippa*. *Crispus* chose two of his clients, or, as some write, two soldiers, in whom he could confide, and sent them to the supposed *Agrippa* with a considerable sum, directing them to feign that they believed him to be the true grandson of *Augustus*, to present him with the money, and to pretend a great zeal for his cause. They executed his orders with great address, and finding that *Clemens* reposed in them an intire confidence, they underhand got ready a proper band of men, seized and gagged him while his guards were asleep, and carried him without noise to the palace. When he was brought before *Tiberius*, the emperor asked him, *How he was become Agrippa? Just as you became Cæsar*, answered *Clemens*. Though *Tiberius* had him wholly in his power, yet so great was his fear or policy, that he did not execute him publicly, but ordered him to be dispatched in a secret part of the palace, and his body to be privately conveyed away; and though many of the emperor's household, many knights and senators were said to have assisted and supported him with their counsels and fortunes, yet no farther enquiry was made after his accomplices ^b. Towards the end of this year a triumphal arch was raised near the temple of *Saturn* as a monument for the recovery of the eagles of the *Varian* legions: a temple was dedicated to *Valiant Fortune* in the gardens which *Julius Cæsar* had bequeathed to the *Roman* people, and a chapel to the *Julian* family; statues were also consecrated to *Augustus* at *Bovillæ* in the neighbourhood of *Rome*.

In the mean time, *Germanicus* arriving with his wife and children in the capital, was there received by *Tiberius* with all possible marks of a seeming friendship and affection; he congratulated him on his past dangers, seemed highly pleased with his conduct, extolled his mighty feats, and with the deepest dissimulation commended him to the senate, as well deserving the greatest honours it was in their power to confer upon him.

He refuses to relieve the senator M. Hortalus.

The bold design of Clemens, bondman to Agrippa Posthumus.

He is seized by a device of Sallustius Crispus, and dispatched privately.

Germanicus soon received by Tiberius.

^a Idem ibid. c. 37, 38.

^b Idem, c. 39---40. Dio, l. lvii. p. 613. Suet. in Tib. c. 25.

His triumph.

Tiberius resolved on his destruction.

Archelaus king of Cappadocia called to Rome, where he dies.

him. The triumph, which had been decreed him, was put off till the following year, when *Caius Cælius*, or, as some style him, *Cæcilius Rufus*, and *Lucius Pomponius Flaccus* were consuls. During their administration, *Germanicus* triumphed on the twenty-sixth day of *May* over the *Catti*, the *Angrivarii*, the *Cherusci*, and all the *German* nations between the *Rhine* and the *Albis*, or the *Elbe*. *Germanicus* had not indeed extended his conquests to the latter of these rivers; but the emperor, to make him amends for stopping him in the full career of his victories, counted those conquests as complete, which he had prevented him from completing. The triumph, an honour now very uncommon, was performed with extraordinary magnificence. Before the triumphal chariot were carried representations of mountains, rivers, and battles, and an incredible number of captives loaded with chains, among whom were many of the *German* chiefs, and the wife of *Arminius*, carrying in her arms her infant son. But what above all heightened the shew and the satisfaction of the beholders, was the extraordinary gracefulness of *Germanicus*'s person, and his chariot filled with his five children, viz. *Nero*, *Drusus*, and *Caius*; and his two daughters, *Agrippina* and *Drusilla*. *Tiberius*, to render the solemnity more complete and the joy of the people more universal, distributed among them in the name of *Germanicus* a large sum, three hundred sesterces a man, and named himself his colleague in the consulship for the ensuing year. But, notwithstanding all these demonstrations of kindness and affection, the people still suspected his sincerity; and their joy was greatly allayed by the melancholy reflections, that popular favour had proved fatal to his father *Drusus*; that his uncle *Marcellus* was snatched from the people, who adored him, in the flower of his youth, and that the favourites of the *Roman* people had ever been unfortunate and short-lived. And truly, their fears were not ill grounded; for *Tiberius*, jealous of the glory of the young prince and the high favour he was in both with the people and soldiery, was already resolved on his destruction, and meditating with himself how to compass his wicked design, and at the same time avoid the irreconcilable hatred, which, he well knew, would thence arise to him from all orders of men. While he was wholly taken up with these thoughts, a favourable opportunity offered, or rather, was craftily framed by *Tiberius* for removing from *Rome* the darling of the people. *Archelaus* (B) king of *Cappadocia* had many years before incurred his displeasure, by neglecting to pay his court to him, during his retirement at *Rhodes* (C). This the revengeful emperor remembered, and therefore having inticed the king to *Rome* by means of letters from his mother *Livia*, promising him his pardon, provided he came in person to implore it, he not only received him with great haughtiness, but caused him to be accused as a criminal in the senate. As the crimes laid to his charge evidently appeared to be mere fictions, he was by the conscript fathers declared innocent; but the unhappy prince, not able to brook such treatment, soon after either died of grief, or laid violent hands on himself, after having reigned fifty years^c. Some time after *Cappadocia* was reduced to a *Roman* province, which enabled *Tiberius* to abate the tax of one in the hundred upon all vendible goods, and reduce it to one in the two hundred; which relief, however, the people did not long enjoy.

^c TACIT. *ibid.* c. 41. DIO, l. lvii. p. 613. NORIS epoch. p. 142. STRAB. l. vii. p. 291, 292.

(B) *Torrentius*, *Riccioli*, and *Salian* confound *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* with *Archelaus*, the son of *Herod*, king of *Judæa*. They were led into this mistake by a passage in *Suetonius*, who in the life of *Tiberius* tells us, that he pleaded the cause of *Archelaus*, which was his first essay in eloquence. This cause the abovementioned writers take to be that which *Archelaus* the son of *Herod* maintained at *Rome* against his brothers about his father's last will, as we have related in our history of the *Jews* (49). But it is evident both from *Josephus* and *Dion Cassius*, that *Tiberius* at the time of this trial was not at *Rome*, but lived in retirement at *Rhodes*; nay, the latter writer tells us in express terms, that *Tiberius* undertook the defence of *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, against his own subjects; and that the *Cappadocian* prince incurred his displeasure by seeming to

neglect him in his disgrace, notwithstanding the kindness he had shewn him on that occasion (50). He was the great grandson of the famous *Archelaus*, who commanded the troops of *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*, against *Sylla*, and afterwards, abandoning his own prince, sided with *Lucullus*. His daughter *Glaphyra* was first married to *Alexander*, and afterwards to his brother *Archelaus*, both sons to *Herod*, as we have related elsewhere (51). It is surprizing the abovementioned writers should be guilty of so gross a mistake.

(C) It was not out of ingratitude or contempt, as *Tacitus* informs us, that *Archelaus* declined attending upon *Tiberius*, while he resided at *Rhodes*, but because he had been warned by his friends at the court of *Augustus* to take no notice of him, lest he should incur the displeasure of the emperor.

(49) *Hist. Univers. Vol. IV. p. 186. p. 147. & 192.*

(50) *Dio, l. lvii.*

(51) *Hist. Univers. Vol. IV.*

enjoy . At the same time, died *Antiochus* king of *Comagene* and *Philopator*, king of *Cilicia*, which occasioned great disturbances in those countries, some being for the Roman government, and others for a king of their own. The provinces too of *Syria* and *Judæa* being overloaded with taxes, applied to the emperor and senate for relief^e. Neither was *Parthia* without troubles; that warlike nation having driven out *Vonones*, whom they had demanded of *Augustus* for their king, placed in his room on the throne *Artabanes*, a prince of the family of the *Arfacidæ*, but at that time, according to *Josephus*, king of the *Medes*^f. These disturbances and commotions in the east proved very favourable to the wicked designs of *Tiberius*, who represented to the senate, that they could not be well composed but by the wisdom and abilities of *Germanicus*; as for himself, he was, he said, in the decline of his age, and that of his son *Drusus* was not yet ripe. Hereupon all the provinces of the east were readily decreed to *Germanicus*, and a greater power conferred on him, than had been given to any governor since the time of *Pompey the Great*. But to balance and restrain the extraordinary authority with which he was vested, *Tiberius* had already removed from the government of *Syria* *Creticus Silanus*, whose daughter was betrothed to *Nero*, the eldest son of *Germanicus*, and placed in his room *Cneius Piso* (D), a man of a most violent and untractable temper, and to such a degree elated with the nobility and wealth of his wife *Plancina* (E), that he scarce yielded to *Tiberius*, and despised his sons, viz. *Drusus* and *Germanicus*, as persons beneath his rank: in short, he was in every respect the most proper person in *Rome* to execute those fatal purposes for which he was chiefly chosen. His wife *Plancina*, who was still of a more haughty temper than her husband, had secret instructions from *Livia* to exert her spirit, and by all manner of indignities prosecute and insult *Agrippina* (F). Before *Germanicus* left *Rome*, *Drusus* was sent into *Illyricum* on occasion of a bloody war, which broke out, soon after the departure of the *Romans*, between *Maroboduus* king of the *Suevians*, *Marcomanians*, and *Lombards* on one side, and the *Cherusians* on the other, headed by the brave *Arminius*. *Maroboduus* was overcome in a great battle, and obliged, most of his men abandoning him, to retire into the country of the *Marcomanians*, whence he sent ambassadors to *Tiberius* imploring his assistance. The emperor answered, that it was very surprizing he should recur to the *Romans*, and beg their assistance against the *Cherusians*, since he had sent none to them, while they were waging war with the same enemy. However, he laid hold of this opportunity to remove from *Rome* his son *Drusus*, who seemed over fond of the gaieties of the city, to inure him to the toils of the camp, and procure him the affections of the soldiery. What success attended him in this expedition, we shall relate anon.

THIS

^d DIO, l. lix. JOSEPH. *ibid*.

^e TACIT. c. 42, 43. JOSEPH. *antiq.* l. xvii. c. 3.

^f TACIT. *annal.* l. ii. c. 1.

(D) *Cneius Piso* was the son of *Cneius Calpurnius Piso*, who, as we have related above, maintained with great intrepidity the republican party against *Julius Caesar* in *Africa*. Afterwards he joined *Brutus* and *Cassius*, but after the battle of *Philippi* was allowed to return to *Rome*, where he scorned to sue for any public offices, chusing to live in retirement, till *Augustus* prevailed upon him to accept the consulship. *Festus* tells us, that the *Calpurnian* family pretended to derive their origin from one *Calpus* or *Calphus*, the son of *Numa Pompilius* (52). However that be, it is certain, that the *Calpurnian* family was one of the most ancient and illustrious in *Rome*, and no ways inferior to the *Claudian*, of which *Tiberius* was descended.

(E) *Plancina* was either the daughter or the niece of the famous *Munatius Plancus*, of whom we have spoken in several parts of this work. *Dion Cassius* calls her *Munatia Plancina*, and so she is styled in an inscription, which is still to be seen at *Rome*, in the palace which at present belongs to the family of the *Chigi*.

(F) *Tacitus* tells us, that the whole court was rent into parties, some favouring *Drusus*, and others *Ger-*

manicus. *Tiberius* was partial to *Drusus*, as his son by nature, whereas *Germanicus* was his son only by adoption; but the greater part favoured *Germanicus* for two reasons, says *Tacitus*; first, because they knew he was hated by the emperor; and secondly, because he was by his mother of a more illustrious descent. *Germanicus* and *Drusus* were the sons of two brothers, and consequently by their fathers of the same family. But on the mother's side *Germanicus* had the advantage, he being the son of *Antonia Minor*, the daughter of *Marc Antony* the triumvir by *Octavia* the sister of *Augustus*; so that *Marc Antony* was his grandfather, and *Augustus* his great uncle. On the other side, a private *Roman* knight was the great grandfather of *Drusus*; for his mother *Vispania* was the grand-daughter of the famous *Pomponius Atticus*. Besides, *Agrippina*, the wife of *Germanicus*, far excelled *Livia* the wife of *Drusus* in virtue, and all the accomplishments peculiar to her sex. However, the two brothers lived in perfect concord and friendship, no ways disturbed or interrupted by the contention and emulation that reigned among their relations and adherents (35).

(52) *Fest.* in voce *Calpurnius*.

(53) *Tacit. ibid.*

A dreadful
earthquake in
Asia.

THIS year was remarkable for one of the most dreadful earthquakes recorded in history: twelve famous cities of *Asia* were overturned by it, viz. *Sardis*, *Magnesia*, at the foot of mount *Sipylus*, *Mosthene*, *Ægæ*, *Hierocæsarea*, *Philadelphia*, *Temolus*, *Temnus*, *Cyme* or *Cumæ*, *Myrina*, *Apollonia*, *Hyrcania*. To these mentioned by *Tacitus*, *Eusebius* adds *Ephesus*^g. *Pliny*ⁱ and *Strabo*ⁱ make particular mention of this event, calling it the most dreadful concussion that had ever been felt (G). It happened in the night, and proved the more dreadful, as it was less expected. Most of the inhabitants were crushed under the ruins of their houses, and those who fled to the fields, swallowed up by the opening of the earth. It is reported, says *Tacitus*, that huge mountains sunk into the earth, that plains were raised up into high hills, and that dreadful flashes and eruptions of fire were seen among the ruins. *Phlegon*^b of *Tralles*, who has wrote a very particular account of this terrible event and the evils which it occasioned, says, that many cities of *Pontus*, of *Sicily*, and of *Calabria* in *Italy* were greatly damaged by it; and adds, that the earth opening in many places, bodies were discovered of a monstrous size, from one of which a tooth was taken above a foot in length, and presented to *Tiberius*, who would not suffer the whole body to be brought to him, saying, that he deemed it a great crime to disturb the dead. However, to satisfy his curiosity, he caused a head to be engraved proportionable to the tooth which had been brought him, and which he immediately after ordered to be restored to the place, whence it had been taken^k. *Tiberius*, to do him justice, shewed, on occasion of this great calamity, a spirit truly generous and worthy of a person in his station: for he not only remitted the inhabitants of the ruined cities their taxes for five years, but presented them with large sums to rebuild their habitations. To the *Sardians*, who had suffered most, he sent a hundred thousand great sesterces, and the rest relief proportionable to their losses; nay, he immediately dispatched into *Asia* *Marcus Aletus*, a senator, who had been prætor, to view the desolations on the spot, and make good the losses of every particular; for he was fond of being liberal, as *Tacitus* observes, on honest occasions, a virtue which he long retained, after he had utterly abandoned all other virtues. The inhabitants of the cities thus rebuilt, and by the liberalities of *Tiberius* restored to their former splendor, erected to their common benefactor a colossus in the *Roman* forum, surrounded with the statues of their twelve cities, as a lasting monument of the prince's generosity, and their gratitude^l.

Tiberius's
generosity on
this occasion.

His private
liberalities.

THE reputation which *Tiberius* gained by this noble bounty to the public, was greatly heightened by his private liberalities. For the estate of a wealthy freedwoman, by name *Æmilia Musa*, who died this year intestate, being claimed by the treasury, the emperor generously yielded it to one *Æmilius Lepidus*, to whose family she seemed to belong (H). With the same disinterestedness he surrendered to *Marcus Servilius* the whole inheritance of *Patuleius*, a rich *Roman* knight, though part of it had been bequeathed

^g EUSEB. chron. p. 201.

^h PLIN. l. ii. c. 84.

ⁱ STRAB. l. xii. p. 579.

^k PHLEGON.

Tralliani, de reb. mirabilibus, c. 13, 14.

^l TACIT. c. 47. DIO, l. lvii. p. 614. PHLEG. mir. c. 13.

(G) *Orosius* takes this to be the earthquake mentioned by the evangelists as happening at the death of our Saviour; a notorious mistake! which, if admitted, would overset every system of chronology, it being past all doubt, that the earthquake, which overturned the twelve cities of *Asia*, happened in the fourth year of *Tiberius*'s reign, and consequently was at least fourteen years prior to the other. According to *Eusebius* our Saviour was crucified the fourth year of the hundred and second olympiad; and the earthquake, which proved so fatal to *Asia*, happened, according to the same writer, the second year of the hundred and ninety-ninth olympiad. *Orosius* would fain corroborate the accounts of the sacred penmen with the testimonies of the Greek and *Roman* historians, and this is what led him into the abovementioned mistake.

(H) *Tacitus* does not tell us, that *Æmilia Musa* was a freedwoman; but from her Greek cognomen it is manifest, that such was her condition; for we have not one instance in history of a *Roman* assuming a Greek name. The prænomen of *Æmilia* she pro-

bably borrowed from some of the *Æmilian* family, to whom she had formerly belonged. Perhaps she was related to the famous *Antonius Musa*, the freedman and physician of *Augustus*. As she died intestate, her estate, supposing her to have been a *liberta*, or freedwoman, and to have no relations of her own then living, fell, according to the *Roman* law, to her former master and his heirs of blood. *Si libertus intestato decesserit, patronum, aut filium, nepotemve ejus ad successionem vocari indubitatum est*, says *Julian* (54); and *Ulpian*, *Liberto intestato mortuo, primum suis deferri hereditatem verum est: si hi non fuerint, tunc patrono* (55). But what title had the exchequer to her estate? It appears from this passage of *Tacitus* and the laws we have quoted, that if a freedman or woman had no surviving relations, and their former master's family was extinct, their estate fell to the prince. In the present case one *Æmilius Lepidus*, as heir of blood to *Musa*'s former master, claimed her estate, and *Tiberius* generously surrendered it to him, though he could not plainly make good his claim.

(54) *Leg. 13. de bonis libert.*

(55) *Leg. 2. de suis heredit.*

bequeathed to himself. Neither could he ever be prevailed upon to accept legacies; but from his intimate friends, utterly rejecting the inheritances of such as were strangers to him, or out of hatred to their relations appointed him their heir. His bounties were, generally speaking, well placed; for as he readily relieved such senators as were by misfortunes reduced to poverty, so he excluded without pity from the senate those who had wantonly squandered away their estates in luxury and debauchery. Of this number were *Vibidius Varro*, *Marius Nepos*, *Appius Appianus*, *Cornelius Sylla*, *Quintus Vitellius*, and *Attilius Buta*. The latter was a man of pleasure, and used constantly to pass the night in revels and debaucheries, and sleep the greatest part of the day; by which course of life, being soon reduced to great indigence, he had recourse to the emperor for relief; but *Tiberius* rejected his petition, without returning him any other answer, than that *he had awaked too late*^k. But the applause *Tiberius* gained by his public and private bounties were counterbalanced, by the countenance he gave to informations and arraignments upon the law of violated majesty. Informers multiplied daily, the spirit of accusing grew common, and the dread of it universal, *Apuleia Varilia*, grand neice to *Augustus* by his sister (I), was accused by one of that infamous profession of having reviled the deified *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and his mother *Livia*, and of having dishonoured with adultery the blood of the *Cæsars*, which, according to the construction *Augustus* had put upon the law of majesty, was high treason (K). *Tiberius* admitted the accusation, but shewed great moderation in the prosecution of the accused: for as to the adultery he said, that sufficient punishments had been already appointed for that crime by the *Julian* law, which was implicitly declaring, that it did not fall under the law of treason. As to the other crimes, he desired they might be distinguished: If *Apuleia*, said he, *has uttered impious speeches against the deified Augustus, she must be condemned; but for her invectives against me I will not suffer her to be called to any account. But she has had the impudence to attack the reputation of your mother*, replied one of the consuls. To this *Tiberius* returned no answer then, but the next time the senate met, he begged in his mother's name, that the words spoken against her might not be construed into treason. Hereupon she was tried only upon the words spoken against *Augustus*, and found guilty, but pardoned by *Tiberius*, who likewise begged a mitigation of her punishment for adultery; so that, instead of undergoing the severe punishments inflicted on that crime by the *Julian* law, of which hereafter, she was only removed two hundred miles from *Rome*; but *Manlius*, who had debauched her, was banished *Italy* and *Africa*^l. This same year, *Tacfarinas*, a native of *Numidia*, who had served among the *Roman* auxiliaries, having drawn his countrymen and the neighbouring nations into a revolt, was overthrown in a pitched battle by *Furius Camillus*, proconsul of *Africa*, who till that time had passed for a man quite unacquainted with the art of war. For this victory, which *Camillus* gained with one legion and a small body of auxiliaries, a handful of men, when compared with the numberless troops of the enemy, the ensigns of triumph were by the senate decreed to the conqueror; which honour, says the historian, did not prove fatal to him, because he was a man of extraordinary modesty, and chose to live in retirement^m. This year died, according to *Eusebius*ⁿ, *Ovid* at *Tomos* in *Pontus*, and, according to *S. Jerom*,

^k TACIT. c. 48. DIO, ibid.^l Idem, c. 49, 50.^m Idem, c. 52, 53.ⁿ EUSEB. in chron.

(I) *Augustus* had two sisters, viz. *Octavia Major* and *Octavia Minor*; but by which of these *Apuleia Varilia* was grand neice to *Augustus*, history does not inform us. Neither do we know of any writer who mentions the marriage or offspring of *Octavia Minor*. The other sister married *Marcellus*; and had by him two daughter, *Marcella Major* and *Marcella Minor*; one of these was, we conjecture, from what we read in *Dion Cassius*, married into the *Apuleian* family; for that writer calls *Sextus Apuleius*, who was consul the year *Augustus* died, *συγγενὴς Αὐγούστῳ*, that is, *Augustus's* kinsman (56). If we admit this conjecture, which is not ill grounded, *Apuleia Varilia* was daughter to an *Apuleius* by one of the *Marcellæ*, and consequently grand-neice to *Augustus* by his sister *Octavia Major*.

(K) *Augustus*, as *Tacitus* informs us (57), to a

fault common between men and women gave the grievous name of sacrilege and treason; and as his daughter and grand-daughter were prostitutes, he punished, according to the law of treason, which he had thus wrested, all their adulterers and gallants either with death or exile. This sort of treason was, as *Tacitus* seems to insinuate, limited to the reigning house and the blood of the *Cæsars*; for that writer tells us, that *Varilia*, being nearly related to the emperor and guilty of adultery, was arraigned of high treason. *Augustus* found his account in declaring the gallants of the two *Julias* traitors; for as those traitors were very numerous, and considerable for their quality and credit, he had here a good pretence to get rid of many eminent citizens, who gave him uneasiness and jealousy.

(56) *Dio*, l. lxxv, lxxvi.(57) *Tacit. annal.* l. v.

The death of
Ovid, and
Livy the hi-
storian.

Jerom°, the famous historian *Livy* at *Padua*, his native city. We are told, that *Livia* had designed the latter for præceptor to *Claudius*, the younger brother of *Germanicus*; but he was prevented by death from enjoying that honour. He was the last of those illustrious writers who once adorned the court of *Augustus*, and will render his age ever memorable. He has been our chief guide in the compiling of this history; for which we can make him no better return, than to repeat here what *Seneca* said of him many centuries since, that *the genius of Livy was equal to the grandeur and majesty of the Roman empire*^p.

Germanicus
sets out for the
Levant:

TOWARDS the end of the year, *Germanicus*, leaving *Rome*, set out for the *Levant* with his wife *Agrippina* and his son *Caius*, surnamed *Caligula*. After a long and dangerous passage both in the *Adriatic* and *Ionian* seas, he arrived in *Dalmatia*, whither he had first steered his course to visit his brother *Drusus*, who, as we have related above, had been sent into that country. From *Dalmatia* by the coast of *Illyricum* he reached *Nicopolis*, which city *Augustus* had built on the *Ambracian* bay, in memory of his victory at *Actium*. There he entered upon his second consulship, having *Tiberius*, now the third time consul, for his colleague. The emperor held this dignity to the ides of *May*, and then resigned it to *L. Seius Tuberus*, who had served under *Germanicus* in quality of lieutenant^q. *Germanicus* spent a few days at *Nicopolis* to refit his fleet, and in the mean time viewed the bay of *Actium*, the spoils which *Augustus* his grandfather had consecrated after his famous victory, and the camp of *Antony* his great uncle. From thence he proceeded to *Athens*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of honour (L). Next he sailed to *Eubæa*, and thence to *Lesbos*, where his wife *Agrippina* was delivered of *Julia* her last child: then he steered his course to the cities of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium* in *Thrace*, entered the straits of *Propontis*, and the mouth of the *Pontic* or *Euxine* sea, being desirous of seeing those places so much celebrated by fame. In his return he endeavoured to touch at the island of *Samothrace*, being fond of beholding the religious ceremonies practised there, of which we have spoken in our description of that island^r; but he was prevented from satisfying his laudable curiosity by contrary winds. Having therefore visited ancient *Ilium*, which gave birth to *Rome*, he regained the coast of *Asia*, and put in at *Colophon*, to consult there the oracle of the *Clarian Apollo*, of which we have given an account elsewhere^s. The priest, by whose mouth the god was believed to utter his oracles, is said to have foretold, but in dark and doubtful terms, the approaching death of *Germanicus*^t.

Piso and his
wife set out
for Syria.

IN the mean time, *Piso* and his wife *Plancina*, hastening to the execution of their wicked designs, left *Rome*, and arriving at *Athens*, gave there the first proof of their hatred to *Germanicus*. For *Piso*, in a speech to the inhabitants, abused them in a most outrageous manner, not without an indirect censure upon *Germanicus*, for having debased the dignity of the *Roman* name in paying an excessive regard not to the *Athenians*, whose race was long since extinct, but to the mixt scum of different nations (M). *Piso* did not stay long at *Athens*, but being in haste to reach *Syria* before *Germanicus*, left the metropolis of *Attica*, and taking the shortest course, though the least safe, sailed through the *Cyclades*, and appeared off of *Rhodes*, soon after *Germanicus* had put

° HIER. in chron.
in fast. p. 189.

p SENEC. rhetor.

r Hist. Univerf. Vol. III. p. 573.

t TACIT. c. 53, 54.

q TACIT. c. 53. SUET. in Tib. c. 26. ONUPI.
s Hist. Univerf. Vol. III. p. 632.

(L) The *Athenians* received *Germanicus* with extraordinary marks of esteem, which lest he should undervalue, as that nation made then but a very indifferent figure, they put him in mind of the glory of their ancestors, by carrying before him on tablets succinct accounts of their most famous exploits. By this means they enhanced the honours they had conferred on him, and, to use *Tacitus*'s expression, dignified their flattery. On the other hand, *Germanicus*, out of respect to them, divesting himself in a manner of his power, appeared among them almost like a private citizen, being attended only by one lictor. By thus removing the ensigns of power, the *Romans* declared, that they treated those with whom they conversed, not as subjects, but as friends. *Antony*, as we have observed above, used the same

condescension towards the *Athenians*, during his residence in their city, as did also *Tiberius* towards the *Rhodians*, walking up and down without a lictor or viator, and conversing familiarly with the *Greeks*, as if they had been his equals (58).

(M) *Piso* seems to us to have been not a little inconsistent with himself in his reproaches; for on one hand, he would not allow the present inhabitants of *Athens* to be descended from the ancient *Athenians*; and on the other, he charged them with all the crimes, of which the ancient *Athenians* had ever been guilty. He was also an enemy to their city, as *Tacitus* informs us, upon a private account, because they would not pardon at his request one *Theophilus*, condemned by the *Areopagus* for forgery.

a put in there; but being overtaken by a violent storm before he could enter the port, he was driven upon certain rocks, and must have inevitably perished, had not the good-natured *Germanicus*, though already informed of the invectives *Piso* had uttered against him at *Athens*, dispatched galleys to rescue him from the wreck. This generous kindness and humanity made no impression upon the hard-hearted *Piso*, who, having staid but one day with his benefactor, put to sea again in order to arrive in *Syria* before him. He no sooner reached his province, than he began to court the common soldiers by bounties and caresses, to form factions among the troops, to remove the ancient centurions and tribunes, and place in their room his own creatures, or men recommended only by their crimes: he permitted the soldiery either to live quite idle in the camp, or to ramble about, and commit with impunity all manner of disorders in the villages and cities. By this criminal indulgence *Piso* won the hearts of the idle and disorderly multitude to such a degree, that he was by them honoured with the title of *Father of the legions*. On the other hand, *Plancina*, forgetting the modesty peculiar to her sex, appeared often on horseback, assisted at the reviews, and was not ashamed, which in those days was thought very unbecoming in a woman, to be seen at the public exercises and military evolutions. She laid hold of these occasions to drop reproachful and injurious reflections on the conduct of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, in order to prejudice the minds of the soldiery against them. As to the officers, they were privately told, that their paying court to *Germanicus* and his wife would not recommend them to the favour of *Tiberius*. Though these proceedings were well known to the young prince, yet overlooking the unaccountable behaviour of *Piso* and *Plancina*, in pursuit of the glorious ends of his expedition, he hastened into *Armenia*, where with the approbation of the nobility in a great assembly he placed the diadem upon the head of *Zeno*, the son of *Polemon* king of *Pontus*, a friend and ally of the Romans. From *Armenia* he proceeded first to *Cappadocia*, and thence to *Comagene*, both which kingdoms, then vacant by the death of their sovereigns, he reduced to Roman provinces, appointing *Quintus Veranius* governor of the former, and *Quintus Servæus* of the latter. The pleasure which *Germanicus* reaped from thus successfully settling the affairs of the allies was greatly allayed, by the proud and haughty behaviour of *Piso*, who being commanded either to lead in person, or to send under the conduct of his son, part of the legions into *Armenia*, contemptuously neglected to do either. At last they met at *Cyrrum*, a city of *Syria*, and there had an interview, to which *Germanicus* admitted only a few of his intimate friends. He reproached the president of *Syria* with his strange conduct and haughty behaviour, and charged him, his wife, and their sons, with many imputations. On the other hand, *Piso* pretended surprise, but at the same time betrayed, even in submitting to *Germanicus* as his superior, great scorn and contempt; so that they parted declared enemies. Thenceforth *Piso* seldom appeared at the public assemblies, where *Germanicus* presided, or, if he did, it was only to contradict him. Not long after he gave a public proof of his malice, spite, and ill-will to *Germanicus*. For at a grand entertainment made by the king of the *Nabatheans* (N), golden crowns of great weight being presented to *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, and such as were much lighter, to *Piso* and the rest of the guests, the haughty president, offended at this distinction, with an air of contempt threw his away; and, uttering many invectives against luxury, withdrew with these words; *Rome abhors such scandalous luxury; I thought I had been invited to a banquet made for the son of a Roman prince, not of a Parthian king.* *Germanicus* was highly incensed at this insult; but, the natural sweetness of his temper getting the better of his resentment, he took no notice of such a provoking behaviour. Soon after ambassadors arrived from *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians* to renew the ancient alliance between the two empires, and intreat *Germanicus* in their master's name to remove *Vonones*, who had been lately driven from the throne, out of *Syria*, lest he should find means, being so near to *Parthia*, to raise disturbances in that kingdom. *Germanicus* renewed the ancient alliance, and removed *Vonones* to *Pompeiopolis*, a maritime city of *Cilicia*, not so much in compliance with the request of *Artabanus*, as to separate him from *Piso*, with whom he

Is shipwrecked, but saved by Germanicus.

He courts the favour of the soldiers.

Germanicus crowns Zeno king of Armenia, and reduces Cappadocia and Comagene to Roman provinces.

Piso's insolent behaviour.

Germanicus renews the ancient alliance with the Parthians.

(N) The country of the *Nabatheans* extended, according to *St. Jerom*, from the *Euphrates* to the *Red-sea* (59); so that it comprehended *Arabia deserta*, and great part of *Arabia Petræa*. The me-

tropolis of the *Nabatheans* was the city of *Petra*, which gave its name to *Arabia Petræa* (60). *St. Jerom* thinks they were called *Nabatheans* from *Nabaioth* *Ismael's* son.

(59) *Hier. quæst. in Genes. 25.*

(60) *Strab. l. xvi. p. 534*

he was in high favour in regard of the many presents he had made to his wife *Plancia*, and the excessive court he paid her^a. Of this year, which was *Germanicus's* first in the *Levant*, not the least mention is made by *Dion Cassius*.

He visits the
curiosities of
Egypt.

Maroboduus
driven out of
his dominions,
and likewise
Catualda.

Rhescuporis
circumvented
by Tiberius.

THE following year, *Marcus Silanus* and *Lucius Norbanus* being consuls, *Germanicus* travelled into *Egypt* to view the rarities and antiquities of that famous country. His journey proved very beneficial to the inhabitants, whom he relieved from a great famine, causing the granaries to be every-where opened, and the price of corn abated. He did not imagine, that the prohibition made by *Augustus*, extended to him; and nevertheless the jealous emperor in a letter to him censured him with great severity for presuming to enter that province, when *Augustus* among other secrets of state had strictly forbidden all senators and Roman knights of any figure to travel thither, without special licence^w. While *Germanicus* was thus passing the summer very agreeably in *Egypt*, *Drusus* was busy in sowing feuds among the *Germans*, and was therein attended with great success. For *Maroboduus*, king of the *Suevians*, whose power *Rome* dreaded, was this year driven out of his dominions, and obliged to pass the last eighteen years of his life at *Ravenna* in *Italy*. *Catualda*, whom *Drusus* had underhand stirred up against him, had the same fate; and recurring to the *Romans* for protection, was conveyed by them to *Forum Julium*, now *Frejus*, a colony in *Narbonne Gaul*. As both these chiefs were followed by great numbers of their countrymen, *Tiberius*, fearing they might disturb the quiet of the provinces, gave them settlements beyond the *Danube*, between the rivers *Cusus* and *Marus*, now the *Wag* and the *March*, on the frontiers of *Moravia*, appointing them for their king one *Vannius*, by nation a *Quadian* (O), who reigned over them for the space of thirty years, but was driven out in the reign of *Claudius*. With the same policy *Tiberius* circumvented and inticed to *Rome* *Rhescuporis*, a petty king of *Thrace*, who having murdered *Cotys* (P), his nephew, had seized on that part of the kingdom which *Augustus* had bestowed upon him. To deceive *Rhescuporis*, *Tiberius* employed *Pomponius Flaccus* (Q), whom he preferred to the government of *Mæsia*, as being one of the king's most intimate friends, and therefore better qualified to betray him; which he did accordingly, having inticed him into the *Roman* dominions, and then sent him under a strong guard to *Rome*, where he was accused before the senate by the widow of *Cotys*, and banished to *Alexandria*, where he was slain attempting to make his escape, or falsely charged with it. This part of *Thrace* was divided between *Rhemetalces*, the son of *Rhescuporis*, and the sons of the *Cotys*; but the latter being minors, *Trebellienus Rufus*, once prætor, was appointed governor of their share. About this time *Vonones*, who had been removed to *Pompeiopolis* in *Cilicia*, attempting to make his escape, was overtaken and killed by one *Remmius*, a veteran, to whose custody he had been committed (R).

IN

^a TACIT. c. 55—59.

^w TACIT. c. 59. SUET. in Tiber. c. 5.

(O) The country of the *Quadi* was at first bounded by *Bohemia*, the *Danube*, and the river *March*; but afterwards they extended their confines to the *Sarmatian* mountains in the neighbourhood of *Er-law* in *Hungary*. We shall have frequent occasion to speak of them in the reigns of *Marcus Antoninus* and *Gallienus*.

(P) *Cotys* was the son of *Rhemetalces*, upon whose death his kingdom was divided by *Augustus* between his son *Cotys* and his brother *Rhescuporis*, as we have related at length in our history of *Thrace* (61), to which we refer our readers for a full account of the transactions, we have only hinted at in this place. *Cotys*, though a *Thracian*, was not unacquainted with the muses; for to him *Ovid* inscribed the ninth elegy of his third book *de Ponto*, the unhappy poet being confined by *Augustus* to his kingdom.

(Q) *Ovid* mentions *Pomponius Flaccus* in one of his epistles inscribed to *Græcinus*:

*Præfuit his, Græcine, locis modo Flaccus, Et illo
Ripa ferox Istris sub duce tuta fuit.
Hic tenuit Mysas gentes in pace fideli;
Hic arcu fissos terruit ense Getas* (62).

He was indeed a good soldier, but a man of a vile character. We have related above his flattering motion against the memory of *Libo Drusus*. He was preferred to the government of *Mæsia* on purpose to betray *Rhescuporis*, with whom he lived in close friendship, which he did not in the least scruple to do: and indeed *Rhescuporis*, who treacherously betrayed and murdered his own nephew, deserved to have no other friends but men of his own stamp, traitors and assassins. *Pomponius* was rewarded by *Tiberius* for his treachery with the government of *Syria*, in which employment he died (63).

(R) The circumstances of this unhappy prince's death are differently related by the ancients. *Tacitus* tells us, that having corrupted his keepers, he obtained leave of them to hunt in the neighbouring forests, and under that pretence attempted his escape to *Armenia*, with a design to pass from thence thro' the countries of the *Albanians* and *Heniochians* into *Scythia*, and there take sanctuary with one of the kings of that country, who was his kinsman. But the country people, being soon apprised of his flight, broke down the bridges of the *Pyramus*, a river of *Cilicia*; so that the prince, as the stream was not fordable,

(61) Vide Hist. Univers. Vol. IV. p. 346.

(62) *Ovid. de Pont. l. iv. Eleg. 9.*

(63) *Tacit. l. iv.*

IN the mean time, *Germanicus*, having satisfied his curiosity with viewing all the rarities and antiquities of *Egypt*, left that kingdom, and returned to *Syria*, where to his great surprise he found all the regulations he had made utterly abolished, and the orders he had left with the legions wholly neglected. Hereupon, no longer able to bear with such insults, he reproached *Piso* in very sharp and severe terms, which, notwithstanding his natural boldness, heightened by the confidence he placed in the protection of *Tiberius*, so frightened him, that he resolved to leave *Syria* and abandon his government. But while he was making the necessary preparations for his departure, *Germanicus* being taken ill, he thought it adviseable to wait the issue of the distemper. The young prince soon recovered, and, as he was universally adored, his recovery was celebrated at *Antioch*, where he then was, with public vows, sacrifices, and all possible demonstrations of the most sincere and unaffected joy. This proved new matter of rage to *Piso*, who, no longer master of himself, ordered his lictors to drive away the victims, to overturn the altars, and disperse the people assembled to celebrate the festival: a bold attempt this! and therefore *Piso* immediately after it leaving *Antioch*, withdrew to *Seleucia*. Soon after his departure *Germanicus* relapsed, and his persuasion that *Piso* had caused him to be poisoned heightened the violence of the distemper. Some of his domestics too had the imprudence to tell him, that on the floors and walls of his house had been found bones of human bodies taken out of the grave, ashes mixed with blood, charms, incantations, and the name of *Germanicus* engraved on sheets of lead. These reports and the frequent visits of persons, who were supposed to be *Piso*'s creatures and to have been sent by him to watch the progress of the malady, doubled the young prince's anxiety and apprehensions. If my house, said he, is thus beset by treacherous friends in my life-time, what will become after my death of my unhappy wife, of my little children? *Piso*, impatient to command alone the legions, to govern alone the province, thought poison too slow in its operation, and therefore had recourse to charms and incantations. In the height of the resentment, which these reflections raised in his mind, he wrote a letter to *Piso*, utterly renouncing his friendship, according to the custom which obtained among the Romans, and was a solemn declaration that they intended to have no farther intercourse or communication with the person, whose friendship they thus renounced. Some authors add, that he commanded him to depart the province. Be that as it will, *Piso* soon after put to sea; but kept hovering upon the coast of his province, that he might return the sooner, should the government of *Syria* become vacant by the death of *Germanicus*. In the mean time, the violence of the malady somewhat abating, the young prince's friends began to entertain some hopes of his recovery. But short-lived was their joy; a sudden relapse threw them into despair; and the unfortunate *Germanicus*, finding his end approached, sent for his friends, and spoke to them in this manner: *Were I to die a natural death, yet should I have just cause to complain of the gods for thus snatching me from my relations, my children, and my country, in the flower of my age. But being thus brought to an untimely end by the malignity of Piso and his wife, the last favour I beg of you, my faithful friends, is, that you acquaint my father and brother, with what persecutions afflicted, I end a most miserable life by a most inglorious death. My relations, dependents, and even those whom envy provoked against me while living, will bewail my misfortune and hard fate, in thus falling by the perfidious arts and treachery of a woman, after having escaped so many dangers in war, and survived so many battles. But it is a duty incumbent upon you, my faithful friends, to do something more, than to commemorate my death with useless tears. It is the principal office of a true friend to remember the wishes of those with whom they lived in friendship, and fulfil*

His speech to his friends.

fordable, was overtaken and seized on the banks of that river by *Vibius Fronto*, who had pursued him close with a body of horse. Soon after *Remmius*, his late keeper, came up, and, pretending to be transported with rage, ran him through with his sword. It was commonly believed, that *Remmius*, gained by the prince's presents, had connived at his escape, and therefore in an affected rage slew him through fear of being discovered (64). According to this account, *Tiberius* had no hand in his death. But *Suetonius* throws the whole blame of this cruel action upon the emperor. *Vonones*, says that writer,

being driven out of his kingdom, retired to *Antioch* with great wealth, and there continued some time, thinking himself safe under the protection of the Roman people; but was in the end, contrary to all justice and faith, not only pillaged by the emperor's order, but most treacherously slain (65). We take the account of *Tacitus* to be the most genuine, that writer being no ways inclined to lessen or suppress the faults of any of the *Cæsar*'s, but where truth, to which he ever pays the utmost regard, obliges him.

(64) *Tacit. c. 68.*

(65) *Suet. in Tib. c. 49.*

fulfil their last desires. If therefore you loved me rather than my fortune, you will revenge my death, you will complain to the senate, and prosecute the authors of my misfortunes as our laws direct. Shew to the Roman people my wife, the grand-daughter of Augustus, shew them our six children (S). This sight will move the conscript fathers to compassion, which will prove favourable to you, who accuse; and the accused, if they pretend wicked commands, either will not be believed, or not pardoned. At these words his friends, drowned in tears, taking the dying prince by the hand, all swore, that they would sooner lose their lives, than their revenge. Then turning to his wife, he conjured her by his memory, by their common children, and all the bonds of nuptial love, that she would lay aside her haughty spirit, and yield to the cruel shocks of fortune, lest on her return to the city she should by an unseasonable competition provoke those who were more powerful than herself. Thus much he spoke openly, other things he said in secret, whence it was conjectured, that they related to *Tiberius*, warning her perhaps to be upon her guard against his snares. However that be, the words he spoke to her in secret were his last; for he had scarce done, when he fainted away, and soon after expired, to the unexpressible grief of the province and all the neighbouring countries. His funeral was performed without any pomp, and his body, before it was burnt, exposed naked in the forum of *Antioch*, where the funeral pile was erected. *Tacitus* tells us, that it remained uncertain whether any marks of poison appeared on the body, the people, who saw it, giving opposite accounts, as they pitied *Germanicus*, or favoured *Piso*. But *Suetonius* says, that the body appeared covered with black and blue spots, that foam flowed from his mouth, and that his heart, the body being burnt, was found among the ashes, untouched by the flames; for the naturalists of those days believed, that the heart, if in the least touched or infected with poison, could not be consumed with fire. *Vitellius*, who afterwards charged *Piso* before the senate with the death of *Germanicus*, made use of this argument to prove, that the prince had been poisoned, and openly declared, that his heart was found intire among the ashes*. But after all, this argument, even allowing the truth of the fact, was no ways convincing, since in the opinion of the ancients the hearts of such as died of the malady called by the physicians *Cardiaca passio*, were equally proof against fire^y. The ashes of the deceased prince were carefully gathered by his wife *Agrippina*, and inclosed in an urn in order to be conveyed to *Rome*.

His advice to Agrippina.

His death.

Whether poisoned.

His character.

He is universally lamented.

SUCH was the end of the renowned *Germanicus Cæsar*, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, a prince no less famous for his military prowess, than his extraordinary accomplishments and inimitable virtues. The *Roman* people had so great an opinion of his rare talents and eminent qualities, that they were not afraid openly to declare on several occasions, that since the time of *Scipio Africanus* the gods had not blessed *Rome* with such a citizen. He was, says *Tacitus*, alike venerable, whether you saw him or heard him; and, without ever betraying the least arrogance or pride, yet supported the dignity of his high station. His complaisance to all, his humanity even to his enemies, his clemency, moderation, and engaging behaviour, won him the hearts not only of the *Roman* people, but of the barbarians themselves, who, though enemies to *Rome*, yet could not refrain their tears upon the first news they received of the death of *Germanicus*. Some of them at war with one another, and even with *Rome*, forbore hostilities for some time to bewail so great, so general a loss. Some of their princes cut off their beards, and shaved their wives heads, a token among them of the deepest sorrow. The proud monarch of the *Parthians* denied himself for some time the pleasure of the chase, without appearing at the ordinary entertainments given by the princes and lords of his court; which was a token of grief, like the shutting of the courts of justice among the *Romans*, and never used but upon some very extraordinary disaster. As for the people of *Antioch*, they carried their grief to impiety; for hearing that *Germanicus* was dead, in the transport of their sorrow they

* TACIT. c. 73. SUET. in Calig. c. 1. PLIN. l. xi. c. 37.

^y Vide PLIN. ibid.

(S) *Germanicus* had by *Agrippina* nine children; *Nero*, *Drusus*, *Caius*, surnamed *Caligula*, three other sons, who died infants, and three daughters, born successively in the space of three years, *Agrippina*, the mother of *Nero*, *Drusilla*, and *Li villa*, commonly called *Julia*. One of the sons that died was

so beautiful a child, that *Livia* had caused him to be painted in the habit of *Cupid*, and consecrated the picture in the temple of *Venus Capitolina*, whence it was removed to *Augustus's* chamber, who used constantly to kiss it when he came in (66).

(66) Suet. in Calig. c. 7.

a they threw stones at their temples, overturned their altars, flung contemptuously their household gods out of doors, &c. nay, some of them, in the height of their grief and indignation, exposed and forsook their new-born children. Strange tokens of sorrow these ! It is more easy to conceive than express the consternation which the news of his death occasioned in *Rome*, where he was adored by all ranks of men (T). The first account of his illness alarmed the whole city ; but while they were impatiently waiting between hope and fear for farther intelligence, in the evening a report was spread, no body ever knew how, that he was recovered and in good health. Hereupon the people, not able to refrain their joy, flew immediately with victims and sacrifices to the capitol, impatient to discharge the vows they had made for his recovery. *Tiberius*, awaked out of his sleep with the noise of their mutual congratulations and loud shouts of joy, had the mortification to hear the following words echoed in every street, *Salva Roma, salva patria, salvus Germanicus* ; *Rome is safe, our country is safe, since Germanicus is safe*. But their joy was soon changed into the deepest sorrow ; certain news of his death arriving the next day, nothing was heard in the streets, nothing in the houses, but sighs, outcries, lamentations, and complaints. Without any orders from the prince or senate, all the courts of justice, the houses of the citizens, and shops, were shut, and the most frequented streets, no one appearing abroad, turned into a desert. The emperor by several edicts endeavoured to restrain these public expressions of grief ; but even the most cautious, not able to moderate their sorrow, in spite of all his edicts, continued to mourn, though invited by the festivals of *December* to mirth and jollity^z. His death was the more regretted, as he was commonly supposed to have been poisoned by *Piso*, at the instigation of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, the only two persons in the whole *Roman* empire, says *Dion*^a, who were not affected with so great, so general a loss (U).

AND now the government of *Syria* being vacant by the death of *Germanicus* and flight of *Piso*, the lieutenants of the legions and senators, who were at *Antioch*, committed the administration of the province to *Cneius Sentius*, who, at the suit of *Vitellius* and *Veranius*, two illustrious senators and friends to *Germanicus*, immediately seized

^z Suet. in Calig. c. 6.

^a Dio, l. lvii. p. 615.

(T) He was to such a degree beloved by the people, says *Suetonius* (67), not only of *Rome*, but in the provinces, that when he departed or arrived at any place, such crowds attended him, that he was often in danger of being stifled in the throng. On his return from *Germany*, after having appeased the mutinous legions, all the prætorian cohorts went out to meet him, though two only had orders to pay him that compliment. As for the people, the road was thronged with persons of all ages and ranks for twenty miles distance (68). The people, says *Tacitus* (69), adored him, not only on account of his own good qualities, but likewise for the sake of his father *Drusus*, whose memory was dear to every true *Roman*, no one doubting, but he would have restored *Rome* to her ancient liberty, had he ever succeeded to the empire. Of *Germanicus* they entertained the same hopes ; and hence their partiality for him, before he was of an age to gain their affections by his personal qualities.

(U) *Germanicus* was not only an excellent commander, but an eloquent orator, and, if *Ovid* did not flatter him, one of the best poets of his age (70). He expressed his thoughts with great ease and elegance both in *Greek* and *Latin*, and pleaded several causes with extraordinary applause (71). He gave a specimen of his taste for poetry in some *Greek* comedies, which, as he was thorough master of that language, he wrote and published. *S. Jerom* and *Lactantius* tell us, that he translated into *Latin* a treatise of astronomy written originally in *Greek* by *Aratus*, under the title of *Phænomena* : but *Vossius* and *Rutgerfius* ascribe this translation to the em-

peror *Domitian*, who assumed the title of *Germanicus*, as we shall observe hereafter. But what above all gained the affections both of the *Romans* and foreigners was, the extraordinary sweetness of his temper, his affability, complaisance, and obliging behaviour, even towards the meanest of the populace, a behaviour no ways affected, but to him quite natural, as arising from a sincere desire of doing every one the best offices he could. *Augustus* was so taken with these good qualities, that he was long in suspense if *Suetonius* is to be credited (72), whether he should declare him his successor himself, or leave him to be adopted by *Tiberius*. Soon after his death *Tiberius* abandoned himself to all manner of cruelties, which added new lustre to the memory of the deceased prince, and made him the more regretted, every one concluding from thence, that, had he lived, the emperor would never have dared to commit such excesses (73). His military exploits we have related above ; and therefore shall only observe here, that after his death the inhabitants of *Antioch* compared him to *Alexander the Great*, as to the gracefulness of his person, the nobility of his descent, his age, the circumstances of his death, &c. and concluded, that if his authority had been uncontrolled he would have equalled that great warrior in the glory of his conquests, as he far surpassed him in prudence, clemency, moderation, and other virtues (74). And indeed, if he had not been stopt in the midst of his career and snatched away from his victorious legions, he would, in all likelihood, have completed the final reduction of *Germany*, already broken by so many overthrows.

(67) *Idem* *ibid.* c. 4.
Fast. l. i. v. 23.
annal. l. ii. c. 73.

(68) *Idem* *ibid.* c. 3.
(71) *Suet. ibid.* c. 3.

(69) *Tacit. annal.* l. i. c. 33.
(72) *Suet. ibid.* c. 4.

(73) *Idem*, c. 5.

(70) *Ovid.*
(74) *Tacit.*

Piso's joy for
the death of
Germanicus.

seized and sent to *Rome* one *Martina*, a woman infamous in that province for poisoning, and greatly cherished by *Plancina*. In the mean time, *Piso* being overtaken at the island of *Cous* by a messenger, acquainting him with the death of *Germanicus*, did not so much as pretend to disguise his joy, but caused victims to be publicly slain, and repaired with thanksgiving to the temples for so signal a favour. His wife *Plancina* declared her joy in a manner still more arrogant and insulting; for she no sooner heard that *Germanicus* was dead, than, throwing off her mourning, which she wore for the death of her sister, she appeared in a dress adapted to gaiety and mirth. The centurions of the army, which *Piso* had commanded in *Syria*, flocked to him, assuring him, that the legions were ready to receive him, and reinstate him in the government, which had been injuriously taken from him. Hereupon *Piso* summoned a council of his friends to consult what measures he had best pursue; whether he should go with all speed to *Rome*, or return to *Syria*. His son *Marcus Piso* was for the former, but *Domitius Celer*, an intimate friend of *Piso*, declared for the latter and prevailed. But as *Piso* was well apprised, that *Sentius* would oppose him, which would give rise to a civil war in *Syria*, in order to bias *Tiberius* in his favour, he transmitted a letter to him, filled with invectives against the conduct, luxury, and pride of *Germanicus*; he enlarged on the injustice the young prince had done him in driving him out of his government, and concluded with acquainting the

He resolves to
return to his
government.

emperor, that he was preparing to return to his province, and resume with his former loyalty the care of the army. In the mean time, putting *Domitius Celer* on board a galley, he sent him before him into *Syria*, while he himself, having formed into companies the deserters, who flocked to him from all parts, and the servants who attended the camp, sailed over to the continent, where he had the good luck to intercept a body of new-raised soldiers on their march into *Syria*. He also wrote to the petty kings of *Cilicia*, ordering them to join him with all their forces. By this means, having got together a considerable body of men, he put to sea again, and steering along the coasts of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, met the fleet, which carried *Agrippina* with the ashes of her husband to *Rome*. Both fleets prepared for battle; but, as they were afraid of each other, they proceeded no farther than to hard words. *Vibius Marfus*, who commanded *Agrippina's* galleys, summoned *Piso* as a criminal to his trial at *Rome*, which summons he answered with derision and contempt. After this both fleets continued their course, the one for *Italy*, the other for *Cilicia*, where *Piso* made a descent, and seized a strong castle on the frontiers of *Syria*; which *Sentius* no sooner understood, than he flew thither at the head of his legions, overthrew *Piso's* men at the first onset, obliged him to take shelter behind the walls of the castle, and soon reduced him to such straits, that he offered to surrender the place, upon condition that *Sentius* would suffer him to remain there till the emperor's pleasure was known. But this being rejected, and the place reduced to the utmost extremity, he was forced to submit upon what terms *Sentius* thought fit to impose upon him, which were, that he should forthwith embark and return to *Rome*.

He is forced to
abandon Syria.

Honours decreed at Rome
to Germanicus.

DURING these troubles in the east, the senate was wholly taken up at *Rome* with inventing and decreeing new honours to *Germanicus*, in order to eternalize the memory of a prince so much beloved, and so well deserving of the empire. It was decreed, that his name should be inserted in the *Salian* hymns (W); that curule chairs should be placed for him among the priests of *Augustus* (X), and oaken crowns hung over them, as an acknowledgment of his having saved many citizens; that his statue in ivory

^b TACIT. c. 74—82.

(W) This honour was peculiar to the gods; for till this time, only their names were sung in the *Salian* hymns. Afterwards *M. Antonius*, the philosopher, ordered the same honour to be conferred on his son *Verus*, as *Spartianus* informs us (74).

(X) It was deemed a particular mark of distinction at *Rome* for any one to have a fixed place allotted him at the public shews. This honour was in process of time improved by flattery, and extended not only to such as were absent, but even to the dead. *P. Valerius Poplicola*, who was made dictator in the year of *Rome* 409, first enjoyed the honour of

being distinguished, though absent, with a fixed place in the circus, which was allotted to him and his posterity (75). The same honour was afterwards bestowed upon *Julius Cæsar*, *M. Marcellus*, and others, with this improvement; that curule chairs with golden crowns should be placed for them in the circus and theatre, even after their death to preserve their memory (76). The emperor *Severus* caused three curule chairs to be placed in the theatre to honour thereby the memory of *Pertinax* (77). To *Germanicus* was probably decreed but one chair in each of the three theatres.

(74) *Spart. in M. Anton. philosoph.*

(75) *Liv. l. ii.*

(76) *Dio, l. xlv.*

(77) *Xiphil. l. iii.*

a ivory should be carried before the procession at the *Circensian* games; an honour peculiar to the gods and such men as were deified; that none but one of the *Julian* family should be appointed flamen or augur in his room, &c. To these honours triumphal arches were added, one at *Rome*, another on the banks of the *Rhine*, and a third upon mount *Amanus* in *Syria*, with inscriptions of his exploits, and a declaration that he died for the republic; a sepulchre at *Antioch*, where his body was burnt; and a tribunal at *Epidaphne*, where he ended his life (Y). Many statues were raised to him, and many places appointed for paying him divine honours. Some were for decreeing to him, as a great master of eloquence, a golden shield, remarkable for its bulk (Z); but this *Tiberius* would not allow, saying, that in eloquence no regard was to be had to the dignity of the person, and that therefore he himself would dedicate a shield equal in size to those of other orators, it being sufficient glory for him to be ranked amongst the ancient writers. The *Roman* knights in their turn, to honour the memory of the deceased prince, agreed to change the name of that body of horse, which, being composed of the young nobility, was styled *The Squadron of the juniors*, and call it thenceforth *The Squadron of Germanicus*, appointing at the same time, that the effigies of *Germanicus* should be carried before the said squadron, as their standard, at their public reviews, which were annually made on the ides of *July*. In the height of the public grief *Livia*, called also *Livilla*, sister to *Germanicus* and wife to *Drusus*, was delivered of male twins, which proved such matter of joy to *Tiberius*, that he could not help boasting to the senate, that to no *Roman* of the same rank had ever before been born two sons at a birth. But the increase of *Drusus's* family doubled the grief of the people, who saw with regret that of their beloved *Germanicus* removed farther and farther from the throne^d. This same year, severe laws were enacted by the senate to restrain the lewdness of women, and it was provided, that no woman should prostitute herself, whose father, grandfather, or husband were *Roman* knights. The fathers were prompted to make this prohibition by the monstrous impudence of one *Vistilla*, who, though a lady of great quality and born of a prætorian family, was not ashamed to appear before the ædiles, and publicly declare herself a prostitute, pursuant to an ancient law, which obliged all women, who became venal, to acknowledge their infamy before the above-mentioned magistrates. By this public declaration the ancient *Romans* had thought prostitutes sufficiently punished; but *Vestilla* making no account of such a chastisement, and the fathers fearing other women of distinction might follow her example, they published the above-mentioned prohibition, and at the same time banished the infamous *Vistilla* to the

Livilla delivered of male twins.

Laws against the lewdness of women.

^c Idem, c. 83.

^d Idem, c. 84.

(Y) *Tacitus* tells us, that he died at *Epidaphne*, a celebrated place in the neighbourhood of *Antioch*, of which we have spoken in our history of *Syria*; but all other writers agree, that he ended his days in the city of *Antioch* (78).

(Z) It was an ancient custom among the *Romans* to set up the images of illustrious men in the curia and in their temples. Thus the image of *Scipio Africanus* was set up in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and that of *Cato* the censor in the curia or senate-house, as we read in *Valerius Maximus* (79). *Augustus* caused the images of all those *Romans*, who before his time had eminently distinguished themselves, in the arts either of peace or war, to be set up in the curia, allotting to each profession its proper place. Thus *Tacitus* tells us, that the image of *Hortensius* was placed amongst the orators. The like honour the fathers were now for decreeing to *Germanicus*, as to one of the masters of eloquence. These images are called by the ancients *shields* (80), because engraved in gold, silver, or brass, in the form of a shield. This is the common opinion; though some writers think, that in *Latin* they ought not to be called *clypei*, which word

signifies a shield; but *clupea*, that is, engraved work, from the ancient word *cluere* to engrave. This derivation *Pliny* despises as a fond conceit of the grammarians: *Scutis qualibus ad Trojam pugnatum est*, says he, *continebantur imagines, unde & nomen habuere clypeorum, non, ut perversa Grammaticorum subtilitas voluit, a cluendo*. However, *Livy* calls them *clupea*; *clupea*, says he, *de columnis dempsit* (81). Frequent mention is made of these shields in ancient inscriptions: *Lipsius* quotes the following: *Huic. Decuriones. Funus. Publicum. Statuam. Equestrem. Clypeum. Argenteum. Locum. Sepulturae. Decreverunt*. These shields were sometimes hung up to preserve the memory of the deceased without any effigies, and only with the names of the persons, by whom and to whose honour they were offered (82). Such shields were sometimes set up by private persons to honour the memory of their ancestors without any order or decree of the senate; for *Pliny* in speaking of *Appius Claudius*, who was consul in the year of *Rome* 259, says, that he was the first, who, though a private person, set up in public and consecrated the shields of his ancestors (83).

(78) *Dio*, l. lvii. p. 615. *Suet. in Tib. c. 1, &c.*

(79) *Val. Max. l. viii. c. 15.*

(80)

Vide Plin. l. iii. c. 7. Suet. in Domit. Capitol. in Antonino. Trebel. in Claud. Liv. l. lx. Phil. legat. ad Caium.

(81) *Liv. l. lx.*

(82) *Vide Phil. Jud. ubi supra.*

(83) *Vide Lip. in excurs.*

in lib. ii. annal. Taciti, litera N.

The Jewish
and Egyptian
ceremonies
abolished at
Rome.

Instances of
Tiberius's
generosity.

the island of *Seriphos*. Measures were also taken by the fathers for utterly extirpating the Jewish and Egyptian ceremonies; and by a decree of the senate four thousand young men, all descended from manumitted slaves, and infected, says *Tacitus*, with that superstition, were inrolled and transported to *Sardinia* to suppress the robbers who infested that island: if they perished through the badness of the air, the senate thought it would be no great loss (A). The rest were ordered to depart *Rome*, and all *Italy*, if within a stated time they did not renounce their national ceremonies. The same year, *Tiberius* gave several instances of generosity, which ought not to be omitted. *Occia*, who had presided over the vestals fifty-seven years with great reputation of sanctimony, being dead, he represented to the senate, that another virgin was to be chosen in her room; and *Fonteius Agrippa* and *Asinius Pollio* offering their daughters, he thanked them both for their regard to the commonwealth, but preferred *Pollio's* daughter, for no other reason, but because her mother had had but one husband: to comfort the other who was postponed, he gave her for her fortune a thousand great sesterces. Corn being very dear, he settled the price which the buyer was to pay; and that the seller might not lose the advantage naturally arising from the scarcity of grain, he took upon himself to pay two *nummi*, that is, fourteen pence of our money, a bushel over and above the fixed price. For these bounties the people offered him again the title of *Father of his country*, which he rejected, and at the same time sharply rebuked such as styled him *lord*, shewing thereby, says *Tacitus*, that though he dreaded liberty, yet he could not abide flattery. The same author tells us, upon the authority of the writers of those times, some of them senators, that letters were read in the senate from *Adgandestrius*, prince of the *Catti*, offering to dispatch *Arminius*, provided poison

Were

^c Idem, c. 85.

(A) *Josephus* complains of this severity; for, according to him, the four thousand men sent into *Sardinia* were all Jews. *Suetonius* agrees with *Josephus*. *Tiberius*, says that writer, put a stop to foreign ceremonies, and likewise to the Egyptian and Jewish rites, obliging all those, who were inclined to such superstitions, to burn the furniture belonging to their religion. He listed the Jewish youth, and sent them into the most pestilent and unwholesome provinces under his command, obliging the remainder of that nation, and such as followed their footsteps, to depart the city upon pain of perpetual slavery. Thus far *Suetonius* (84). To the expulsion of the Jews an impostor of that nation gave occasion, who being obliged to fly his country for a breach of the laws, retired to *Rome*, where he set up for an expounder of the law of *Moses*, and, with the assistance of three others, all of the same stamp with himself, gained over to the Jewish religion one *Fulvia*, the wife of *Saturninus*, a woman of great distinction. The zealous proselyte was easily persuaded to make a rich present of purple and gold to the temple of *Jerusalem*, which she delivered to her directors; but they, instead of sending the offering to *Jerusalem*, converted it to their own use. This *Fulvia* disclosed to her husband, and he to the emperor, who thereupon ordered all the Jews to depart *Rome*, after having listed four thousand of their youth and sent them into *Sardinia*. *Josephus* tells us, that such as scrupled serving in the Roman army were severely punished (85). At the same time, the Egyptians were driven out of *Rome*, and their rites utterly suppressed: they had been formerly forbidden by *Augustus* (86), but at this time that prohibition was renewed and enforced, on occasion of a very scandalous story related at length by *Josephus*. *Decius Mundus*, a young Roman knight, falling in love with a married lady of the first quality in *Rome*, by name *Paulina*, and not being able to prevail upon her, as she was a mirror of chastity, even with the offer of two hundred thousand drachmas, to comply with his unlawful desires, had re-

course to the priests of the god *Isis*. These pretending that the god *Anubis*, to whose worship *Paulina* was greatly addicted, was in love with her, persuaded her to pass a night in the temple of that deity; when *Mundus*, by paying down twenty-five thousand drachmas to the priests, and promising them the like sum, obtained what he had in vain applied for to *Paulina* herself with the tender of two hundred thousand drachmas. The next day the deluded lady bragging of the honour done her by the Egyptian deity, some believed her, while others ascribed the whole to the strength of her imagination. But three days after *Mundus* meeting her, *I thank you, Paulina*, said he, *for saving me two hundred thousand drachmas, and granting me at the same time, not under the name of Mundus, but of Anubis, the favours which I would willingly have purchased at so dear a rate.* At these words the virtuous *Paulina* was thunder-struck; she burst into tears, tore her garments, and hastening to her husband, she acquainted him how she had been abused and betrayed by the priests; and, drowned in tears, besought him to exert himself in the prosecution of the priests, by whom her simplicity and credulity had been thus enormously abused. Hereupon her husband complained to the emperor, relating to him every particular of so base an action; and he, upon a narrow enquiry into the fact, and a strict examination of the priests, finding them guilty, ordered them all to be crucified, the temple of *Anubis* to be pulled down, his statue to be thrown into the *Tiber*, the Egyptian rites to be utterly suppressed, and all who professed them to be banished *Rome*. *Ida*, the freedwoman of *Mundus's* father, who first advised him to apply to the priests, for which advice she received fifty thousand drachmas, was crucified with the priests; but *Mundus* himself was only banished, *Tiberius* exempting him, says *Josephus*, from a more severe punishment in regard of his passion, which was so violent, that, finding the chaste *Paulina* proof against all temptation, he had resolved to starve himself to death (87).

(84) *Suet. in Tib. c. 36.*

(87) *Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 4.*

(85) *Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 5.*

(86) *Dio, l. liv. p. 525.*

a were sent him for that purpose : to which *Tiberius* returned this answer ; that it was not the custom of the *Roman* people to take vengeance on their enemies by treachery, but openly and in the field ; wherein he gained equal glory, says our historian, with the ancient *Roman* commanders, who would not suffer king *Pyrrhus* to be poisoned, but disclosed to him the whole plot. *Arminius*, however, after the departure of the *Romans*, and expulsion of his rival in power *Maroboduus*, attempting to inflame his country, fell by the treachery of his kindred in the thirty-seventh year of his age. *Tacitus* calls him, not undeservedly, the deliverer of *Germany* ; for under his conduct the *Germans* shook off the *Roman* yoke, and long maintained their liberties, in spite of the utmost efforts of the generals sent from *Rome* to bring them again under subjection. He commanded the troops of his country twelve years, during which time he was often defeated, but always found means to repair his losses, and renew the war with fresh vigor. His name in *Tacitus*'s time was still celebrated by his countrymen in their songs ^f. *Pliny* observes, that this year on the eighth of July a new island was formed near that of *Delos* in the *archipelago* ^g.

Death of *Arminius*.

In the beginning of the next year, *M. Valerius Messalinus* and *M. Aurelius Cotta* being consuls, *Agrippina* arrived at *Brundisium* with the ashes of her deceased husband, and was received at her landing with tokens of the deepest sorrow, not only by the inhabitants of that, but of all the neighbouring cities, who had flocked to *Brundisium* to condole with her on so melancholy an occasion. She no sooner appeared on the shore, attended by her two children, *Caius* and *Julia*, with the funeral urn in her arms and her eyes fixed on the ground, than the whole multitude burst into tears ; nothing was heard but groans, outcries, and lamentations, friends, relations, strangers, being equally affected at the sight of so moving an object. *Tiberius* had dispatched two prætorian cohorts to attend the remains of the deceased prince from *Brundisium* to *Rome*, and ordered the magistrates of *Calabria*, *Apulia*, and *Campania* to pay their last offices to the memory of his son. The urn therefore was carried on the shoulders of the tribunes and centurions, and accompanied by the chief magistrates of the places through which it passed, the lictors of the deceased general marching before it with their fasces reversed (B). When the funeral procession arrived at any *Roman* colony, the nobility in their best apparel, and the people in mourning, flew victims, erected altars, and burnt perfumes, testifying with loud lamentations their common sorrow. The nearer they drew to *Rome*, the greater was the concourse. At *Terracina* they were met by *Drusus*, the son of *Tiberius*, by *Claudius*, *Germanicus*'s younger brother, and by such of his children as had been left at *Rome*. At some distance from the city the conscript fathers, with the consuls at their head, and immense crowds of people, lined the road, through which the procession passed, all drowned in tears and testifying their grief with sighs, in which flattery had no share, every one being well apprised how real was the joy, how insincere was the grief of *Tiberius*. Neither he nor his mother *Livia* appeared abroad, either because they thought it below their grandeur to lament publicly, or through fear of betraying in their countenances some marks of joy amidst the public lamentations (C). The remains

Agrippina's arrival in Italy with the ashes of her husband.

How received

^f Idem, c. 88.

^g *PLIN.* l. ii. c. 87.

(B) This custom of carrying the fasces reversed in token of grief is likewise mentioned by *Pedo* in his elegy to *Livia* ;

*Quos primum vidi fasces, in funere vidi,
Et vidi versos, indiciumque mali.*

And *Statius* :

—— ducunt insignibus ipsi
Grajugenæ reges (88).

Not only the lictors carried their fasces reversed, but the soldiers their arms, as appears from the funeral procession, which *Virgil* describes on occasion of the death of *Pallas* :

—— Tum mæsta phalanx Teucrique sequuntur,
Tyrrhenique duces, & merfis Arcades armis (89).

(88) *Stat. Thebaid.* l. vi.

(89) *Virgil. Æneid.* l. xi. v. 92, 93.

It is well known, that *Virgil* introduces in his poem the customs that prevailed at *Rome*.

(C) *Tacitus* tells us, that neither in any historian, nor in the journals of the city, he could find, that *Antonia*, the mother of *Germanicus*, bore any part in the funeral, though *Agrippina*, *Drusus*, *Claudius*, and the other relations of the deceased, were there recorded by name. Perhaps she was prevented by sickness ; perhaps she was sensible, that she would have sunk under the weight of her sorrow ; or else she was detained by *Tiberius*, that he and *Livia* might seem to have followed her example, and the people not think it strange, that the grand-mother and uncle had absented themselves when the mother had not appeared ; but ascribe their absence to the same cause, viz. an equal affliction.

remains of the deceased were repositied in the tomb of *Augustus*, the whole city attending them to the field of *Mars*, where that stately monument was erected, and crying aloud in the height of their grief, that the republic was utterly ruined, that no farther hope remained, as if they had forgot by whom they were governed. But nothing offended *Tiberius* so much as the affection which the people shewed for *Agrippina*, calling her, *The ornament of her country, the only blood of Augustus, a true pattern of ancient virtue*, and at the same time imploring the blessings of the gods for her issue, that they might outlive the persecutions of the wicked. As the people set no bounds to their grief, he thought proper to check it by a public decree, exhorting them to resume their several vocations, and, as the *Magnesian* games were at hand, to indulge themselves in their usual diversions, now they had by their lamentations given sufficient vent to their grief. He urged the examples of the deified *Julius* and the deified *Augustus*, who upon the loss, the former of an only daughter, the latter of his beloved grandsons, had both got the better of their sorrow; he put them also in mind of the constancy with which the *Roman* people had formerly borne the slaughter of their armies, the death of their generals, and the utter destruction of many noble families, adding, that princes were mortal, but the commonwealth eternal. The emperor's decree was immediately complied with, as to the external appearance; the courts of justice were opened again, public affairs resumed, and an end put to the vacation. *Drusus*, who was come to *Rome* on purpose to attend the funeral, returned to the army in *Illyricum*; which he had scarce reached, when *Piso* appeared in the camp, hoping to find the young prince less incensed against him for the death of a brother, than favourable to him for the removal of a rival. *Drusus* at their first meeting told him, that if the crime laid to his charge was true, he would be the first to revenge it; but that he hoped the current report was groundless, and that the death of *Germanicus* would be pernicious to none. This declaration he made in public, and carefully avoided all private interviews with *Piso*. This artful answer and the cautious behaviour of a youth, otherwise frank and unwary, prompted most people to believe, that he had been instructed beforehand by his father how to behave in so nice and critical a conjuncture. Young *Piso*, whom the father had sent to *Rome* with instructions how to soften the emperor, was received very kindly by him, and honoured with such presents as were usually bestowed on the sons of governors, when they returned from the provinces. This he did to shew himself utterly unbiassed. In the meantime, news was brought, that *Martina*, famous for the art of poisoning, who, as we have related above, had been sent in custody towards *Rome*, was found dead at *Brun-dusium* with poison bound up in the knots of her hair, but without any marks of poison on her body. Whether her death was accidental, or procured by private orders from *Tiberius* or *Piso*, was never known. By her death the accusers were deprived of their chief evidence; for she had ever lived in close confidence with *Plancina*, and the senate hoped to extort from her, by force of torments, a sincere confession of the crime and a discovery of her accomplices. Not long after *Piso* arrived at *Rome* with his wife *Plancina*, and landed, as he had imbarqued, at *Narnia* upon the *Nar*, and thence sailed into the *Tiber*, near the tomb of *Augustus*, where the ashes of *Germanicus* had been lately repositied. This with their insolent behaviour heightened the indignation of the people; for they both appeared with gay countenances, and, attended with a numerous retinue, he of clients and domestics and she of women, proceeded to their stately palace, which overlooked the forum, and was on occasion of their return magnificently adorned and illuminated. The night they passed in rejoycings, having invited their friends and relations to a great banquet, with which they solemnized their safe arrival. But the very next day *Piso* was arraigned by *Vitellius*, *Veranius*, and others, who had attended *Germanicus*, before the emperor; who, after having heard in a private audience the charge of the accusers and the defence of the accused, referred the intire cause to the senate, being well apprised of the reflections that would be cast upon him, whether he condemned or absolved the accused. When the senate met for this great trial, *Tiberius* made a speech full of affected moderation; he told the conscript fathers, that *Piso* had been his father's lieutenant and friend, and lately appointed by himself, at the direction of the senate, to assist *Germanicus* in settling the affairs of the east: whether he had there by his haughtiness and opposition provoked the young prince, and rejoiced at his death, or wickedly procured it, they were then to judge with unbiassed minds. "If you find him guilty, said the emperor, of having only exceeded the bounds of his commission,

Tiberius by a decree checks the public grief.

Drusus's artful answer to Cneius Piso.

Cn. Piso arrives at Rome

Is arraigned.

Tiberius's speech to the senate on this occasion.

a “ sion, and not submitted to the will of his general, or even of having betrayed joy at
 “ his death and my affliction, I shall ever hate him and banish him from my house ;
 “ but cannot for private injuries exert the prince, and condemn him as a criminal. But
 “ if you find him guilty of *Germanicus*’s death, it is incumbent upon you to revenge
 “ it, and afford his children, and us his father and grandmother, the satisfaction of
 “ seeing him punished for such an enormous attempt. Examine too with great care,
 “ whether he endeavoured to debauch the army, whether he countenanced licentious-
 “ nefs in the soldiery, or attempted to recover the province by force of arms. I have
 “ just cause to be offended with the indiscreet zeal of his accusers : to what purpose
 “ strip the corps, and expose it naked to the eyes of the multitude ? Why was it pro-
 b “ claimed among foreign nations, that he was taken off by poison, if all this was
 “ still doubtful and remains to be examined ? I am grieved for the death of my son,
 “ and ever shall lament so great a loss ; but far be it from me any ways to hinder the
 “ accused from doing all he can to shew his innocence, or even from exposing and lay-
 “ ing open the faults of *Germanicus*, if he had any faults. I beseech you to proceed
 “ with the same impartiality : let not your regard to me mislead you to take crimes for
 “ proved, because they are committed against me. As for the accused, if he has any
 “ friends or relations, let them exert their eloquence, and use their utmost endeavours
 “ to clear him from the crimes laid to his charge. Let his accusers take the same pains
 “ to convict him of the charge which is brought against him : by this means we shall
 c “ be able to judge impartially, to absolve the accused, if innocent ; to condemn him,
 “ if guilty.” Two days were then allowed to the accusers to make good their charge,
 and six days after three to the accused to make his defence. The articles of impeach-
 ment, brought against *Piso* by *Servæus*, *Veranius*, and *Vitellius*, were, that he had per-
 mitted a general licentiousness in the army, and corrupted the common soldiers to that
 degree, that he was styled by the most profligate father of the legions ; that he had
 abused in a most outrageous manner the friends of *Germanicus* ; and lastly, that by
 poison and witchcraft he had destroyed *Germanicus* himself, and borne arms against the
 commonwealth ; insomuch, that they had been obliged to engage and defeat him
 before they could bring him to his trial. He defended himself but weakly against
 d these accusations ; only the charge of poisoning *Germanicus* could not be sufficiently
 proved. However, the senate could not be persuaded, that *Germanicus* had died a
 natural death ; and at the same time the people were heard crying aloud at the door
 of the senate-house, that though the fathers absolved the accused, yet he should not
 escape the punishment due to his crimes ; nay, they had already overturned the statues
 of *Piso*, and would have dragged them to the *scalæ Gemoniæ*, the place where crimi-
 nals were executed, had they not been rescued by *Tiberius*’s orders. These disturb-
 ances induced the senate to put off the final decision of the cause ; and *Piso*, that he
 might not be exposed to the outrages of the incensed multitude, was conveyed to his
 house in a litter, followed by a tribune of a prætorian cohort, whom some looked upon
 as a guard for his safety, others as the minister of his death.

Articles of
impeachment
brought a-
gainst *Piso*.

e THE people were no less incensed against *Plancina* than *Piso* ; but she, having by
 the secret solicitations of *Livia* secured her own pardon, began by degrees to drop
 her husband, and to make a separate defence, though she had declared from the
 beginning, that she would employ all her interest and favour with *Livia* in behalf of
 both, and that by the same sentence they should both be either absolved or condemned.
 This so disheartened *Piso*, who had placed more confidence in the interest of his wife,
 than his own, that he was some time in suspense whether he should make any farther
 defence. But his son prevailed upon him to appear once more before the senate, and
 try whether he could move the fathers or *Tiberius* to compassion. But the senate proving
 f implacable, and the emperor carefully avoiding to shew even in his countenance the
 least mark of tenderness towards him in his distress, he returned home, as if he de-
 signed to prepare for his farther defence against the next day. But, instead of that,
 he wrote a letter to the emperor, which he sealed and delivered to his freedmen.
 He then bathed, according to the *Roman* custom, and supped as usual. His wife
 kept him company till the night was far spent, and then retired ; which she had no
 sooner done, than *Piso* ordered the door of the chamber to be shut, and was found
 at break of day with his throat cut, and his sword lying by him. *Tacitus* tells us,
 that while he was a youth, he heard from some old men, that a bundle of writings
 was frequently seen in *Piso*’s hands during his trial, which contained, as his friends
 constantly affirmed, the letters of *Tiberius*, ordering him to dispatch *Germanicus*.

His death.

Tiberius favours Plancina.

Who is absolved.

Tiberius favours the children and memory of Piso.

These letters, said they, he designed to lay before the senate and accuse the prince; but was diverted from it by *Sejanus*, who in the emperor's name promised him his pardon: they added, that *Piso* did not fall by his own hand, but by that of an executioner sent privately by *Tiberius* to dispatch him. Our historian tells us, that he dares affirm neither of these things, but yet thought himself obliged to acquaint his readers with such relations (D). *Tiberius* fearing the death of *Piso* might be imputed to him, as if he had procured it to prevent farther discoveries, examined his domestics in the senate about the circumstances of his death, and then read the letter which *Piso* had written to him, imploring his protection for his sons, whom he cleared from having any share in his late conduct, whatever it were. Of his wife *Plancina* he said nothing. One of his sons had remained at *Rome*, and therefore could be no ways necessary to his father's guilt; the other had indeed attended him into *Syria*, and served under him in the war he raised in the province; but *Tiberius* would not allow that to be imputed to him as a crime, alledging the orders of his father, which, he said, a son could not disobey. As for *Plancina*, who was supposed to have been more guilty than her husband, *Tiberius* openly declared, not without blushing and betraying great confusion in his speech and countenance, that at the earnest intreaties of his mother he could not help pleading for her and assisting her in her trial. However, *Vitellius* and *Veranius* did not drop the prosecution; but after they had in a trial, which lasted two days, made the charge appear pretty plain, and silenced those who pleaded for the accused, she escaped the punishment due to her crime by the indulgence of the servile senate. For the consul *Aurelius Cotta* being first asked his opinion by the emperor, who collected the voices himself, answered in the following terms: I am of opinion, that the name of *Piso* be razed out of the consular fasti or tables, part of his estate forfeited, and part granted to his son *Cneius* upon his changing that name; that his son *Marcus* be driven out of the senate, banished for ten years, and allowed out of his father's estate only fifty thousand great sesterces; as to *Plancina*, I think she should be pardoned at the request of *Livia*. This sentence seemed too rigorous to the emperor with respect to *Piso*'s children and memory; he therefore would not allow his name to be struck out of the consular tables, saying, that the name of *Marc Antony*, who had made war upon his country, and that of his son *Julius Antonius*, who had by adultery dishonoured the house of *Augustus*, remained still there. He likewise delivered *Marcus Piso* from the infamy of being divested of his dignity, and left him his paternal inheritance intire. He also opposed the motion of *Valerius Messalinus*, who was for erecting a golden statue in the temple of *Mars the avenger*, and that of *Cecina Severus*, who proposed building an altar to *Revenge*. Such monuments, he said, were fit to be raised for victories over a foreign enemy; but domestic evils were either to be buried in oblivion, or remembered with grief (E). As the emperor had shewn great favour to *Plancina* and her children, to maintain the opinion of an impartial judge, a few days after the trial he moved in the senate, that *Vitellius*, *Veranius*, and *Servæus*, who had accused *Piso*, might be rewarded; and they were accordingly preferred to pontifical honours^h.

THE death of *Germanicus* being thus revenged, *Drusus*, who had returned from *Illyricum* to be present at the trial, was honoured with an ovation, which, though decreed him the year before for having settled peace in *Germany*, he had postponed till the trial was over. A few days after died his mother *Vipsania*, of all the children

^h TACIT. l. iii. c. 1---19.

(D) *Suetonius* writes, that he narrowly escaped being torn in pieces by the populace, and was condemned to death by the senate (90). *Dion* says, that he was brought into the senate by *Tiberius* himself, who desired, that he might have time to prepare for his defence, and that he laid violent hands on himself. But, according to *Tacitus*, the sentence was not awarded against him till after his death; neither does that writer say, that he laid violent hands on himself, but only that he was found with his throat cut, and his sword lying by him.

(E) *Messalinus* added to his motion, that public thanks should be rendered to *Tiberius*, *Livia*, *Anto-*

nia, *Agrippina*, and *Drusus*, for having revenged the death of *Germanicus*, but omitted to mention *Claudius* the brother of the deceased prince. Whereupon *Lucius Asprenas* asked him, whether he had omitted him designedly; and then *Messalinus* subjoined the name of *Claudius* too. This shews how little regard was then paid to *Claudius*: and indeed he was despised and neglected by all, and thought incapable of any public employment. But for all this, fortune reserved the sovereignty to him, and we shall see him one day, notwithstanding the weakness both of his body and mind, master of the *Roman* empire.

(90) *Suet. in Calig. c. 27*

a dren of *Agrippa*, the only one, says *Tacitus*, who died a natural death (F). The *Vipsania* the
 same year *Tacfarinas*, who had been some time before defeated by *Furius Camillus*, mother of
 as we have related above, renewed the war in *Africa*, but was obliged by *L. Apro-* *Drusus dies.*
nius, who had succeeded *Camillus* in the government of that province, to shelter *Tacfarinas*
 himself again in the deserts. A Roman cohort having on this occasion given ground *renews the*
 at the first onset, the proconsul caused every tenth man of that cowardly body to be *war, but is*
 executed; which exemplary rigor, at this time very rare, had so good an effect on *defeated.*
 the rest, that a numerous body of the enemy was soon after put to flight by a de-
 tachment of no more than five hundred veterans, and their numerous army utterly
 routed by another detachment commanded by *Apronius Cestianus*, the proconsul's son.
 b This year, *Æmilia Lepida*, descended from one of the most illustrious families in *Rome*,
 and besides great grand-daughter to *Sylla* and *Pompey*, and once designed for the wife
 of *Lucius Cæsar* and for the daughter-in-law of *Augustus*, was charged with imposing *The trial of*
 upon her husband *Publius Quirinius* a supposititious child, with adultery, and with *Æmilia Le-*
 consulting the *Chaldeans* about the fate of the imperial family, which was a capital *pida.*
 crime. Her brother *Manius Lepidus* undertook her defence, *Tiberius* behaving on
 this occasion with such subtlety, that it was impossible to discover his real sentiments.
 At first he begged the senators not to meddle with the articles of treason, and soon
 after charged *Marcus Servilius* to produce those very proofs which he pretended to
 suppress: He would not suffer the slaves of *Lepida* to be examined by torture as to
 c the articles of treason, nor his son *Drusus*, though consul elect, to vote first, lest the
 rest should think themselves obliged to follow his example. However, the slaves of
Lepida confessing upon the rack, that she had imposed upon her husband a suppositi-
 tious child, and even attempted to poison him, she was condemned to perpetual
 banishment; but at the request of *Scaurus*, who had had a daughter by her, either
 before her marriage with *Quirinius* or after her divorce, her estate was not confis-
 cated. After she was condemned, *Tiberius* told the senators, that he had learnt from
 the slaves too of her husband *Quirinius*, that she had attempted to poison him.
Suetonius tells us, that she had committed the crimes, for which she was at this time
 d condemned, twenty years before; but *Tacitus* only says, that she was prosecuted by
 her husband even after their divorce; which drew compassion upon her, however
 guilty and infamous. This year *Tiberius* softened the rigor of the law *Papia Poppea*, *The severity of*
 which, as we have related above, loaded those with heavy fines who did not marry *the law Papia*
 at a certain age. But great numbers of *Romans* chusing rather to pay the said fines, *Poppea soft-*
 than incur themselves with a family, so that the law served only to enrich the *ened.*
 exchequer, *Tiberius* with great disinterestedness appointed five persons, who had been
 formerly consuls, five who had been prætors, with ten other senators, to examine
 all the regulations made before his time against celibacy. These explained the in-
 tricacies of the laws enacted against a single life, which the pleaders, that is, the
 lawyers of those days, laid hold of to undo many noble families; and at the same
 e time they qualified the rigor of the ancient law by lessening the fines, which, accord-
 ing to the regulations of *Augustus*, every man was to pay, who did not marry at a
 certain age. This, as *Tacitus* observes, was some relief to the city, the number of
 laws proving as great an evil as the crimes, for the restraining of which they were
 enacted. Towards the end of this year, *Nero, Germanicus's* eldest son, being now
 of age, *Tiberius* recommended him to the senate, that he might stand for the quæstor-
 ship five years sooner than the laws directed, which, as we may well imagine, was
 readily granted, as also a place in the college of pontiffs. The first day he entered
 the forum in his manly robe, a donative of corn and money was distributed by
Tiberius to the populace, overjoyed to see a son of *Germanicus* now of age. Their
 joy

i Idem, c. 22, 23. Suet. in Tib. c. 49.

(F) *Agrippa* had three wives, viz. *Pomponia*, the daughter of *Atticus*, *Marcella* the daughter of *Octavia*, and *Julia*. By *Pomponia* he had *Vipsania* the mother of *Drusus*, mentioned here by *Tacitus*; *Marcella* likewise brought him children, if *Suetonius* is to be credited; but as we find no farther mention made of them, we conclude, that they died very young: by *Julia* he had five children, *Caius* and

Lucius Cæsars, *Agrippa Posthumus*, *Agrippina*, and *Julia*. *Caius* and *Lucius* were supposed to have been poisoned; *Agrippina* perished by hunger, and *Posthumus Agrippa* by the sword; but as to *Julia*, she died a natural death, according to the account which *Tacitus* himself gives of it (91); though he tells us in this place, that *Vipsania* was of all the children of *Agrippa* the only one who died a natural death.

(91) *Tacit. annal. l. iv.*

Death of Drusus, nephew to Germanicus.

Tiberius goes into Campania

joy was doubled by his marriage with *Julia* the daughter of *Drusus*; but soon after the people saw with the utmost concern and indignation the daughter of *Sejanus* betrothed to young *Drusus*, the nephew of *Germanicus* and son of *Claudius*, who reigned after *Caligula*. By this match the *Claudian* family seemed in a manner degraded, and *Sejanus*, whose power and credit with the emperor was already too great, raised still higher. But a few days after *Drusus* died at *Pompeii* by a very strange accident, being choaked by a pear, which stuck in his throat, as in play he threw it up in the air, and caught it in his mouth ⁱ.

THE following year, *Tiberius* was consul the fourth time, and *Drusus* the second; but *Tiberius*, soon after he had resumed the fasces, under pretence of his health, retired to *Campania*, either with a design to accustom himself by degrees to live out of *Rome*, or to leave *Drusus* the honour of discharging that office alone. Not long after his departure he wrote to the senate, acquainting them, that *Tacfarinas* had raised new disturbances in *Africa*, and exhorting them to chuse a proconsul to be sent into that province equal to the war with which it was threatened. Upon the receipt of this letter the fathers met, but, instead of naming a governor themselves, decreed, that the appointment of a proper person for the government of *Africa* should be left to the emperor. On this occasion *Cæcina Severus* made a speech against any magistrate's carrying his wife with him into his province; but, being opposed by *Valerius Messalinus* and *Drusus* himself, his motion was over-ruled (G). The next time the senate met, a letter was presented to them from *Tiberius*, wherein, after complaining of them for casting upon him the care of all public affairs, he named *M. Lepidus* and *Junius Blæsus*, leaving it to them to chuse for the proconsulate of *Africa* which of the two they pleased. Hereupon *Blæsus* was chosen, *Lepidus* excusing himself with great earnestness, and pleading his infirmities, the tender age of his children, and a daughter who was marriageable. There was another reason too, says *Tacitus*, which, though not mentioned by *Lepidus*, was understood: *Blæsus* was uncle to *Sejanus*, and therefore

ⁱ TACIT. c. 29. SUET. in Claud. c. 27.

(G) *Cæcina* introduced this motion with a long preamble, that he lived in perfect concord with his wife, and had six children by her; but nevertheless had practised himself, though he had served forty years in different provinces, what he offered to the public. He said, that it had not without cause been provided of old, that women should not be carried into the countries of confederate or foreign nations, since they introduced luxury in peace, retarded war with their fears, and made the *Roman* armies on their march resemble those of the barbarians. Women, said he, are not only tender and unfit to bear fatigues; but, if not restrained, cruel, ambitious, and greedy of power. They even march among the soldiers, and are attended and obeyed by the centurions. A woman has lately acted the chief part at the exercise of the cohorts and the evolutions of the legions. Besides, you well know, conscript fathers, that as often as any of the magistrates are accused of plundering the provinces, their wives are always concerned in the guilt. To them the most profligate in the provinces immediately apply; by them all affairs are undertaken and transacted. They are no less respected than their husbands, have the same court paid them, are equally obeyed, nay more readily obeyed, their orders being generally more imperious. This authority in women was formerly restrained by the *Oppian* and other laws; but now they rule without controul, not only their families, but the forum, the courts of justice, and even the armies. To this speech, which was applauded by some, but disliked by the far greater part, *Valerius Messalinus* answered, that many of the institutions of their forefathers were changed for the better; that women were so far from burdening the provinces, that they were no burden to their own husbands; that in time of peace they proved no incumbrance to them, but a great relief after the fatigues of war,

to which it was not proper they should attend their husbands. As to the pride, cruelty, and ambition, to which some of them had given a loose, he answered, that if on that account none were to be allowed to accompany their husbands into the provinces, no governors ought, according to that method of reasoning, be sent thither, since some of them had proved cruel, haughty, rapacious, &c. The *Oppian* laws, he said, were once judged necessary, and their severity thought expedient for the state; but afterwards their rigor was softened, and that too was judged expedient for the public good. As to the wives being accessory to the guilt of their husbands, the latter, he said, ought to bear the blame; but he thought it very hard, that for the too great compliance of one or a few weak husbands, all the rest should be deprived of the comfort and relief which the fellowship of their wives, the natural partners of their good and bad fortune, afforded them. He added, that the sex, weak by nature, would be thus left defenceless, a prey to their own passions, and exposed to the temptations of thousands, who would make it their business to seduce them; whereof the natural consequence in an absence of many years was to every one obvious, since the marriage-bed was scarce preserved under the eye of the husband. He concluded his speech with exhorting the fathers so to redress the evils abroad, as not to neglect the disorders at home. *Drusus* approved of this speech; and having alledged the example of *Augustus*, who travelled mostly accompanied with *Livia*, added, that he himself had taken a progress to *Illyricum*, and was ready, if it were thought expedient, to visit other nations; but not without uneasiness, if he were to be torn from his dear wife, by whom he had so many children. For these reasons, if they deserve that name, the motion of *Cæcina* was defeated (92).

(93) Tacit. c. 34.

fore, as his interest prevailed, *Lepidus* declined standing in competition with him ^k. The moderation and mildness with which *Drusus* governed, during his father's absence, encouraged some senators to apply to him for redress to an evil, which was by degrees grown unsupportable. The statues of the emperor were become sanctuaries to profli- *Statues of the*
 gates, who, laying hold of them, might with impunity threaten, and wantonly insult *emperors be-*
 whom they pleased, not even a master being allowed to punish a slave for the invective- *come sanctua-*
 tives he had uttered against him, while he held the emperor's statue. Against this *ries*.
 abuse *Caius Sestius*, a senator, spoke with great vehemence, as he had been lately *Drusus re-*
 abused in a most outrageous manner by one *Annia Rufilla*, whom he had got con- *dresses this e: il*
 demned for forgery. To put a stop to this disorder, *Drusus* summoned *Rufilla* before *Antistius Ve-*
 his tribunal; and finding her guilty of uttering invectives against *Sestius*, under shelter *tus tried*.
 of the emperor's statue, he committed her to prison. The punishment of this profli-
 gate woman, and that of two Roman knights, *Confidius Aequus* and *Cælius Cursor*, who *Drusus re-*
 had forged a charge of treason against the prætor *Magius Cæcilianus*, gained *dresses this e: il*
Drusus the affections of the people, and made them overlook his love of pleasure *Antistius Ve-*
 and the luxury in which he lived, spending the day at the shews of gladiators, and *tus tried*.
 the greater part of the night in revels and banquets. *Antistius Vetus*, a principal
 nobleman of *Macedon*, being tried for adultery, during *Drusus's* administration, was
 absolved; which highly offended *Tiberius*, who wrote a letter to the senate, reproach-
 ing the judges, and ordering them to recall *Vetus* and try him for treason, as a
 disturber of the public peace, and confederate with the late king *Rhescuporis*, when
 having killed his nephew *Cotys*, whom *Tacitus* through mistake calls his brother, he
 designed to make war upon *Rome*. The charge of treason, says our historian,
 proved in those days the sum and bulwark of all accusations whatsoever, and was the
 most effectual means of making sure of the criminal. *Vetus* was therefore condemned *And con-*
 to perpetual banishment, and to his sentence was added, that he should be confined *demned*.
 to an island, neither in the neighbourhood of *Macedon*, nor of *Thrace*. The troubles,
 which began about this time in *Thrace*, prompted the judges, or rather *Tiberius*, to
 add this clause. For the *Odrysians*, and other warlike nations of *Thrace*, being dis-
 satisfied with the government of *Rhemetalces*, to whom *Tiberius* had given that part
 of *Thrace*, which his father *Rhescuporis* had held, and much more with the govern-
 ment of *Trebellienus Rufus*, whom *Tiberius* had appointed guardian to the sons of
Cotys, who were minors, openly revolted; and having committed dreadful ravages, *A revolt in*
 besieged *Rhemetalces* in the city of *Philippopolis*. But divisions arising among them, *Thrace sup-*
Publius Velleius, whom some writers take to be the historian *Velleius Patercus*, pressed.
 marching against them from the neighbouring province, where he commanded, de-
 feated them, and obliged them, without losing a single man, to abandon the siege ^m.

THE same year, the *Gauls*, no longer able to bear the heavy tributes, with which *The Gauls*
 they were loaded, and the cruelty and pride of their governors, attempted to shake *revolt*.
 off the Roman yoke, being stirred up by *Julius Florus*, a native of *Treves*, and
Julius Sacrovir, a leading man among the *Ædui*, that is, those of *Autun*. The *An-*
decavi and *Turonii*, that is, the inhabitants of *Angers* and *Tour*, first took up arms;
 but the former were soon reduced by *Acilius Aviola* at the head of a cohort drawn
 from the garison of *Lugdunum* or *Lions*, and the latter by the same *Aviola* with a
 detachment sent him by *Visellius Varro* governor of *Lower Germany*. *Julius Florus*,
 having attempted in vain to debauch a body of horse, which had been raised by the
 Romans at *Treves*, made to the forest of *Ardea*, attended by a rabble of his own clients
 and followers; but finding all the passes beset by *Visellius Varro* and *Caius Silius*, he
 was obliged to venture a battle with his countryman *Julius Indus*, whom the Romans
 had sent forward with a chosen body of men, as one who was well acquainted with the
 roads, and a declared enemy to *Florus*. *Indus* put him to flight at the first onset,
 and by pursuing him from place to place, reduced him to such streights, that finding
 no other means to avoid falling into the hands of his implacable enemy, he put an
 end to his life with his own sword. By his death the insurrection of *Treves* was quelled. *Julius Florus,*
 But that of the *Ædui* gave the Roman generals no small uneasiness, *Sacrovir*, the chief *one of the ring-*
 author of it, having raised an army of forty thousand men, and made himself master *leaders of the*
 of *Augustodunum* or *Autun*, the capital of the nation, where he found and seized all *revolt, is rout-*
 the young nobility of *Gaul*, hoping by that means to engage their parents and *ed, and dies by*
 relations in his interest. A contention which arose between the two Roman generals *his own hand*.
 about

^k Idem, c. 35.^l Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 24.^m Tacit. c. 36, 37.

Sacrovir the
author of the
rebellion dies
in the same
manner.

about the command of the army, gave him time to prepare for a vigorous defence. At length *Varro*, who was old and infirm, yielding to *Silius*, who was vigorous and in the flower of his age, the troops began their march, and advancing towards *Augustodunum*, were met by *Sacrovir* twelve miles from that city. Whereupon an engagement ensuing, the *Gauls* were routed with great slaughter, and *Sacrovir* obliged to fly first to *Augustodunum*, and thence to a neighbouring town, where he slew himself, and those who attended him one another, after having set fire to the place, by which it was reduced to ashes. Our historian observes, that when news of this insurrection in *Gaul* was brought to *Rome*, the best men were grieved for the sake of their country, but many rejoiced in their own dangers, and in hatred to *Tiberius* wished success to the common enemy^a.

Tiberius's
reasons for not
going in person
into Gaul.

WHEN the insurrection was intirely suppressed, *Tiberius* wrote to the senate, acquainting them with the rise, progress, and conclusion of the war; he added, that it was brought to a happy issue by the fidelity and bravery of his lieutenants directed by his counsels. As some had complained of him for not going in person to suppress it, in the same letter he yielded reasons why neither he nor *Drusus* had, during these commotions, offered to stir out of *Italy*, telling them, that the *Roman* empire was an immense body, and that it was below the dignity of princes, upon the revolt of one or two cities, to abandon the capital, whence proper directions were sent to govern the whole; but nevertheless, that he would visit those nations and settle them, since they were again brought under subjection; which before would have been doing them too much honour, as if he had not been able to conquer them by his lieutenants. The senate decreed vows, supplications, and the other usual honours on such occasions; but *Cornelius Dolabella*, a notorious flatterer moved, that *Tiberius*, on his return from *Campania*, should be honoured with an ovation. This ridiculous motion occasioned a letter from the emperor, wherein he declared, that he was not so destitute of glory as to hunt after empty honours in his old age, for a short progress in the neighbourhood of *Rome*, after having in his youth vanquished most warlike nations, and either enjoyed or despised many triumphs. This year *Publius Sulpicius Quirinius*, whom *St. Luke* calls *Cyrenius*, dying at *Rome*, *Tiberius* wrote to the senate, desiring that he might be honoured with a public funeral. He was a native of *Lanu-*

P. Quirinius
honoured with
a public fu-
neral.

vium, a municipal town; but, though of a mean descent, had raised himself by his valour to the highest posts in the army, and had been honoured by *Augustus*, first with the consulship, and afterwards with the ensigns of triumph, for driving the *Homonadenses* out of their strong-holds in *Cilicia*. Upon the disgrace of *Marcus Lollius* he was appointed governor to *Caius Caesar*, then employed in settling the affairs of *Armenia*, in which high station he made use of all his interest in behalf of *Tiberius* then at *Rhodes*, and by degrees reconciled the young prince to him. These kind offices *Tiberius* now remembered, and extolled them in his letter to the senate, inveighing at the same time against *Lollius*, as the author of the misunderstanding between him and *Caius*. When *Archelaus*, the son of *Herod*, was deposed by *Augustus*, *Quirinius* was appointed governor of *Syria*, and ordered to seize the country, which *Archelaus* had held, and reduce it to a *Roman* province; which he did accordingly, taxing the *Jews* according to the estimate of their estates, which had been made eleven years before by *Sentius Saturninus*. The senate readily complied with the request of *Tiberius* as to the funeral of *Quirinius*, though they had no great respect for his memory on account of his covetousness, his great credit with the emperor, and above all, for his prosecuting *Æmia Lepida* in the manner we have related above^c. At the end of the year, *Drusus* falling sick, *Caius Lutorius Priscus*, a *Roman* knight, thinking the distemper would prove mortal, composed a poem bewailing his death, and out of vanity read it in the house of *P. Petronius* in the presence of *Vitellia*, mother-in-law to *Petronius*, and of other women of great distinction. As *Rome* swarmed with informers, the poet was immediately accused of this before the senate; all the ladies, who had heard him, were summoned to appear against him, and frightened into a confession, except *Vitellia*, who maintained to the last with great firmness, that she had heard nothing. But more credit being given to those who deposed against him, *Haterius Agrippa*, who, as consul elect, voted first, declared, that in his opinion he ought to be punished with death; *Lepidus* was for condemning him to perpetual banishment and confiscating his estate. But of all the consulars, *Rubellius Blandus* alone

C. Lutorius
Priscus tried.

^a Idem, c. 40—47. ^c Idem, c. 48. STRAB. l. xii. DIO, l. lvii. JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. & ii.

alone voting with *Lepidus*, and the rest with *Agrippa*; *Priscus* was conveyed to prison, and immediately put to death. To what a deplorable state of slavery was Rome already reduced! But *Lutorius*'s real crime was, it seems, his having composed a poem on the death of *Germanicus*, which had been so well received, that *Tiberius* could not help rewarding him for it.^p The emperor, who was still in *Campania*, behaved on this occasion with his usual ambiguity; for in a letter, which he wrote to the senate, he commended their zeal in thus punishing the slightest injuries done to the prince; but at the same time intreated them not to be so hasty in punishing words: he praised *Lepidus*, blamed not *Agrippa*. His seeming to disapprove of this sudden execution gave rise to a famous decree of the senate, viz. that their orders should not be carried to the treasury (H), nor the condemned person executed, in less than ten days. But no criminals reaped any benefit from this respite in *Tiberius*'s reign, his cruel and revengeful temper being never softened by time, as *Tacitus* well observes.^q

Condemned and executed.

His hasty execution gives rise to a famous decree.

THE following year, *Caius Sulpitius Galba* and *Decimus Haterius Agrippa* being consuls, *Caius Bibulus*, one of the ædiles moved, that some regulation might be made against luxury, which, in spite of the sumptuary laws, was grown to a monstrous excess in the expence of entertainments, in the number of domestics, in the quantity of gold and silver plate, of pictures, statues, precious stones, &c. The motion was seconded by the other ædiles, who made long descants on the mischievous consequences of the growing evil. The fathers heard them with patience, but referred the whole matter to *Tiberius*; which occasioned a letter from him to the conscript fathers, wherein, after commending the zeal of the ædiles, he owned, that the excesses they complained of required a regulation, that the prevailing evil ought to be checked by the severest laws; but nevertheless, if such laws were enacted, even those who now censure, at their entertainments and in their conversations, the profuse luxury of the times, would be the first to complain, that the state was utterly undone, that snares were laid for every noble and wealthy family, and that all men would become the prey of informers. In the end of his letter, he told them, that if any of the magistrates would undertake to put a stop to so great an evil, he should have both his praises and thanks for easing him of part of his burden; but that as to himself, he would not take upon him that odious task: Believe me, conscript fathers, said he, I am not fond of being the object of the public hatred; I have already enemies enow; let me not therefore, I intreat you, wantonly and vainly raise more by such regulations, as promise no advantage to you or to me. The senate, upon reading the emperor's letter, ordered the ædiles to proceed no farther in that matter. *Tiberius*, by thus rejecting the project of

Tiberius refuses to take upon him the cure of luxury.

^p TACIT. C. 49. DIO, l. lvii. p. 616, 617. Suet. in. Tib. c. 75.

^q TACIT. C. 51. DIO, ibid. p. 617.

(H) In the treasury were lodged the public registers and the decrees of the senate, which, till entered there, had neither the force nor name of decrees, but were called the orders or authority of the senate, as is evident from *Cicero*, *Dion Cassius*, and other ancient writers. This decree of the senate, by which it was provided, that no person condemned should be executed till the tenth day after sentence pronounced, was observed by *Caligula*, even with respect to those whom he himself sentenced to death (93), and probably by all the succeeding emperors to the time of *Theodosius the Great*, who granted twenty days more to those who were condemned (94) either by the prince, or the senate (95). This we find is the general opinion, an opinion, without all doubt, well grounded, since *Tacitus*, *Dion Cassius*, *Suetonius*, and *Seneca* affirm, in express terms, that *Tiberius* granted ten days respite to criminals after sentence, and the more modern writers unanimously ascribe to *Theodosius* the thirty days reprieve. But on the other hand, we read in *Quintilian*, who flourished about this time, the following words: The law forbidding a criminal to be executed till after thirty days was wisely esta-

blished, seeing the accuser may be deceived (96); and in *Calpurnius Flaccus*, who wrote long before *Theodosius*'s time, Let the punishment of a ravisher be deferred thirty days (97). As there is no reconciling testimonies so evidently opposite and contradictory, and on the other hand we have innumerable instances of transcribers mistaking numbers, we shall with the most judicious critics impute to them the present disagreement among authors. Perhaps in transcribing the declamations of *Quintilian* and *Calpurnius* in or after *Theodosius*'s time, they adapted them to the law which that emperor had enacted. *Baronius* pretends, that the ten days reprieve extended to all criminals, by what judge soever condemned; and thence infers, that *Pilate* transgressed the law of his prince in causing our Saviour to be crucified as soon as he had pronounced sentence against him (98). But it is manifest from *Gothofredus* in his comments upon the *Theodosian* code, that neither the decree of *Tiberius*, nor the law of *Theodosius*, extended to the magistrates in the provinces till the time of *Nicephorus Botoniates*, who ordered all judges and magistrates to conform to the law of *Theodosius* (99).

(93) *Senec. de tranq. c. 14. p. 351.*
epist. 7.
annal. 34.

(96) *Quintil. declamat. 303.*

(99) *Cod. Th. tom. 3. p. 307.*

(94) *In l. si vindicari, c. de pœnis.*

(97) *Calpur. Flacc. declamat. 25.*

(95) *Sid. l. i.*

(98) *Baron.*

of reforming luxury, which would have proved an inexhaustible fund of crimes, im-
 peachments, and confiscations, gained the fame of moderation among the nobility,
 with whose wealth the accusers would not have failed to enrich themselves, had the
 emperor either enforced the ancient, or enacted new, sumptuary laws^r. Soon after
 Drusus in-vested with the tribunitial power. *Tiberius* wrote another letter to the senate, desiring the tribunitial power for *Drusus*,
 which the fathers granted with the more refined flattery, as they had foreseen this
 request: statues were decreed both to *Tiberius* and *Drusus*, altars were erected to the
 gods, arches raised, &c. *M. Silanus* moved, that for the future not the names of the
 consuls, but of those who exercised the tribunitial power, should be prefixed to all
 public and private records; *Haterius Agrippa*, that the decrees of that day should
 be written in letters of gold and hung up in the senate. Thus the lords of the
 The debasement of the senate. *Roman* senate, who once headed mighty armies, raised and deposed great kings,
 bestowed or took away empires, were by degrees changed into mean slaves, and
 become by their infamous flattery an object of derision and contempt to all foreign
 nations, nay to that very prince, whose favour they strove to gain by disgracing them-
 selves. *Drusus*, who was then in *Campania*, probably with his father, wrote to the
 senate, returning them thanks for the tribunitial power with which they had invested
 him; but did not condescend to come to *Rome*, as was expected, to receive it. Soon
 after, *Servius Maluginensis*, who, as priest of *Jupiter*, was not allowed to leave *Italy*,
 nay, to sleep one night out of *Rome*, demanding the government of *Asia*, and his suit
 being opposed by *Lentulus* the augur and others, the affair was referred to *Tiberius*,
 who in his answer to the senate postponing the pretensions of the priest of *Jupiter*,
 moderated the honours which had been decreed to *Drusus* with the tribunitial power,
 and particularly censured the motion of the golden letters, as contrary to the custom
 The number of sanctuaries lessened. of *Rome*. As the liberty of instituting sanctuaries and privileged places at pleasure
 had long since prevailed among the *Greek* cities, and filled their temples with fugitive
 slaves, debtors, and criminals, *Tiberius* this year referred to the senate the examining
 of the privileges which those cities enjoyed, and the grants on which they were founded.
 The senate and consuls, after having heard the *Greek* deputies, and carefully searched
 into the validity of their several pretensions, utterly suppressed some sanctuaries, and
 either limited the extent, or abridged the privileges and immunities, of others, order-
 ing the decree they enacted on this occasion to be engraved on brass, and hung up
 in the temples of *Greece*^s. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Tiberius* absolutely suppressed all
 sanctuaries throughout the whole *Roman* empire^t. Not long after *Livia* being seized
 Livia's illness Tiberius re- turns to Rome with a dangerous distemper, *Tiberius* hastened back to *Rome*; since the mother and
 son either still lived in perfect amity, or cunningly disguised their mutual hatred: the
 latter was commonly believed at *Rome*; for *Livia* having not long before dedicated
 a statue to *Augustus*, and placed her own name before that of *Tiberius*, the emperor
 was thought to have grievously resented this, as an undervaluing the majesty of the
 prince, but to have smothered his resentment with a deep dissimulation. However
 that be, the senate upon her illness decreed supplications to the gods, with the celebra-
 tion of the great *Roman* games for her recovery, and betrayed on this occasion such a
 mean spirit of servitude, that *Tiberius* himself was ashamed of their vile debasement,
 and scandalous submissions^u. The next time the senate met, *Caius Silanus*, proconsul
 of *Asia*, *Cæsius Cordus*, proconsul of *Crete*, and *Lucius Ennius*, a *Roman* knight, were
 Other in- stances of the servile spirit of the senate. accused before them, the two first of robbing the public, and the other of treason,
 for having used as the current coin a piece of silver, on which was engraved the
 effigies of *Tiberius*. To the charge of rapine and extortion against *Silanus* and *Cordus*,
 that none of their friends or relations might dare to plead for them in their trial,
 articles of treason were subjoined, a sure bar, says *Tacitus*, to all assistance, and a seal
 upon their lips. They were both found guilty of male-administration and extortion,
 Caius Silanus and Cæsius Cordus con- demned. and condemned to perpetual banishment, and their estates declared confiscated. But
Cneius Lentulus moving, that the estate of *Silanus* descending to him from his mother
Cornelia, who was related to the *Cæsars*, might be restored to his son, *Tiberius* ap-
 proved of, and assented to, the motion: nay, he even mitigated the rigor of the
 sentence which the senate had pronounced against him, alledging, that the island of
Gyarus, to which they had confined him, was an unhospitable place and destitute of
 inhabitants, and begging, that, in favour of the *Junian* family and in regard of his
 sister *Torquata*, a vestal of an unblemished character, they would allow him for the
 place

^r TACIT. *ibid.* c. 52—55.^s *Idem*, c. 55.^t *SUET.* in *Tib.* c. 37.^u *Idem*, c. 64.

a place of his exile the island of *Cythera*. This the senators readily granted at the request of the prince, who by this affected shew of clemency pretended to cover the artifice and violence which he had employed to destroy the unhappy proconsul (I). To what place *Cordus* was confined, we are not told. As for *L. Ennius*, the emperor judged the charge brought against him frivolous, and therefore would not allow him to be tried as a criminal. Whereupon *Ateius Capito*, with an affected spirit of liberty, cried out, that the emperor intrenched upon the privileges of the senate; that all injuries done to the prince were public injuries, injuries done to the commonwealth, which it was the province of the senate charged with the care of the republic to revenge and restrain, in spite of any one's private clemency and compassion. *Tiberius* had reason to cry aloud, as we are told he used to do, as often as he went out of the senate, *Ob men prepared for bondage!* He was, says *Tacitus*, irreconcilable to public liberty; but abhorred flattery, as suiting only with the spirit of slaves. The infamy of *Capito* was the more signal, as he debased it by not only the dignity of the senator, but his his own personal accomplishments (K). The condemnation of *Silanus* and *Cordus* was followed by a religious debate, in what temple the offering should be placed, which the Roman knights had vowed to *Fortune Equestrian* for the recovery of *Livia*. As there was no temple in *Rome* dedicated to *Fortune* under that title, but one at *Antium*, it was decreed, that the gift of the knights should be presented there. And now that matters of religion were on foot, *Tiberius*, as pontifex maximus, returned the answer which he had lately deferred, touching the pretensions of *Servius Maluginensis*, and produced a statute of the pontiffs made under *Augustus*, declating, that when the priest of *Jupiter* was taken ill, he might with the consent of the pontifex maximus be absent from the city two nights, except on days of public sacrifice, and never more than twice a year. This regulation shewed that the administration of a province, which required a year's absence, was incompatible with the office of the *flamen dialis*, or priest of *Jupiter*. So that the government of *Asia*, which *Maluginensis* had demanded, was conferred on the consular, who was next in seniority to him. When this affair was over, *Æmilius Lepidus* asked and obtained leave of the senate to repair and beautify at his own expence the basilic (L) of *Paulus Æmilius*. On the other hand, the emperor undertook to

The infamous flattery of Capito.

Priest of Jupiter debarred from the government of the provinces.

^u Idem, c. 66—71.

^w Idem, ibid.

(I) *Silanus* was very hardly used in his trial, as *Tacitus* observes. The best pleaders of all *Asia* were chosen on purpose to accuse him. They charged him with cruelty and extortion in his government. To this charge was added that of treason by *Marcus Scaurus* once consul, *Junius Otho* prætor, and *Brutidius Niger* ædile. The number of his accusers was increased by *Gellius Poplicola* and *Marcus Paccius*, the former quæstor to *Silanus*, the other his lieutenant. As he was accused of treason, no one dared to appear in his favour, he himself was no pleader or orator, and besides, *Tiberius*, with an awful voice and countenance, was continually interrupting and confounding him with questions, which he was not allowed time to refute, nay, he was often forced to confess, lest the emperor should have asked in vain. His slaves too were first by the emperor's orders sold to the public, and then examined upon the rack. He was no doubt guilty of cruelty and extortion; but the hatred and spite, which *Tiberius* shewed him, and his eagerness to get him condemned, were justly censured.

(K) *Ateius Capito* was a man of extraordinary accomplishments, and one of the most learned civilians of his age. All we know of his pedigree is, that his grandfather was only a centurion under *Sylla*, and that his father arrived at the prætorship. *Gellius*, *Macrobius*, and *Festus*, quote several books wrote by him, viz. a comment upon the laws of the twelve tables, a hundred and twenty books *de jure*, ten books *de jure pontificum*, ten *de jure sacerdotum*, a treatise of the duty of a senator, and a volume of collections. But he debased, says *Tacitus*, his rare accomplishments by the most infamous flattery and a mean obsequiousness to power. *Augustus* honoured him

early with the consulship to raise him above *Antistius Labeo*, another civilian of equal knowledge and abilities, but of an unblemished character and a probity which was proof against all temptations. However, *Labeo* obtained the prætorship; but his virtue checked his rise to greater preferments, whence he was no less beloved and adored by the people, than his rival abhorred and detested. We do not find the name of *Capito* in the consular tables; whence, as both *Tacitus* in this place and *Pomponius* in his book *de origine juris* (100) assure us, that he was raised to the consulship, we conclude, that he was one of the consuls who were called *suffecti*, because substituted in the room of those who died or resigned. *Pighius* produces an ancient marble discovered at *Rome* with this inscription; *C. Ateio. Capitone. C. Vibio. Postumo. cos.* *Vibius* was, according to *Pighius*, consul in the year of *Rome* 759.

(L) Basilics were originally spacious halls in which kings, from whom these buildings borrowed their name, administered justice to their subjects. The Romans appropriated that name to great halls, having two ranges of pillars and two wings with galleries over them. *Cicero* speaks of the basilic mentioned here (1), which, according to him, was begun by *Æmilius Paulus*, then ædile, and afterwards consuls with *C. Marcellus*. It was afterwards finished under *Augustus* by *Paulus Æmilius*, who was consul in the year of *Rome* 730, and afterwards censor (2); but being consumed by accidental fire, it was rebuilt twenty years after by another *Æmilius* (3). As it was at this time out of repair, *Lepidus* asked leave to strengthen and embellish it at his own expence.

(100) *Pomp. p. 1.*

(1) *Cic. ad Attic. l. 4. ep. 17.*

(2) *Dio, l. xlix.*

(3) *Idem, l. liv.*

to rebuild the theatre of *Pompey*, which had been consumed by accidental fire, none of that family being equal to so great a charge, and promised that it should still be called by the name of its illustrious founder. On this occasion he enlarged on the praises of his favourite *Sejanus*, to whose care and vigilance, he said, it was owing, that the fire had done no greater damage. Hereupon the servile senate, applauding the prince's speech, decreed a statue to *Sejanus* to be placed in the theatre of *Pompey*^x. We are told by *Seneca*^y, that upon the passing of this decree, *Cremutius Cordus*, of whom we shall speak anon, cried out, *Now is Pompey's theatre utterly destroyed*.

Tacfarinas's arrogant embassy to Tiberius.

He is distressed by Blæsus.

Who is honoured with the title of emperor.

Deaths of several illustrious persons.

The original character and pursuits of Sejanus.

THIS year *Tacfarinas*, quitting anew the deserts, to which he had been so often driven, appeared unexpectedly in the fruitful plains of *Africa* at the head of a numerous army; and having committed every-where dreadful devastations, he arrived to such a height of boldness, as to send ambassadors to *Tiberius*, demanding a settlement for himself and his army, and threatening the emperor, in case he did not grant him his request, with an eternal war. Our historian tells us, that *Tiberius* never betrayed so much indignation and resentment as on this occasion, not being able to bear, that a deserter, a free-booter, should have the arrogance to offer terms of peace, as if he were an equal enemy. He therefore ordered *Junius Blæsus*, whom he continued another year in the government of *Africa*, to exert his utmost efforts against so bold and contemptible an enemy. *Blæsus* drove him every-where before him, and pursued him even into the deserts, where he took his brother prisoner; but *Tacfarinas* himself had the good luck to make his escape, though the passes were beset on all sides by the enemy. However, as most of his forces were cut in pieces and his brother taken, *Tiberius* looked upon the war as concluded, and confirmed to *Blæsus* the title of *imperator*, which his troops had conferred upon him. He was the last private person who enjoyed that title, thenceforth peculiar to the reigning family (M). He was likewise honoured with the ensigns of triumph, *Tiberius* declaring that he thus distinguished him in regard of *Sejanus*, who was his nephew, though in *Tacitus*'s opinion his actions intitled him to all the honours that were conferred upon him^z. This year died three persons of great distinction, viz. *Ateius Capito*, the most learned civilian in *Rome*, but one who debased his extraordinary parts with the meanest and most servile flattery, as we have observed above; *Asinius Saloninus*, grandson to *M. Agrippa*; and *Asinius Pollio*, half brother to *Drusus*, and betrothed to one of *Tiberius*'s grand-daughters (N); and the celebrated *Junia*, niece to *Cato* of *Utica*, sister to *Brutus* (O), and wife to *Cassius*, three most zealous champions for the public liberty. She died sixty-four years after the battle of *Philippi*, in which her husband lost his life. As she was immensely rich, her will made a great noise; for she left legacies to almost all the great men of *Rome*, but nothing to *Tiberius*, who did not seem to resent in the least this omission, but allowed her panegyric to be pronounced in public, and her obsequies to be performed with all the pomp suitable to her rank. Before the corps were carried, according to the *Roman* custom, the images of twenty of the most noble families in *Rome*, to which the illustrious deceased was related; but as those of *Brutus* and *Cassius* were not seen among the rest, the people took thence occasion to extol the zeal with which those two heroes had formerly signalized themselves in the cause of liberty^a.

C. Asinius Gallus and *C. Antistius Vetus* were the following consuls. During their administration, the famous *Sejanus* took the first steps towards the execution of the black designs he had been long fostering in his heart. As this powerful and ambitious minister henceforth to his downfall is to act a principal part in the present history, we

^x Idem, c. 72.

^y SENEC. ad Martiam, c. 22.

^z Idem, c. 73, 74.

^a Idem, c. 75, 76.

(M) *Lipsius* observes here, that the title of *imperator*, when given to the prince, was placed before his name, thus; *Imp. Cæsar Augustus*, but put after the names of generals, to whom it was only a transient title of honour, thus; *Junius Blæsus imp. M. Tullius Cicero imp.*

(N) *Asinius Pollio*, the famous orator and poet, one of *Augustus*'s chief favourites, and *Virgil*'s patrons, had a son by name *Asinius Gallus*, who, according to *Lipsius* (4), was surnamed *Saloninus* from the city of *Salona* in *Dalmatia*, which was taken either by him, or during his consulship. *Salonius*, or, as *Tacitus* and *Dion Cassius* constantly call him,

Asinius Gallus, married *Vipsania*, the daughter of *Agrippa*, after *Tiberius* had divorced her to marry *Julia*. *Tiberius* had by her *Drusus*; and *Asinius Gallus* many children, viz. *Asinius Saloninus*, or *Asinius Gallus*, mentioned by *Tacitus* in this place, *Asinius Gallus*, *Asinius Pollio*, who was consul in the year of *Rome* 756, *Asinius Agrippa*, and *Asinius Celer*, whom *Pliny* calls a consular man.

(O) *Junius Silanus*, who was consul with *L. Licinius Murena*, married *Servilia* the sister of *Cato*, and had by her *Tertia* or *Tertulla*, and this *Junia*, who was sister to *Brutus* by the mother; for *M. Junius Brutus* was the famous *Brutus*'s father.

(4) *Lip. in Tac. annal.* 3. N. 174.

a we shall premise a succinct account of his original, manners, and characters, copied from the most creditable writers of antiquity. *L. Ælius Sejanus* was born at *Vulturni* in *Hetruria* (P), son to *Sejus Strabo*, who, though commander of the prætorian guards under *Augustus*, and in the beginning of *Tiberius's* reign, was but a private Roman knight^b. His mother was descended of an illustrious family; viz. the *Junian*; for *Junius Blæsus* who at the death of *Augustus* commanded the legions in *Pannonia*, and afterwards signalized himself against *Tacfarinas* in *Africa*, was his maternal uncle. He had other relations in great employments, and even brothers, who had been consuls^c; but these were perhaps of the *Ælian* family, into which *Sejanus*, as we conjecture from his name, was probably adopted. In the very beginning of *Tiberius's* reign, he was joined with his father in the command of the prætorian guards, and even then in high favour with the prince; whence no colleague was assigned him in that important employment, when his father was sent into *Egypt*, the government of which kingdom was by the regulation of *Augustus* committed only to private knights. In his early youth he was suspected of having for hire abandoned himself to the lewd desires of the famous *Apicius* (Q). As to his character, *Tacitus* draws it in the following lines: With various insinuations and artifices he got the ascendant over *Tiberius* so far, that he made him reserved to others, but to himself careless and open. He did not accomplish this so much through policy, for by that others overpowered him, as from the wrath of the gods against the *Roman* state, to which his rise and his downfall proved alike destructive. He had a strong body and a bold mind. He disguised his own faults, and impeached others: alike fawning and imperious. By his outward appearance one would have thought him modest, but in his heart he had the most unsatiable thirst after power, to which he made sometimes luxury and bribery subservient, and sometimes industry and application, qualities no less pernicious, when they are assumed for the vile purposes of power. Thus far *Tacitus*. The ambitious favourite, seeing himself by the indulgence of his kind master, lifted up above his condition and raised to the highest posts of the empire, began to entertain thoughts of soaring still higher. He was in power and authority the second man in the *Roman* state; but this to his ambition seemed little; he aimed at nothing less than the sovereign power, towards the attaining of which, his first step was to gain the affections of the prætorian guards, who were all under his command. Till his time they had been quartered all over the city, and dispersed about the neighbouring towns and villages. But *Sejanus*, pretending, that while they were thus scattered, they lived loose and debauched, and could not be easily gathered into one body on any sudden emergency, obtained leave of the emperor to assemble them into one camp, where, he said, the military discipline would be observed with more exactness and severity. As soon as the camp was finished, he made it his chief study to gain the favour of the common soldiers by his affability and obliging behaviour; as for the tribunes and

^b TACIT. l. iv. c. 1. DIO, l. lvii. p. 616.

^c VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 127.

(P) The poet *Juvenal* alludes to *Vulturni* the birth-place of *Sejanus* in the following lines:

— idem populus, si Nurscia Thusco
Favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
Principis, hac ipsa Sejanum diceret hora
Augustum, &c.

For *Nurscia*, or as some will have it, *Nortia*, was the tutelar god of *Vulturni*, as appears from *Livy* (5).

(Q) The ancients mention three *Apiciuses*, all famous epicures. The first lived in the times of the republic, and is spoken of by *Athenæus* (6). The second, who is mentioned by our historian in this place, lived under *Augustus* and *Tiberius*; and the third, as appears from *Suidas*, under *Trajan*. The second was the most famous of all for gluttony; for after he had by voluptuous eating and drinking reduced his immense wealth to ten millions of small sesterces, he chose rather to put an end to his life, than retrench the usual expences of his table, for

which the remaining sum was no ways sufficient. Tongues of peacocks and nightingales, and the most exquisite meats, that the forests, seas, or rivers, produced, were, says *Appian* the grammarian, his daily food (7). He is styled by *Pliny nepotum omnium altissimus gurgis*. *Seneca*, who was his contemporary, tells us, that he published a book of cookery with which he infected the age he lived in (8), a treatise *de re culinaria*, that is, of cookery, was discovered by *Albanus Torinus* in the island of *Maguelonne* near *Montpelier* in 1529, and printed at *Basle* twelve years after another copy of the same treatise had been discovered a hundred years before, by *Enochus* of *Ascoli*, under the pontificate of *Nicolas V*. To both these manuscripts was prefixed the name of *M. Cælius Apicius*; but *Vossius* is of opinion, that this *Apicius* lived long after the famous epicure of that name, whose books, *de irritamentis gulæ* and *de jussellis*, are mentioned by *Seneca* (9), *Isidore* of *Seville* (10), and the old scholiast of *Juvenal*.

(5) *Livy*. l. vii.
ad *Albin*.

(6) *Athen.* l. iv. c. 20.

(7) *Vide Athen.* l. iv. c. 20.

(8) *Senec. de consol.*

(9) *Senec. ibid.*

(10) *Isid.* l. xx. de orig. c. 4.

and centurions, they were all chosen by him, and he took care to employ none but his own creatures and dependents. Having thus attached to his interest this formidable corps, the flower of the *Roman* forces, his next care was to gain a strong party in the senate, which it was no difficult task for a favourite to effect, at whose disposal were both the public money and the public employments; for no senator, however distinguished by his birth or personal accomplishments, was employed, unless recommended by *Sejanus*^d. He is said to have gained over to his interest even the wives of all the men of quality in *Rome*, by a private promise of marriage to each of them, when he attained the sovereignty. This encouraged them to contribute all that lay in their power to his grandeur, which they looked upon as their own, and at the same time to acquaint him with the most secret counsels of their husbands^e. He did not even neglect the emperor's freedmen, but carefully cultivated their friendship too^f. In the mean time, *Tiberius*, though a man of great penetration, instead of curtailing the overgrown power of his favourite, was ever extolling him, in his speeches both to the senate and people, as the sharer of his burdens, and even suffered his effigies to be adored in all public places, nay, among the eagles of the legions^g; for they all carried the image of *Sejanus* in their colours, except those that were then quartered in *Syria*, which refused to follow the example of the rest^h.

BUT *Sejanus*'s design of raising himself to the sovereign power met with many obstructions. The imperial family had a numerous issue; the emperor's son was a grown man, and his grandsons, the children of *Germanicus*, who was his son by adoption, were now of age. This, however, did not deter *Sejanus* from his wicked pursuits; he resolved to cut off the reigning family root and branch, that none of the blood of the *Cæsars* might traverse his ambitious design. But as it was dangerous to cut them off all at once, he resolved to destroy the whole race by degrees, and to begin with *Drusus*, who was continually complaining of his overgrown power (R), and had lately upon some contest shaken his fist at him; and, as he offered to resist, given him a blow in the face. Upon this affront, *Sejanus*, after having examined with himself various expedients to rid himself of such a rival, resolved at length to apply to his wife *Livia*, the sister of *Germanicus*; which he did accordingly; and having first, by pretending a violent passion for her, induced her to comply with his criminal desires, prevailed upon her afterwards, without much difficulty, to concur with him in destroying her husband. Thus the niece of *Augustus*, the daughter-in-law of *Tiberius*, the mother of several children by *Drusus*, disgraced herself, her ancestors, and her posterity, with a mean adulterer, and all to exchange her present condition, both honourable and certain, for the hopes of one equally infamous and uncertain; for *Sejanus* had promised to marry her upon the death of her husband, and make her his partner in the empire. *Eudemus* was made privy to the wicked design, because he, as physician to *Livia*, under colour of his profession, was frequently with her in private, and consequently could advise and direct her without giving any umbrage. *Sejanus*, to convince *Livia* of the sincerity of his intention, as to the promised marriage, and thereby encourage her to dispatch her husband, divorced his wife *Apicata*, though he had three children by her. But still the blackness of the crime frightened *Livia*, and her ambition could not smother or get the better of her remorse. *Sejanus* himself, abandoned as he was, could not, without horror, think of imbruing his hands in the blood of the emperor's son; and hence caution, delays, and great confusion in their counselsⁱ.

IN the mean time, *Germanicus*'s second son, by name *Drusus*, putting on the *toga virilis*, or the manly robe, had the same honours decreed him by the senate, which had been conferred on his elder brother *Nero*. On this occasion *Tiberius* made a speech in commendation of the youth, and likewise of his son *Drusus*, on account of the

^d TACIT. l. iii. c. 2. ^e DIO, l. lvii. p. 669. ^f JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. ^g TACIT. l. iii. c. 2. ^h SUET. in Tib. c. 48. ⁱ TACIT. l. iii. c. 3.

(R) *Drusus* complained, and indeed with a great deal of reason, that while he, the emperor's son, was in the flower of his age, another was called, as coadjutor to the government, nay, was in a manner declared colleague in the empire. *Sejanus*, said he, has already formed a camp for the guards, that thus united, they may all at once receive his orders;

the soldiery depend entirely upon him; his statue is set up in the theatre of *Pompey*; in his grandchildren the blood of the *Drusi* will be mixed with that of *Sejanus*; what now remains but to see him invested with the sovereign power, while the emperor's son is excluded from any share in the administration?

a the kindness he shewed to his brother's children (S). This raised new jealousy in *Sejanus*, who judging it time to hasten the execution of his wicked design, ordered *Eudemus* to prepare a slow working poison, that the death of the young prince might be ascribed to a casual distemper. The fatal potion was administered to *Drusus* by *Lygdus* the eunuch, one of his freedmen, as was learnt eight years after, that is, the year in which *Sejanus* was disgraced and punished according to his deserts, this whole scene of iniquity being then brought to light by his wife *Apicata*, and the particulars of the murder owned by *Eudemus* and *Lygdus* on the rack. *Drusus* fell into a lingering distemper, pined away, and died. *Tiberius*, during the whole time of the illness of his son, appeared altogether unconcerned, perhaps to make a shew, says *Tacitus*, of the firmness and constancy of his mind; nay, after his death, when his corps lay yet unburied, he went to the senate, and finding the consuls had left their curule chairs, and placed themselves, as a token of their grief, on a common seat, he put them in mind of their dignity and station; and the senate bursting into tears, he smothered his own sorrow to comfort them, which he did in a speech uttered without the least hesitation: he told the fathers, that he was well apprised he might be censured for appearing among them while his grief was yet fresh, when few in the first transports of their sorrow could endure even the comforting speeches of their relations, or behold the day. Though those who thus indulged their grief were not, he said, to be condemned of weakness, yet for his part, he had sought for more powerful comforts, such as arose from pursuing the welfare of the republic. He then lamented the present condition of the imperial family, the extreme age of his mother, the tender years of his grandsons, and his own life in its decline, and begged, that the sons of *Germanicus*, who alone could lessen the present misfortunes, might be introduced. Hereupon the consuls went for them, and bringing in the two youths, *Nero* and *Drusus*, presented them to the emperor, who, taking them by the hand, addressed the senate thus: "Conscript fathers, these fatherless children I commended to their uncle, and besought him, though he had issue of his own, to bring them up, and cherish them no otherwise than if they were immediately descended from him. *Drusus* being snatched from us, I address my prayers to you, and, in the presence of the gods and our country, conjure you to receive into your protection, and take under your tuition, the great grandchildren of *Augustus*, descended from most illustrious ancestors; fulfil your own duty towards them, fulfil mine." Then turning to the youths, "To you, *Nero*, said he, to you, *Drusus*, these are in the stead of a father: your condition is such, that whatever good or evil befalls you, must befall the commonwealth." This discourse was heard with great satisfaction, and drew tears from the eyes of all who were present. Had *Tiberius* stopt here, he had left the hearts of

He causes
Drusus to be
poisoned.

Tiberius
shews no concern for the
illness and
death of his
son.

His speech to
the senate.

He recom-
mends to them
the sons of
Germanicus.

(S) *Tacitus* tells us, that *Tiberius*, in the end of his speech, told the conscript fathers, as he had often done before, that he designed to take a progress into the provinces, alledging the multitude of veterans discharged, and thence the necessity of recruiting the armies. On this occasion he enumerated all the legions then in pay, and named the countries, where they were quartered. As from this detail we may learn what forces the Romans had then on foot, what kings were their confederates, and how far the boundaries of the empire extended, it would be an unpardonable omission not to acquaint our readers with it. In the first place, *Italy* was guarded by two fleets, one at *Misenum* in the *Mediterranean*, the other at *Ravenna* in the *Adriatic* sea and the coast adjoining to *Gaul*, by the galleys taken by *Augustus* at the battle of *Actium*, and sent well manned and equipped to *Forojulium*. As to the legions, there were eight upon the *Rhine* to keep in awe both the *Germans* and *Gauls*, and three in *Spain*. In *Mauritania* reigned king *Juba*, of whom we spoke above, a friend and ally of *Rome*; the rest of *Africa* was kept in subjection by two legions, and *Egypt* by the like number. *Syria*, quite to the banks of the *Euphrates*, was maintained by four legions. *Thrace* was possessed by *Rhemetalses* and the sons of *Cotys*, who were in alliance with *Rome*; on the banks of the *Danube* lay four legions;

two were quartered in *Pannonia*, two in *Mæsia*, and two in *Dalmatia*. The latter two, by the situation of the country, were at hand to support the former, and might be soon in *Italy* upon any sudden emergency; though *Rome* had her peculiar guards, nine prætorian and three city cohorts. Besides, the legions, fleets, and cohorts, which we have enumerated in the several provinces, were stationed, according to their situation and necessity, the fleets of the several allies, with bodies both of horse and foot, no ways inferior either in number or strength to the *Roman* legions. From this vast number of forces kept in constant pay, we may judge of the strength and wealth of the empire at this time. As to the emperor's intended progress, *Suetonius* tells us, that he often declared in the senate his intention of visiting the provinces and armies abroad, and made almost every year the necessary preparations for his journey, ordering carriages to be bought, and provisions to be laid in at a great charge in all the municipal towns and in the colonies; nay, he went so far as to let the people make their solemn vows for his happy journey, and safe return, but in the mean time never stirred out of *Rome*, or went only to the neighbouring towns; whence he was generally nicknamed *Callipedes*, one who, according to the *Greek* proverb, was always running, yet never advancing (10).

(10) *Sust. in Tib. c. 38.*

Honours de-
creed to Dru-
sus.
His obsequies.

His offspring.

Sejanus at-
tempts to de-
stroy Agrip-
pina and her
children.

of the senators full of compassion and admiration. But as he repeated anew what he had often said, and what had been as often ridiculed, *viz.* that he designed to restore the republic, the senators began to suspect the sincerity of his other assertions^k. Before the senate broke up, they decreed the same honours to the memory of *Drusus*, which they had before decreed to that of *Germanicus*, adding many others to them, agreeable to the genius of flattery. The obsequies were performed with the utmost pomp, and the funeral procession distinguished with a long train of images, representing *Aeneas*, the supposed father of the *Julian* family, all the kings of *Alba*, *Romulus* founder of *Rome*, all the heroes of the *Claudian* race, with *Attus Claudius*, the first of that family who came to *Rome*, at the head of them. *Tiberius* himself pronounced the panegyric of his son, the people and senate assuming the outward appearance of mourners, but rejoicing in their hearts to see the house of *Germanicus* nearer the throne. Besides, *Drusus* was generally hated, being cruel (T), passionate, given to drinking, and all manner of debauchery (U). However, he lived in a friendly manner with *Germanicus*, and after his death shewed himself kind, at least not ill disposed, towards his children. He left behind him two sons born at a birth, one of whom did not long survive him, the other named *Tiberius Nero Gemellus*, lived to the reign of *Caius*, by whom he was put to death. *Tiberius*, if we may give credit to *Suetonius*^l, despised them both, as doubting whether they were really the sons of *Drusus*. As soon as the funeral ceremonies were over, *Tiberius* resumed his usual employments, prohibited any farther vacation, and to the ambassadors of the *Ilienses* or *Trojans*, who came somewhat too late with their compliments of condolence, answered by way of raillery, as if the memory of his loss had been quite effaced, that he in his turn condoled with them for having lost so brave and eminent a citizen as *Hector*^m.

Sejanus, when he saw the death of *Drusus* pass unrevenge, encouraged with the success of his first attempt, began to meditate how he might destroy the sons of *Germanicus*, whose succession to the empire was now unquestionable. But as he could not compass his wicked ends by poison, on account of the great vigilance of their mother *Agrippina*, and the distinguished fidelity of their governors, he chose to attack them another way, which was to rouse the old hatred *Livia* bore to *Agrippina*, and by her means raise jealousies and suspicions against her and her children in the mind of the emperor. His wicked counsels had the desired effect; for having by a thousand calumnies and false insinuations rendered *Livia*, who was naturally greedy of power, irreconcilable to the widow of her grandson, he compassed by her means the ruin of that unhappy family, as we shall soon have occasion to relate.

IN

^k Idem, c. 8

^l Suet. in Tib. c. 62.

^m Idem ibid. c. 52.

(T) *Tacitus* and *Dion Cassius* give us several instances of *Drusus's* cruelty. The former writer tells us, that when he first presided at a shew of gladiators exhibited in the name of *Germanicus* and his own, he betrayed such delight in blood, that his father was said to have reprov'd him for it. *Dion Cassius* says, that he often upbraided him with his cruelty both in public and in private, and adds, that from him sharp swords were styled *gladii Drusiani*. The person who exhibited the shew of gladiators used, as *Lipsius* observes, to examine the weapons of the combatants before they entered the lists; on which occasion *Drusus* approved of such only as were exceeding sharp; and thence sharp swords were called *Drusian* swords. This was, no doubt, a great instance of his cruelty, as it was of humanity and good nature in *M. Antoninus*, to approve on the like occasion of such swords only as were blunt, and incapable of occasioning deep wounds. Besides *Drusus*, as *Dion* informs us, was very passionate, and upon the least provocation ready to strike persons of the first quality; whence he was nicknamed *Castor*, whom the ancients suppose to have been a famous boxer.

(U) *Tacitus* tells us, that in relating the death of *Drusus*, he followed the greatest part of the *Latin* historians, and the most credible; but adds, that a strong report prevailed in those times, and was still current in his, as if *Tiberius* himself had,

at the instigation of *Lygdus*, presented the poisonous potion to his son. The eunuch, according to this report, charged *Drusus* with a design of poisoning his father; and privately warning the emperor of this, advised him to beware of the first draught offered him in the next entertainment at his son's house. Upon this, *Tiberius*, fully persuaded of *Drusus's* wicked design, after he had sat down to table, delivered to him the first cup that was presented to him, which the young prince, not in the least suspecting any plot, gayly drank off. This heightened the jealousy of *Tiberius*, who upon the death of his son, which happened soon after, the potion having beforehand been poisoned by *Lygdus*, concluded, that *Drusus* through fear and shame had swallowed that death which he had prepared for his father. This report our historian refutes as void of all appearance of truth. For who can believe, says he, that a man of common prudence, much less *Tiberius*, so long practised in great affairs, would to his own son, without so much as hearing him, present with his own hands the mortal potion? He would, no doubt, have tortured the informer, inquired into the plot, endeavoured to discover the authors of it, and used that caution and slowness towards his only son, hitherto never suspected of any such crime, which was natural to him even in his proceedings against strangers.

In the mean time, *Tiberius*, resuming the care of public affairs, attended the administration of justice at *Rome*, and dispatched the petitions from the provinces. At his motion the cities of *Cityra* in *Asia* and *Ægyra* in *Achaia*, both overthrown by an earthquake, were by a decree of the senate eased of tribute for three years. *Vibius Sere-* *Vibius Sere-*
Serenus, proconsul of the *Farther Spain* or *Bætica*, being accused of governing his pro- *was tried and*
 vince in a violent and arbitrary manner, was condemned and banished into the island of *condemned.*
Amorgos. But *Carfius Sacerdos* and *Caius Gracchus* (W), being charged with supplying *Tacfarinas* with corn, were both acquitted^a. This year at length, after many complaints from the prætors, which had proved ineffectual, *Tiberius*, who had before laid the players under various restraints and curtailed their wages, represented to the senate, that they had on many occasions raised tumults, and disturbed the public tranquillity, that they promoted debauchery in private families, that the obscenities of the *Oscan* farce, the same with the *Atellana*, of which we have spoken in the foregoing volume^b, were grown to such excess, that it required the authority of the senate to check them, &c. Upon these complaints from the emperor, the players were all *Stage-players*
 driven out of *Rome* and *Italy*^c, and forbidden, if we believe *Dion Cassius*^d, to act in *Italy.*
 any place whatsoever of the *Roman* dominions. The same year, died one of *Drusus's* twins, for whose death the emperor was greatly concerned, and no less afflicted for that of *Lucius Longus*, his ancient and constant friend, and the only senator who had attended him in his retreat to *Rhodes*, and shared with him both his good and bad fortune; for which reason, though he was but a new man, the senate decreed him a public funeral, and a statue to be placed in the forum built by *Augustus*. At the same time, *Lucilius Capito*, the emperor's procurator in *Asia*, being accused before *Lucilius Ca-*
 the senate by the province, *Tiberius* protested, that *Lucilius* had no authority from him *pito condemn-*
 but over his slaves, that he had only empowered him to collect his domestic rents, and *ed.*
 therefore, if he had usurped the authority of a prætor, or employed military force, he had therein transgressed his orders. Hereupon the senate, after hearing the allegations of the province, found him guilty and condemned him. The cities of *Asia* were so taken with the moderation *Tiberius* shewed on this occasion, and the severity with which he had proceeded the year before against *Caius Silanus*, accused of cruelty and extortion, that they decreed a temple to him, to his mother, and to the senate, *A temple*
 and obtained leave to build it. For this concession *Nero* returned thanks to the *erected to*
 senate and his grandfather in a speech which charmed the fathers, who imagined they *Tiberius.*
 heard and saw *Germanicus* himself^e. This temple was built at *Smyrna*, and finished three years after, as *Dion Cassius* informs us^f. Towards the end of this year *Servius Maluginensis* dying, his son was appointed *flamen Dialis*, or priest of *Jupiter*, in his room, and *Cornelia* chosen superior of the vestals in the place of *Scantia* likewise deceased. To *Cornelia* a present of two thousand great sesterces was decreed, and a privilege granted to *Livia* of sitting amongst the vestals in the theatre^g, whose place was, as *Suetonius* informs us, over-against the prætor's tribunal^h, no other women, however distinguished, having a peculiar place, but all sitting promiscuously together, apart from the men, pursuant to the regulations of *Augustus*.

THE following year, *Sergius Cornelius Cethegus* and *L. Visellius Varro* being consuls, *Tiberius be-*
 the pontiffs, and after their example the other priests, making vows for the prospe- *trays some dis-*
 rity of the emperor, commended at the same time *Nero* and *Drusus* to the gods; which *affection to*
 greatly provoked *Tiberius*, who sending for the pontiffs, examined them, whether they *Germani-*
 had paid that compliment to the intreaties or menaces of *Agrippina*. The pontiffs de- *cus's children*
 nied both, but nevertheless the emperor rebuked them for putting youths upon the level with a man of his years, and afterwards in a speech to the senate warned the fathers to take care for the future not to feed the pride of the young men with un-
 timely

^a Idem, c. 13. ^b Hist. Universal. Vol. IV. p. 585. ^c TACIT. c. 14. Suet. in Tib.
^d Dio, l. lvii. p. 617. ^e TACIT, c. 15. ^f Dio, l. lvii. p. 607. ^g TACIT.
^h Suet. in Aug. c. 44.

(W) *Caius Gracchus* was son to *Sempronius Gracchus*, who, on account of his amours with *Julia*, had been banished by *Augustus* into the island of *Cercina*, and afterwards assassinated there by *Tiberius's* orders. When he first left *Italy*, he took his son *Caius*, then very young, along with him, as a companion in his exile. *Caius* grew up there among fugitives and men destitute of liberal educa-

tion, and afterwards supported himself by traffic between *Africa* and *Sicily*. But, notwithstanding the low condition to which he was reduced, the splendor of his illustrious family would have occasioned his ruin, had not *Ælius Lamia* and *Lucius Apronius*, successively proconsuls of *Africa*, cleared him from the crime laid to his charge.

Caius Silius
accused.

Prevents his
condemnation
by a voluntary
death.

Calpurnius
Piso tried.

Cassius Seve-
rus confined to
Seriphos.

timely and too early honours. *Sejanus*, ever intent on improving all opportunities of inflaming *Tiberius* against *Agrippina*, laid hold of this to insinuate, that *Rome* was rent into factions, that already some had the boldness to declare themselves openly the partizans of *Agrippina*, and that there was no other remedy against the prevailing spirit of faction, but the cutting off, under other pretences, one or two of the most forward and powerful. Hereupon it was by the deluded emperor thought expedient, that the supposed rising faction should be immediately suppressed, by the utter ruin of all the friends of the house of *Germanicus*. The chief among these were *Caius Silius* and *Titius Sabinus*, and with them it was agreed to begin this general massacre. Other considerations, besides the friendship of *Germanicus*, concurred to ruin *Silius*. He had commanded for seven years a powerful army, and had been distinguished, as we have related above, with the ensigns of triumph for his exploits in *Germany*; he had routed *Sacrovir*, and suppressed the revolt in *Gaul*; but by boasting his services, and publicly vaunting that he had secured the sovereign authority to *Tiberius*, by keeping his soldiers in their obedience, when the other legions in *Germany* revolted, he had incurred the displeasure of the emperor, who, thinking himself incapable of rewarding, as he ought, such important services, was glad of any favourable opportunity to get rid of the person who had rendered them. So that his chief offence was over-much service done to *Tiberius*; thence that refined observation of *Tacitus*, that benefits are so far acceptable, as it seems possible to requite them; but when once they have exceeded all retaliation, hatred is returned for gratitude. His wife too, by name *Sofia Galla*, contributed to his ruin by her friendship and intimacy with *Agrippina*. Both *Tiberius* and *Sejanus* thought it adviseable to have *Silius* and his wife arraigned first, and postpone for some time the trial of *Sabinus*. Accordingly, the senate was summoned, and *Silius* accused by *Varro* (X) the consul of keeping up a correspondence with the authors of the revolt in *Gaul*, and of dishonouring his victory with cruel extortions: the behaviour of his wife, and her avarice were likewise objected to him. *Silius* made no defence, being well apprised it would be to no purpose: he only dropped some words to shew by whose malice he was oppressed. They were both declared guilty of treason, for under that article the whole charge was brought against them. *Silius* prevented his condemnation by a voluntary death; yet his estate was confiscated, contrary to the constant custom of *Augustus*, who bestowed on the children of the condemned the estates of such as died before sentence, whether their death was natural or voluntary. His wife *Sofia* was banished at the motion of *Asinius Gallus*, who proposed, that one half of her effects should be forfeited; and the other left to her children. *Marcus Lepidus* voted the fourth part to the accusers, as the law required, and all the rest to the children. Which of these two opinions prevailed, our historian does not inform us. On this occasion *Cotta Messalinus* moved, that by a decree of the senate, governors of provinces, however innocent in themselves, should be equally punished for the crimes of their wives as for their own. As this decree is mentioned by *Ulpian*, we may suppose that it passed this year, though that writer speaks of it as made four years before. *Calpurnius Piso* was tried next, and charged by *Quintus Granius* with treasonable words privately uttered against the emperor: to this charge the accuser added, that *Piso* kept poison in his house, and came into the senate armed with a dagger. The latter article seemed incredible, and therefore was dropped; but for other crimes, of which he was no less falsely accused, he was put upon his trial, but his condemnation was prevented by a natural death (Y). Then complaints were made of *Cassius Severus* (Z), who, though formerly confined to the island

(X) *Tacitus* tells us, that *Silius*, seeing the consul engaged against him as an accuser, begged the emperor to postpone the trial till the time of his consulship was expired; but that his request was rejected by *Tiberius*, who, cloaking his acts of tyranny under venerable old names, answered, that as other magistrates were allowed to bring particulars upon their trial, the prerogative of a consul in the like case ought not to be infringed, since it was chiefly incumbent upon him to take care, that no damage accrued to the republic.

(Y) *L. Calpurnius Piso* was one of the boldest men at that time in *Rome*, and had threatened, as we have related above, to quit *Rome*, and to retire into some distant corner of the earth, where he might be free

from the merciless pursuits of the informers. *Tiberius* bore this calmly, nay, he even descended to soften him with kind words. Afterwards, the undaunted *Piso*, in defiance of the power of *Livia*, prosecuted her favourite *Urgulania*, and could not be prevailed upon to drop the prosecution, though she had taken sanctuary in the emperor's palace. This also *Tiberius* dissembled; but though he often suppressed his resentment, yet deep impressions remained in his unforgiving soul. *Piso* is now charged with treason, and but for a natural death, which very seasonably intervened, must have been punished as a traitor.

(Z) *Augustus* was the first, as we have observed above, who brought libels under the penalties of the law of majesty or treason. To this he was chiefly induced

island of *Crete* for his petulant and satirical writings, yet continued even in his exile his former practices, defaming the most illustrious persons in *Rome*. He was therefore stripped of his estate, and banished into the hospitable island of *Seriphos*, which we have described elsewhere^u. About this time *Plautius Silvanus* prætor killed his wife *Apronia*, by throwing her headlong out of one of the windows of his apartment. Whereupon, being carried by *Apronius* his father-in-law before the emperor, he pretended, that while he was asleep, his wife had been the occasion of her own death. Upon this answer, *Tiberius*, unmindful of his dignity, hastened to *Silvanus*'s chamber, and finding there evident marks of his violence and his wife's struggling, he made his report to the senate, who immediately appointed judges to try the prætor. In the mean time, his grandmother *Urgulania*, who, as we have observed above, was one of *Livia*'s chief favourites, finding she could not with all her interest save the life of her grandson, sent him, by the advice of *Tiberius*, as was supposed, a dagger, which was tacitly advising him to prevent his impending condemnation by a voluntary death. The criminal had not courage enough to make use of the dagger; but causing his veins to be opened, bled to death. After his death, his former wife *Numantia*, whom he had divorced to marry *Apronia*, was accused of having by charms and potions disordered the understanding of her husband, but was acquitted^w.

Plautius Silvanus prevents his condemnation by a voluntary death.

THIS year at length put an end to the war with *Tacfarinas* the *Numidian*, who was utterly routed and killed by *P. Dolabella*, proconsul of *Africa*, with the assistance of *Ptolemy*, who had succeeded his father *Juba* in the kingdom of *Mauritania*. The proconsul desired the ensigns of triumph for his victory, which had been granted to three others; but *Tiberius* refused him that mark of distinction in compliment to *Sejanus*, that the fame of his uncle *Blesus* might not be thence eclipsed. *Dolabella* on his return to *Rome* brought with him many distinguished captives, among whom was the son of *Tacfarinas*; and was attended by ambassadors from the *Garamantes*, a people of the *Inner Libya*, who, being frightened with the death of *Tacfarinas*, whom they had assisted, thought it adviseable to appease, by an embassy, the resentment of the *Roman* people. To *Ptolemy*, king of *Mauritania*, who had bore great share in this war, was dispatched a senator with an ivory staff and an embroidered robe, presents which the *Roman* people used to send in ancient times to kings, who were their friends and confederates^x. The same year, one *Titus Curtius*, formerly a soldier of the prætorian guards, sowed the seeds of a servile war, inviting by declarations publicly hung up all slaves to resume their liberty. But this tumult was suppressed just as it was breaking out, the leader himself and the most resolute men of his party being surprised and dragged to *Rome*, which was already in great consternation on account of the immense number of domestic slaves^y.

Tacfarinas defeated and killed.

A servile war suppressed in its rise.

DURING the same consulate, *Rome* saw an example of horror and unnatural cruelty, which alone is sufficient to render the reign and memory of *Tiberius* execrable to the latest posterity. *Vibius Serenus*, proconsul of the *Farther Spain*, was condemned, as we have related above, for arbitrary administration, and banished to the island of *Amorgos*. But now that unhappy father is dragged from the place of his exile to a fresh trial, being accused by his son of treasonable practices against the majesty of the emperor. The father appeared before the senate, bound in chains, with a dejected countenance, and in the dismal habit of a criminal, while the son, in the gayest attire, as if he intended to insult nature itself, alledged a plot framed by his father against the emperor, accusing him at the same time of having sent conspirators into *Gaul*, to stir up the people there to rebellion. He likewise charged *Cæcilius Cornutus*, formerly prætor, with having supplied the conspirators with money. *Cornutus*, though innocent, no sooner heard himself accused, than, looking upon his accusation only as

Vibius Serenus accused by his own son.

^u Hist. Univerf. Vol. III. p 277.

^w TACIT. ibid. c. 15—22.

^x Idem, c. 23—27.

^y Idem, c. 27.

induced by the insolence of *Cassius Severus*, who had in his writings wantonly defamed the most illustrious men and women in *Rome*. He was of a mean descent, but an excellent speaker, and had a particular turn for satire. He wrote also a history, which we find quoted by *Suetonius* (11) and *Tertullian* (12). *Seneca* makes honourable mention of him in his controversy (13). *Tacitus* tells us in this place,

that he grew old among the rocks of *Seriphos*; which is agreeable to what we read in *Eusebius*, viz. that *Cassius Severus*, a famous orator, died of want in the twenty-fifth year of his exile, being reduced to such poverty, that he had not wherewithal to cover his nakedness (14). *S. Jerom* supposes him to have died for want of necessaries in the eighth year of his banishment (15).

(13) *Senec. controvers. 3. init.*

(11) *Suet. in Vitell. c. 2.*

(12) *Tertull. in apolog.*

(14) *Euseb. in chron.*

(15) *Hier. in chron.*

The revenge-
ful temper of
Tiberius.

He openly
countenances
the accusers.

Several per-
sons accused.

as a signal of destruction, he laid violent hands on himself. But *Serenus*, turning full upon his son and shaking his chains, begged of the gods with tears in his eyes, that they would restore him to the place of his exile, where he might pass his days far from such objects of horror, and that they would one day take just vengeance of such a cruel and unnatural son. He then urged, that *Cornutus* was innocent, and only frightened with a false accusation; and challenged his son to produce other witnesses and name other confederates, since it was not probable, that with one accomplice only he should have thought of murdering the prince and introducing a change in the government. The accuser then named *Cneius Lentulus* and *Seius Tubero*, both men of the first rank in *Rome* and *Tiberius*'s intimate friends. Besides, *Lentulus* was extremely old, and *Tubero* broken with infirmities; insomuch, that *Tiberius* himself could not help blushing in hearing them named. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that *Lentulus*, finding himself, aged as he was, charged with meditating the murder of the prince and a change of state, broke into a loud laugh; and that the emperor instantly acquitted him, saying, *I do not deserve to live, if I am hated even by Lentulus*. *Tubero* was likewise discharged, but the slaves of the pretended criminal were examined upon the rack, and their testimony proved favourable to their master. Hereupon the populace, provoked at such monstrous and unheard-of proceedings, began to threaten the unnatural son with the punishments inflicted by the laws on parricides; which so terrified him, that he fled privately out of *Rome* and withdrew to *Ravenna*. But *Tiberius*, still remembering some expressions, a little too free, which *Serenus* had used in a letter written to him eight years before (A), and no wise disguising his old hatred, obliged the son to return and pursue the action begun against his father. Nothing could be proved against him; nevertheless the votes being taken, he was sentenced to death as a traitor. And then *Tiberius*, to mitigate the odium accruing to him from such a crying piece of injustice, granted him his life. Hereupon *Asinius Gallus* was for confining him to the island of *Gyarus*, or to that of *Donusa*; this motion was disliked by the emperor, because both these islands were destitute of water, and to whom life is granted, said he, the necessaries of life ought likewise to be granted. *Serenus* was therefore remanded to *Amorgos*^a. The death of *Cornutus*, who had laid violent hands on himself, gave occasion to the following motion in the senate; viz. that when a person charged with treason should put an end to his own life before he was condemned, the accusers should lose their rewards, which were the fourth part of the condemned person's estate. This motion seemed reasonable, and would have been generally approved of, had not *Tiberius*, throwing off his usual disguise and reserve, openly declared himself an advocate for the accusers, saying with great sternness, that by this means the laws would be defeated and the republic overturned; and that they had better disannul the laws themselves, than remove their guardians. Thus these bloody and destructive instruments, says *Tacitus*, never sufficiently curbed by any terrors or punishments, were now allured and encouraged by ample rewards^b. The same year, were accused and convicted *Caius Cominius*, a Roman knight, *Publius Suilius*, formerly quæstor to *Germanicus*, and *Catus Firmius*, a senator. *Cominius* had written a scurrilous poem against the emperor, who nevertheless pardoned him at the intreaties of his brother, who was a senator. *Suilius*, being convicted of taking a bribe in an affair which he was to decide as a judge, was by the senate only condemned to be driven out of *Italy*; but this sentence appearing too mild to the emperor, he caused him to be banished into an island, after having declared upon oath, that he consulted therein the welfare of the republic. This severity, which was then sharply censured, turned afterwards to the emperor's praise: for *Suilius*, returning to *Rome* in the reign of *Claudius*, proved an abandoned mercenary and one of the most mischievous ministers of that weak prince; a proof this, of *Tiberius*'s deep penetration and thorough knowledge of mankind, a knowledge in which he has been equalled by few, and excelled by none. *Catus Firmius* was likewise by the sentence of the senate to be expelled *Italy* for forging crimes of treason against his sister. But as he had been instrumental in procuring the destruction of *Libo Drusus*, by first maliciously seducing

^a DIO, I. lviii. p. 630, 631.

^b TACIT. c. 28—30.

^c Idem, c. 30, 31.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that after the condemnation of *Libo Drusus*, *Serenus* had by letters upbraided the emperor for not rewarding the singular zeal with which he had signalized himself in that trial, using expressions more free than the tender ears of a prince, naturally proud and jealous of his prerogative, could bear. Our historian, in his account of that famous trial, which he seems to have described pretty minutely, does not mention *Serenus* among the informers, though he acted, as appears from this passage, a chief part on that occasion.

seducing him, and afterwards informing against him, as we have related above. *Tiberius*, mindful of this service, but pretending other motives, saved him from banishment, but did not oppose his being expelled the senate.

Tacitus begins the following year, when *Cossius Cornelius Lentulus* and *M. Asinius Cremutius Agrippa* were consuls, with an account of the arraignment and noble defence of *Cremutius Cordus*, a celebrated historian, who was accused of having praised *Brutus* in the annals he had published, and styled *Cassius the last of the Romans*, which was the elogium bestowed upon him by *Brutus* himself. His accusers were *Satrius Secundus* and *Pinarius Natta*, both creatures of *Sejanus*; which he looking upon as a signal of his destruction; and besides observing great sternness and indignation in the countenance of *Tiberius*, he cast away all hopes of life, spoke in his own defence with the spirit and in the style of a true Roman (B), and then, withdrawing from the senate, starved himself to death. The fathers condemned his books to be burnt by the ædiles; but they were still privately dispersed and read, both in *Tiberius's* time and many ages after: whence our historian takes occasion to deride the stupidity of those, who imagine they can by their present power conceal the transactions of their times from future ages; whereas it happens quite otherwise; for the punishment of writers gains credit to their writings, and kings reap no other fruit from it, than infamy to themselves and glory to those whom they thus persecute. But time has done what the emperor could not effect with all his authority; only some few fragments of *Cremutius Cordus's* history have been transmitted to us by *Seneca*, the rest having been long since lost. For this whole year accusations were pursued with such warmth, that even during the festival of the *Feria Latina*, while *Drusus*, probably

c Idem, c. 31.
Chr. Alex. p. 492.

d TACIT. c. 34. DIO, l. lvii. p. 619. SENEC. ad Marc. c. 22. CASSIOD.
e Vide SENEC. in suaf. de mort. Cic.

(B) "As to facts, conscript fathers, said he, I am so free from guilt, that words only are produced against me. But neither were my words uttered against the prince or his father, who are the only persons comprised under the law of treason. I am charged with having praised *Brutus* and *Cassius*, men whose exploits many have displayed, and all in honourable terms. *Titus Livius*, one of our most famous writers both for eloquence and veracity, bestowed such high encomiums upon *Pompey* that *Augustus* styled him a *Pompeian*; nor did this in the least prejudice their friendship. He no-where calls *Scipio Africanus*, nor even this *Cassius*, this *Brutus*, thieves and parricides, as they are now-a-days commonly termed, but often mentions them as worthy and famous men. The writings of *Asinius Pollio* have conveyed down to us the memory of the same men under honourable characters. *Messala Corvinus* was proud of having had *Cassius* for his general; and for all this both these writers flourished both in wealth and honours under *Augustus*. *M. Cicero* extolled *Cato* to the skies; and nevertheless *Cæsar* the dictator contented himself with answering it in the same style, as if he had been before his judges. The letters of *Marc Antony*, the speeches of *Brutus*, are full of reproaches against *Augustus*, false indeed and groundless, but urged with great bitterness. The poems of *Bibaculus* and *Catullus*, though stuffed with satirical and virulent reflections upon the *Cæsars*, are still read. The deified *Julius*, the deified *Augustus*, bore these injuries, and winked at them, whether with greater moderation or wisdom, I cannot easily say. For things of that nature, if neglected, are but short-lived; whereas they argue, when resented, a guilty conscience. I forbear mentioning the Greeks, among whom, not only the freedom, but even the licentiousness, of speech is unpunished; or if any correction is returned, it is only by revenging words with words. It has been ever allowed, and at no time thought matter of reproach, to

pass our judgment upon those whom death hath exempted from hatred and favour. Do I with seditious harangues inflame the people to civil wars, or exhort them to join *Cassius* and *Brutus*, now in arms and masters of the fields of *Philippi*? *Brutus* and *Cassius*, now above seventy years slain, are still known in their statues, which even the conqueror did not destroy: why then may not an historian preserve their memories in his writings? Impartial posterity does every one justice; and if my death is determined, there will not be wanting some, who will not only maintain the memory of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, but mine too." Notwithstanding this noble defence, the historian, not doubting, but he would have been condemned by the servile senate, returned home and ended his life by abstinence. What *Cordus* says here of the statues of *Cassius* and *Brutus* is confirmed by other writers, namely by *Plutarch* who tells us, that *Augustus* took care, that all the honours which had been paid to the two heads of the republican party in their life-time, should be preserved inviolable to them after their death, and relates to this purpose the following story: As *Augustus* was passing thro' the city of *Mediolanum* in *Cisalpine Gaul*, he observed a statue of *Brutus*, which was of excellent workmanship, and strongly resembled the original. Upon this he halted, and, in the presence of many who attended him, called the magistrates before him, and told them, that their town had broken the league and honoured one of his enemies. At first the magistrates denied the fact, and, not knowing what he drove at, dared upon one another, as men under an inexpressible surprise. Then *Augustus*, pointing to the statue, asked them with a frown, Is not that my enemy, whom you have received into the very heart of your city? At these words the magistrates, still more astonished, were struck dumb. Whereupon *Augustus* smiling commended them for their constancy to their friends, though in adversity; and left orders, that the statue should remain standing as he found it (16).

The inhabi-
tants of Cyzi-
cum deprived
of their liber-
ties.

bably the son of *Germanicus*, who had been appointed governor of *Rome*, was ascend-
ing the tribunal to take possession of his new employment, *Calpurnius Salvianus* accosted
him with a charge against *Sextus Marius*, which *Tiberius* highly resented, publicly
rebuking the informer, who was thereupon immediately banished by the senate.
The inhabitants of *Cyzicum* were this year accused of neglecting the worship of the
deified *Augustus*, which they had established in their city, and of committing vio-
lences upon some *Roman* citizens (B). They were therefore deprived of their liberty,
which had been formerly granted them by the *Roman* people, in consideration of their
gallant behaviour during the *Mithridatic* war^f, as we have related elsewhere. *Fon-*
teius Capito, formerly proconsul of *Asia*, was accused at the same time, but acquitted,
it plainly appearing, that the crimes, laid to his charge by *Vibius Serenus*, were forged.
And yet *Serenus* escaped unpunished; nay the public hatred he had incurred, by falsely
arraigning persons of the greatest distinction, rendered him the more secure: for, as
our historian observes, the more mischievous an accuser was, the safer he was, those
only of the tribe being surrendered to punishment, who were incapable of doing great
mischiefs.

Tiberius's
wise reasoning
against admit-
ting divine
honours.

ABOUT this time, ambassadors arrived in *Rome* from the *Farther Spain*, to beg leave
of the senate to erect a temple, after the example of *Asia*, to *Tiberius* and his mother.
When they were introduced to the senate, the emperor laid hold of that occasion to
confute those who had taxed him with ambition, for having allowed the *Asiatics* to pay
him divine honours, and spoke in the following manner: "I know, conscript fathers,
that I am generally blamed, and taxed with inconstancy, for not opposing the cities of
Asia, when they petitioned for this very thing. I shall therefore now acquaint you with
the motives of my former silence, and at the same time with the rules I propose to
follow for the future. As the deified *Augustus* did not oppose the founding of a tem-
ple at *Pergamus* to himself and the city of *Rome* (C), I, with whom all his actions
and sayings have the force of laws, followed a precedent already approved the more
willingly, because to the worship bestowed upon me was annexed that of the se-
nate. But as the accepting of that honour in one instance deserves pardon, so to
be adored in every province, under the sacred representations of the deities, favours
of pride and ambition: besides, the rendering common, and in a manner prosti-
tuting, this honour would be detracting from the glory of *Augustus*. For myself,
conscript

^f TACIT. c. 36. SUET. in Tib. c. 37. DIO, l. lvii. p. 619.

^g TACIT. ibid.

(B) The *Cyzicans* had begun to build a temple in honour of *Augustus*, but neglected to finish it, and besides had committed violences upon some *Roman* citizens (17). Of the latter fault they had been guilty also in the reign of *Augustus*, who thereupon deprived them of their liberties, which, however, he restored to them soon after (18). In the *Mithridatic* war they sustained a siege, as we have related in our history of *Pontus*, with incredible bravery, and repulsed the king. But now, without any regard to their former services, they are stript of those privileges, which they had purchased by a most gallant behaviour and at the expence of their blood (19). We do not find, that their liberties were ever after restored to them; whence we conclude, that *Strabo* was either dead, or had put the last hand to his work before this year, the eleventh of *Tiberius's* reign, since he writes, that in his time the city of *Cyzicum* was free (20).

(C) Though in *Augustus's* time temples were built even in honour of the proconsuls and governors of provinces, yet that prince, as *Suetonius* informs us, would suffer no temples to be erected to him alone, but jointly to him and the city of *Rome*. Thus the temple mentioned here by *Tiberius* was built at *Pergamus* by the communities of *Asia*, and consecrated to *Rome* and *Augustus*. The representation of this temple is to be seen on several coins which have reached our times, with this legend;

Com. Asiae. Rom. et. Aug. that is, *The communities of Asia to Rome and Augustus* (21). The *Smyrneans* first erected a temple to *Rome* in the year of the city 558 (22): their example was followed about twenty four years after by the inhabitants of *Alabanda*, a city of *Caria* (23). In process of time, a temple was erected in the city itself to *Rome* and *Venus*. Of this temple *Prudentius* speaks in the following lines:

colitur nam sanguine & ipsa
More deæ, nomenque loci ceu numen habetur:
Æque urbis Venerisque pari se culmine tollunt
Templa, simul geminis adolentur thura deabus.

The same poet addresses elsewhere *Rome* as a goddess, thus:

Exaudi, regina tui pulcherrima mundi,
Inter sydereos Roma recepta polos.

Claudian places this temple on mount *Palatine*:

Conveniunt ad testæ deæ, quæ candida lucent
Monte Palatino, &c.

Says that poet, speaking of the temple consecrated to *Rome* (24),

(17) Suet. in Tib. c. 37.

(18) Dio, l. liv.

(19) Tacit. c. 36, Dio, l. lvii. p. 619.

(20) Strab. l. xii.

(21) Vide Dion, l. li. ad annum 735.

(22) Tacit. c. 56.

(23) Liv.

xlvi.

(24) Claudian. de laud. Stilic. l. ii.

“ conscript fathers, I acknowledge to you, and would have posterity to know, that
 “ I am a mortal man, and subject, like others, to the common functions of nature.
 “ It is enough for me to hold the chief place among you, and posterity will suffi-
 “ ciently honour my memory, if they believe me to have been worthy of my an-
 “ cestors, careful of your affairs, unmoved in dangers, fearless of private hatred for
 “ the public welfare. These are the temples which I would raise in your breasts,
 “ these the best and most lasting images. As for temples and statues of stone, if
 “ those who are worshipped in them come to be condemned by the judgment of
 “ posterity, they are despised as their sepulchres. I therefore here implore our allies
 “ and citizens, all the gods and goddesses, beseeching the latter to grant me, to the
 “ end of my life, a mind undisturbed and a thorough knowledge of the laws human
 “ and divine, and the former to celebrate my actions, whenever my dissolution comes,
 “ with a kind remembrance.” Thus spoke *Tiberius*; but his reasoning, however
 judicious and wise, was variously construed, some ascribing his thus rejecting divine
 honours to modesty, others to diffidence, and many to a meanness of spirit unbe-
 coming a prince. But whatever was his motive, he thenceforth continued to slight
 upon all occasions, and even in private conversation, divine honours ⁸.

AND now *Sejanus*, intoxicated with his excessive power, and besides egged on by *Sejanus asks*
 the importunity of *Livia*, the widow of *Drusus*, who was continually reminding him *young Livia in*
 of his promise, presented a memorial to the emperor, begging, that if a husband *marriage.*
 were sought for *Livia*, he would remember his friend, to whom he had already given
 innumerable instances of his affection and benevolence. He added, that *Augustus*, in
 the disposal of his daughter, had not been without thoughts of some *Roman* knight;
 that he had nothing in view but the glory of such an affinity and the safety of his
 children, since their alliance with the imperial family would sufficiently screen them
 against the wrath and malice of *Agrippina*; for himself, he said, he cared to live no
 longer, than he could be serviceable to so gracious and benevolent a prince. *Tiberius* *Tiberius's*
 for a present answer commended the fidelity of *Sejanus*, cursorily recapitulated his own *answer to*
 favours towards him, and demanded time to examine his request with more maturity. *him.*
 At length he returned this answer: “ That princes were not, like other men, guided
 “ in their pursuits by the notions of conveniency, but were in their actions chiefly to
 “ consider the applause and approbation of the public; and therefore, that he
 “ would not put *Sejanus* off with this obvious and plausible answer, that *Livia* could
 “ herself determine whether she would marry again or no, or that she had a mother
 “ and grandmother, with whom, as nearer relations, she might advise; but would
 “ deal more candidly with him: And in the first place, as to the enmity of *Agrip-*
 “ *pina*, it would become more outrageous, if by the marriage of *Livia* the house
 “ of the *Cæsars* were rent, as it were, into two opposite parties; that even as things
 “ stood, great emulation reigned among the women, which occasioned a mutual
 “ misunderstanding in his grandsons. What would be the consequence, if by such
 “ a marriage the contest and disagreement were heightened? For you are deceived,
 “ *Sejanus*, said he, if you think to continue then in the same rank you are now in.
 “ Can you imagine, that *Livia*, who was first married to *Caius Cæsar*, and after-
 “ wards to *Drusus*, will be satisfied to grow old with a person only of the equestrian
 “ rank? If I should suffer you after your marriage to remain in the same station,
 “ do you think, that those would suffer it, who have seen her brother, her father, and
 “ her ancestors, shining in the first dignities? You propose continuing in your
 “ present rank; but those very magistrates and great men, who in all affairs affect
 “ to consult you, openly complain, that you are already lifted up above the rank
 “ of a knight, that you surpass in power all my father's friends, and therefore out
 “ of hatred to you censure me. *Augustus*, you say, had some thoughts of giving
 “ his daughter in marriage to a *Roman* knight. What wonder, if distracted with
 “ innumerable cares, and well apprised to what a great height he raised the person
 “ whom he distinguished with that match, he talked of *Proculeius* (D) and some
 “ others

⁸ Idem, c. 37, 38.

(D) *Caius Proculeius* was brother to *Varro Mu-*
ræna, who conspired against *Augustus*. Their sister
 was married to *Mecænas* (25). His two brothers,

Scipio and *Muræna*, having lost their estates in the
 civil wars, he reserved only one-third of his estate
 for himself, and gave the rest to them, for which
 generosity

(25) *Dis*, l.

“ others of the same rank, remarkable for the retiredness of their lives, and no
 “ ways engaged in affairs of state? But if we are moved by the hesitation of *Augustus*,
 “ how much more ought we to be influenced by the resolution he took in the end of
 “ giving his daughter first to *Agrippa*, and afterwards to me? These considerations
 “ I have out of friendship suggested to you; however, I will not oppose your incli-
 “ nations, or those of *Livia*. What I am now meditating with myself in your
 “ favour, by what ties I am contriving to bind you to me, I will forbear at present
 “ to relate. Thus much only I will say, that there is nothing so high, but your
 “ abilities and zeal for me may justly claim. These my sentiments, I will, on a
 “ proper occasion, declare, either in the senate, or the assembly of the people”.

Sejanus urges
the emperor to
leave Rome,
and his views
in this.

Sejanus was alarmed at this answer, as being well acquainted with the emperor's ob-
 scure and distrustful temper: laying therefore aside all thoughts of marrying *Livia*, he
 earnestly intreated him not to give ear to the slanderous reports of his enemies, nor
 hearken to the malicious insinuations of such as hated him, only on account of his un-
 shaken fidelity. The more he reflected on *Tiberius*'s answer, the more apprehensive
 he grew of giving him any umbrage. He was chiefly at a loss how to comport himself
 with respect to the crouds of persons of all ranks, who daily frequented his house to
 court his favour. To refuse them admittance would be impairing his power, and
 the encouraging of them might, as he justly apprehended, furnish a handle for criminal
 accusations. In this perplexity he came at length to the following resolution, viz. to
 urge the emperor to leave *Rome*, and retire to some pleasant place remote from the
 noise and hurry of the city. From this counsel he promised himself great advan-
 tages; there could be no access to the prince, but by him; all letters and expresses,
 as they were conveyed, according to the custom which then obtained, by soldiers,
 who were at his devotion, would pass through his hands; the emperor, declining in
 age, and growing slothful and effeminate through the solitude of the place, would
 more easily transfer upon him the whole charge of the empire; finally, he himself
 should be removed from the crouds of such as to make their court attended him at
Rome, which would stop one source of envy. He therefore began by little and little
 to rail at the hurry of business at *Rome*, cunningly insinuating to *Tiberius* the great
 and enormous inconveniencies of the city, the constant trouble of attending the senate,
 the discontented and seditious temper of the people, highly extolling at the same
 time a quiet and solitary retirement, a life without anguish of mind, free from envy
 and ill-will, and therefore more fit to dispatch important and weighty matters. A
 trial, which happened about this time, gave no small weight to the cunning insinu-
 ations of *Sejanus*. One *Votienus Montanus* (E), a man of great wit, was charged
 with contumelious speeches against the emperor. *Æmilius* the witness, a rough and
 unthinking soldier, to make good his evidence, repeated word for word what he had
 heard. The fathers endeavoured with their clamours to stop his mouth; but to no
 purpose, *Æmilius* obstinately persisting in the odious detail, and rehearsing with a
 loud voice all the reproaches he had ever heard uttered against the prince, who was
 so affected with them, that he could not forbear crying out, that he would instantly
 clear himself, either in their presence, or before an assembly of the people: *Votie-
 nus* was condemned, and, according to *Eusebius* h, confined to the *Baleares* islands.
 At the same time, was condemned to banishment *Aquila*, a woman of distinction,
 for adultery, and *Apidius Merula* expelled the senate for not having sworn upon the
 acts of *Augustus* i. Next were heard ambassadors from the *Lacedæmonians* and *Messe-
 nians* about the right each people claimed to a temple of *Diana*, which the senate,
 after hearing the parties, adjudged to the latter k. The citizens likewise of *Segestum*
 in *Sicily* sent deputies to *Rome*, begging, that the temple of *Venus Erycina*, fallen
 through age, might be rebuilt. This charge *Tiberius* readily took upon himself,
 because the *Segestani* were supposed to be likewise descended from the *Trojans*. Then
 a petition was heard from the inhabitants of *Marseilles*, claiming the estate of one *Vol-
 catius*

Votienus
Montanus ac-
cused and con-
demned.

Embassadors
from the Lacedæ-
monians
and Messe-
nians.

h EUSEB. in chron.

i TACIT. C. 41. 42.

k Idem, c. 43.

generosity he is deservedly celebrated by *Horace* in
 the following lines:

*Vivet extento Proculeius ævo
 Notus in fratres animi paterni.*

(E) *Votienus Montanus* is commended by *Seneca*
 as an orator of great fame (26), and by *Ovid* as a
 poet of no mean character:

*Quique vel imparibus numeris, Montane, vel equi
 Sufficis, Et gemino carmine nomen habes.*

(26) *Senec. l. v. controvers. 7.*

^a *catius Moschus*, who, being banished from *Rome* and by them admitted a citizen, had left to their republic, as to his country, his whole fortune. Their claim was approved, and the estate of *Moschus* surrendered to them. This year died three ^{The deaths of some illustrious} Romans of great distinction, viz. *Cneius Lentulus*, *Lucius Domitius*, and *Lucius Antonius*. *Lentulus* had been consul, and rewarded for his victories over the *Getuli* with the ensigns of triumph: he had long borne private poverty with great patience, and afterwards with equal modesty enjoyed great wealth virtuously acquired. *Domitius* was the son of *Lucius Domitius*, who, being condemned by the *Pedian* law as privy to the murder of *Julius Cæsar*, though he was no ways accessory to it, betook himself to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who were his kinsmen, and continued with them till their death; ^b after which he retained the command of the fleet, which they had given him long before, and considerably augmented it in spite of all his disasters. At length, when the republican party was irrecoverably ruined, he surrendered the fleet under his command to *Marc Antony*, and was the only person, condemned by the *Pedian* law, who was allowed to return to his native country, where he was advanced to the highest honours. Upon the breaking out of the civil war between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, the former appointed him his lieutenant; but he not approving of *Antony's* conduct, and some offering to confer the supreme command upon him, he retired to *Augustus*, and died a few days after ¹. His son, mentioned here by *Tacitus*, led a *Roman* army, beyond the *Elb*, and advanced farther into *Germany* than any had done before him; whence he was honoured with the ensigns of triumph. He married *Antonia* the younger, or, as *Suetonius* has it, the elder ^m, and had by her *Cneius Domitius*, the father of the emperor *Nero*. *Lucius Antonius*, who likewise died at this time, was the son of *Julius Antonius*, whom *Augustus* put to death on account of his criminal conversation with *Julia*. Upon the death of the father the emperor removed the son, then a child, to *Marseilles*, where, under pretence of pursuing his studies, he was long kept in an honourable exile. However, as he was the grandson of *Octavia*, *Augustus's* sister by his mother *Marcella*, he was honoured with a public funeral, and his bones were, by a decree of the senate, repositied in the tomb of the *Octavian* family ⁿ. During the administration of the same consuls, *Lucius Piso*, governor of the *Hither* ^{Lucius Piso governor of} *Spain*, as he travelled through the province unguarded, was attacked unawares by a ^{Hither Spain} peasant, and dispatched with one blow. The assassin, by the fleetness of his horse, ^{killed by a peasant.} escaped to a neighbouring forest, and there quitted him. But the horse being taken, the owner was soon discovered, seized, and put to the rack, which he bore with incredible constancy and resolution, declaring in the language of his country, that his accomplices might safely stand by; for no torture or pain, however exquisite, should extort from him a discovery. The next day, as they were dragging him again to the rack, he broke from his keepers, and dashed his head with such violence against a stone, that he immediately expired ^o.

THE following year, *Lentulus Getulicus*, the son of *Cneius Lentulus* mentioned above, and *Caius Calvisius Sabinus* being consuls, *Poppæus Sabinus* was honoured with the ensigns of triumph for his successful exploits against the wild *Thracians*, who had taken arms, and endeavoured to drive the *Romans* out of their country, on account of their raising recruits amongst them and conveying their stoutest youth out of the country. They were, after a most vigorous resistance, utterly defeated by *Sabinus*, and forced to submit. This year, discord began to reign in the imperial family, which we shall see end at last in the destruction of *Agrippina*. *Claudia Pulchra*, her cousin, being accused by *Domitius Afer* of adultery with one *Furnius*, and likewise of employing magical charms and preparing poison for the emperor, she flew to *Tiberius*; and finding him by chance sacrificing to *Augustus*, as she was, notwithstanding her great virtue, of a violent temper, she took occasion from the sacrifice he was offering to upbraid him, and tell him, that it ill became the same man to offer victims to the deified *Augustus*, and prosecute his posterity; that his divine spirit was not transfused into dumb statues and images; that the genuine images of *Augustus* were his descendants, of whom she herself was one, in great distress and in the state of a suppliant. She added, that other crimes were in vain alledged against *Pulchra*, when the only cause of her intended ruin was, that she had unadvisedly loved *Agrippina*, even to adoration, not remembering the fate of *Sofia*, whose condemnation and misfortunes were owing to the same crime, the like unseasonable affection. These bitter words highly

Poppæus Sabinus defeats the Thracians

Agrippina's just reproach upon Tiberius.

¹ *Suet.* in *Ner.* c. 3.

^m *Idem* *ibid.* c. 5.

^a *TACIT.* c. 44.

^o *Idem*, c. 45, 46.

She desires a
second husband

She is deceived
by the secret
agents of Se-
janus,

highly provoked *Tiberius*; but nevertheless, as he had a perfect command of his temper, he only rebuked her, by telling her in a *Greek* verse, which he quoted out of an ancient tragedy, *If you do not reign, you think yourself injured*; and then dismissed her, without vouchsafing her any further answer. *Pulchra* and *Furnius*, notwithstanding the solicitations and remonstrances of *Agrippina*, were both condemned. Some time after, *Agrippina* falling sick, the emperor went to pay her a visit, when she, after many tears and long silence, at length intreated him to give her a husband, in whom she and the children of *Germanicus* might find a faithful protector against the malicious designs of their enemies. But *Tiberius*, well apprised to what a height of power in the state the person would be raised, who married the grand-daughter of *Augustus*, and, on the other hand, not caring openly to withstand so reasonable a request, lest it should betray jealousy or fear in him, instantly left her, though very pressing with him, without returning her any answer. This behaviour was highly resented by *Agrippina*, and *Sejanus*, to inflame her still more, and by that means hasten her ruin, employed his secret agents to warn her, under colour of friendship, that poison was prepared for her, and that she ought to avoid eating at her father-in-law's table. As *Agrippina* was a stranger to all dissimulation, she followed their advice; and though she sat near the emperor, touched no part of the meat; which *Tiberius* observing, to be the better convinced of her suspicions, after having praised the apples that stood before him, presented some of them to her with his own hand. This only increased the suspicion of *Agrippina*, who, without so much as offering to taste them, delivered them to the waiters. However, *Tiberius*, always dark and reserved, spoke not a word openly; but turning to his mother, *No wonder*, said he, *that I should use severity with her, since she charges me with a design of poisoning her*. Hence a rumour was immediately spread abroad, that her ruin was resolved upon; but that the emperor, not daring to attempt it openly, had chose to dispatch her by some secret means. *Tiberius*, to suppress that report, by diverting the public talk upon other topics, attended the senate with great assiduity, and gave audience to several ambassadors from *Asia*, contending in what city the temple lately decreed to *Tiberius*, should be built. For this honour eleven cities strove; but when the votes of the senators were collected, the pretensions of *Smyrna* were preferred (F). It was also moved by *Vibius Marsus*, that *Lentulus*, to whom had fallen the province of *Asia*, should have a legate extraordinary appointed to supervise the building of the temple. The motion was approved, and *Lentulus* impowered to chuse whom he pleased; but he through

(F) For this honour eleven cities strove with equal ambition, urging their antiquity and distinguished zeal for the *Roman* people, during their several wars with *Perses*, *Aristonicus*, and other kings. But the *Hypæpenians*, *Trallians*, *Laodiceans*, and *Magnesian*, were dismissed at once as not sufficient for the charge. The *Ilienses* or *Trojans* represented, that *Troy* was the mother of *Rome*; but had no advantage above the rest, besides the glory of antiquity. The *Halicanassians* urged, that for twelve hundred years their city had not been shaken by earthquakes, and promised to lay the foundations of the temple on a solid rock. The same plea was brought by the inhabitants of *Pergamus*; but as a temple was already erected in their city to *Augustus*, that distinction was judged sufficient for them. The cities of *Ephesus* and *Miletus* were thought already sufficiently taken up with the ceremonies of their peculiar deities, the former with those of *Diana*, the latter with those of *Apollo*. Thus the dispute was confined to *Sardes* and *Smyrna*. The former urged their antiquity, power and opulence; they recited a decree of the *Hetrurians*, acknowledging them for kinsmen. For they pretended to derive their original from *Atys*, the son of *Hercules* by *Omphale*, who, as we have related in the history of *Lydia*, is supposed to have had two sons, *Lydus*, and *Tyrrhenus*; the former remained in his native country, which from him was called *Lydia*, and the latter settled in *Hetruria*, where his followers were from him named *Tyrrhenian*. They likewise enlarged on the opulence

of the ancient *Lydians*; on the colonies sent under *Pelops* into *Greece*, which from him took the name of *Peloponnesus*; their league with *Rome* during the war with *Macedon*, &c. The account they give here of their original does not intirely agree with what we read of it in *Dionysius* of *Halicanassus* and *Velleius Paterculus* (27). The *Smyrneans* likewise displayed the glory of their antiquity and founders, of whom we have spoken at length in our history of *Asia*; but insisted chiefly on their early friendship with *Rome*, and kindly offices to the *Roman* people, whom they assisted, not only in their foreign wars, but in those which were waged in the very bowels of *Italy*. They desired the fathers to remember, that they had, before any other people whatsoever, erected a temple to *Rome*, when the power of the *Roman* people was indeed great, but not yet raised to its greatest height, since *Carthage* was still standing, and *Asia* governed by mighty kings: they laid great stress on their generosity to *Sylla*, the miserable condition of whose army, ready to perish in a severe winter for want of cloaths, was no sooner related to the citizens of *Smyrna*, at that time by chance assembled, than they all stript themselves of their own garments, and sent them to the naked legions. This signal instance of their great fidelity and sincere attachment to the *Roman* people made so deep an impression upon the whole assembly, that the honour, for which so many cities contended, was by a great majority conferred upon them (28).

(27) Vide *Dion. Halicar. l. i. & Vell. Patercul. l. i.*

(28) *Tacit. c. 55, 56.*

through modesty declining to name one, *Valerius Nafō* was drawn by lot from among those who had been prætors ^P.

THIS year at length, the twelfth of his reign, *Tiberius* put in execution the design, *Tiberius a-* which he had long meditated and from time to time deferred, of leaving *Rome*. At ^{bandons} *Rome*. his departure he gave out, that he was going into *Campania* only to dedicate a temple ^{Year after the} to *Jupiter* at *Capua*, and one at *Nola* to *Augustus*; but in truth determined never to ^{flood 3025.} return to *Rome*. Most historians, who wrote before *Tacitus*, ascribe this his resolu- ^{Of Christ 26.} tion to the artful insinuations of *Sejanus*; but, as he continued in his retirement six ^{Of Rome 774} years after the disgrace and execution of *Sejanus*, that writer thinks he was influenced by some other more powerful motive, namely, that of concealing in the darkness of a retired and solitary place his natural inclination to cruelty, lewdness, and debauchery (G). Some believed, that in his old age he was ashamed of the figure of his person; for he was very thin, tall, and stooped; his head was bald, his face full of ulcers, and for the most part besmeared with ointments (H). During his retirement at *Rhodes*, he used to avoid, as much as he could, appearing in public, and to conceal his debaucheries in the recess of a solitary life; whence many concluded, that he had been prevailed upon, not so much by the plausible persuasions of *Sejanus*, as by his own natural inclinations, to retire from the city. Some gave out, that he was driven from *Rome* by the restless and insupportable ambition of his mother, whom on one hand he scorned to admit as a partner in the sovereignty, but on the other could not intirely exclude, since the sovereignty itself was her gift (I). Whatever ^{What prompt-} was his motive, though he removed to several places, he never returned once to the ^{ed him to re-} city ^{tire.}

^P Idem, c. 53---57.

(G) As to his debauchery, *Suetonius* tells us, that in his youth he was much given to drinking, that instead of *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, he was nicknamed *Biberius Caldius Mero*. Afterwards being raised to the sovereign power, continues the same writer, at the very time he was reforming the manners of the people, he spent one night and two days in carousing with *Pomponius Flaccus* and *L. Piso*, to one of whom he gave immediately the province of *Syria*, and to the other the government of *Rome*, styling them in his letters, *jucundissimos & omnium horarum amicos*. Being invited to supper by *Sextius Gallus*, an old debauchee, who had been noted with infamy by *Augustus* and severely reprimanded by himself in the senate, he accepted the invitation, upon condition, that he altered nothing of his old way, and that they were served at table by naked virgins. He preferred a man of a mean extraction, who stood for the quæstorship, to several competitors of great distinction, for no other reason, but because he had drank with him an incredible quantity of wine at one meal. He presented *Asellius Sabinus* with two hundred thousand sesterces for a dialogue he wrote between the mushroom, the beccafico, or fig-pecker, the oyster, and the thrush, which were all his favourite dishes (29). As to his lewdness, excesses so detestably infamous are related of him by the same writer, that they seem almost incredible. We shall not defile our history with the infamous detail he gives us of them, but only relate one instance out of the many which that author produces. He tells us, that a very scandalous picture, done by the famous *Parrhasius*, and representing *Atalanta* and *Meleager*, being left to the emperor as a legacy, upon condition, that if he liked not that piece, he should have a million of sesterces paid him immediately in its stead, he not only preferred it to the said sum, but caused it to be hung up in his room (30).

(H) *Suetonius* describes his person thus: he was, says he, of a strong well-set body, somewhat exceeding the common size; broad in the breast and shoulders, in the rest of his limbs from head to foot well proportioned. He used for the most part his left hand, in the joints of which he had such strength,

that he could run his fingers through a green apple, however sound, and stun a man with a fillip. His complexion was fair; his hair long behind, so as to cover his neck, which was peculiar to the *Claudian* family. His countenance was graceful, though covered with small pimples: he had large eyes, and could see in the dark, but only for a short time, and when he first awaked. He stooped, especially when he walked, and shewed always a great deal of severity in his stern looks. He was slow of speech, and in private conversation was continually moving his fingers, in a manner which no ways became him. All these imperfections, says the same writer, and indications of arrogance *Augustus* observed in him, and frequently endeavoured to excuse to the senate and people, representing to them, that they were defects in nature, but no imperfections in his mind. He was very healthy, and scarce ever out of order the whole time he was emperor, though from the thirtieth year of his age he lived as he pleased, without hearkening to his physicians (31).

(I) *Livia* having pressed him very earnestly, as we read in *Suetonius*, to advance a person, whom he had admitted citizen of *Rome*, into the number of the decuries, he absolutely refused to do it, unless she would allow it to be inserted in the register; *That it was extorted from him by his mother*. This *Livia* took greatly amiss, and immediately produced certain letters which *Augustus* had formerly written to her, complaining of his stubborn temper and the intolerable perverseness of his manners, and caused them to be publicly read. This inspired him with such an aversion to the empress, who had so long preserved, and so maliciously produced, these letters, that being no longer able to bear the sight of her, he was thought by some to have withdrawn from *Rome*, that he might have no farther intercourse or communication with her (32). *Tacitus* makes no mention of these letters, but only says, that *Livia*, who knew he was indebted to her alone for the empire, since she had prevailed upon *Augustus* to adopt, contrary to his inclination, *Tiberius*, and exclude *Germanicus*, imperiously reclaimed the power which she had procured him.

(29) *Suet. ibid. c. 42.*

(30) *Idem ibid.*

(31) *Idem ibid. c. 68.*

(32) *Idem ibid. c. 51.*

Sejanus ex-
poses his person
for Tiberius.

He brings
Nero into dis-
grace with
Tiberius.

city during the remaining part of his reign. He departed with a small attendance, having with him but one senator, *Cocceius Nerva*, formerly consul, and well versed in the knowledge of the laws, one Roman knight, besides *Sejanus*, by name *Curtius Atticus* (K), and some men of letters, chiefly *Greeks*, with whose conversation he was pleased and amused. *Suetonius* tells us, he left orders, that during his absence no one should come near him, and that on his journey he declined all communication. Upon his departure the astrologers gave out, that he left *Rome* under such a conjunction of the planets, that he would never return thither, and that his end was at hand. That he was never to return to *Rome* proved true; but the conjectures, published by the astrologers concerning his death, ought to have convinced the world of the fallshood of that art, since it proved fatal to its professors, of whom many were for their predictions either put to death, or involved in endless calamities, which with all their knowledge of the stars they had not foreseen; whereas *Tiberius* lived eleven years after his retreat. However, their conjectures touching his death were very near being fulfilled soon after his departure; for as he was supping in a cave of one of his villas, called thence *Spelunca* (B), its mouth fell suddenly in, and buried under it some of his attendants; which so frightened the rest, that, abandoning the emperor, they all fled, except *Sejanus*, who covering the emperor's body with his own, and, stooping upon his knees and hands, received all the stones that fell from the roof; so that *Tiberius* escaped quite unhurt. From this time the emperor, looking upon him as one quite regardless of his own safety and only solicitous about his, reposed an intire confidence in him, blindly following all his counsels, however bloody and destructive. This confidence the wicked minister abused to the destruction of the family of *Germanicus*, which alone could thwart his ambitious designs. He attacked first *Nero*, *Germanicus's* eldest son, and consequently next in succession, suborning persons to misrepresent all his actions to *Tiberius*. *Nero* was a young prince no ways ambitious, but unmindful of that circumspection which his present situation required. He was also misled and ill-advised by his freed-men and followers, who, desirous of having the power in their own hands, were continually animating him to exert the courage and resolution becoming a person in his station; that both the people and soldiery longed to see him share the government with his grandfather; and that as to *Sejanus*, he would not dare to oppose him, though he now equally insulted the tameness of an old man and the sloth of a youth. As the young prince gave ear to such suggestions, some unguarded expressions escaped, which were immediately caught up by the spies placed upon him, and with aggravations carried to the emperor, who would not so much as allow him the privilege of clearing himself. He was even betrayed by his wife *Julia*, the daughter of *Drusus* and *Livia*, who acquainted her mother and

^a TACIT. c. 57, 58.

^r SUET. *ibid.* c. 40.

^s TACIT. *ibid.*

(K) *Curtius Atticus* was in high favour with *Tiberius*, which was the cause of his ruin, *Sejanus*, who was jealous of his power, having by false insinuations brought him into disgrace. To him *Ovid* inscribed two elegies, viz. the fourth and seventh of his second book *de Ponto*.

(B) *Seneca* tells us, that the *Romans*, generally speaking, chose to build their country seats near some cave, to which they frequently resorted, especially in the summer. He gives us a very particular description of two grottos or caves adjoining to the country seat of *Vatia*. The cave spoken of here lay, according to our historian, between the *Amyclean* sea and the mountains of *Fundi*, or, as it is now called, *Fondi*, that is, between *Caieta* and *Tarracina*; for between these two places stood *Amyclæ*, which gave its name to the neighbouring sea. *Pliny* (33) and *Solinus* (34) tell us, that the territory of *Amyclæ* was so infested with serpents and vipers, that the inhabitants were obliged to abandon their dwellings and settle elsewhere. *Amyclæ* is mentioned by *Virgil*:

————— *ditissimus agri*
Qui fuit Ausonidum, & tacitis regnavit Amyclis,

(33) *Plin. l. iii. c. 5.*
l. viii. v. 529.

(34) *Sol. de Italia, c. 2.*
(37) *Sol. in ibid.*

says that poet (35). He gives the epithet of *tacitus*, *silent*, to *Amyclæ*, either because it was built by the *Lacedæmonians*, who, as they followed the doctrine of *Pythagoras*, always inculcating silence, were thence called *taciti*, or because of a law which obtained in this place, forbidding under severe penalties any one to mention the approach of an enemy. These are the conjectures of *Servius* in his comments upon this place. He adds, that before this law was made the city was daily alarmed by false reports, as if the enemy had been already at the gates, from which terrors and uneasiness the above-mentioned law indeed delivered them; but in the end it proved their ruin; for no one venturing to transgress it, even when the enemy appeared unexpectedly under the walls, the city was taken and destroyed. To this *Silius* alluded in the following words.

-----*quasque evertere silentia, Amyclæ* (36):

and *Lucilius*, as quoted by *Servius*, *I must speak*, for by silence the city of *Amyclæ* was destroyed. *Amyclæ* was built by a colony from another city of the same name in *Laconia* (37).

(35) *Virg. Æneid. 10. v. 564.*

(36) *Sil.*

a by her means *Sejanus*, not only with the words, but even with the sighs and dreams, of her husband. His brother *Drusus* was likewise drawn into the combination, with the hopes of immediately succeeding *Tiberius*, if his elder brother, already in disgrace, were effectually set aside (C). The emperor, thus prejudiced against him, even by his nearest relations and those who were thought to be his best friends, always received him with a stern countenance; if the youth spoke, there were crimes in his words; and crimes in his silence, if he spoke nothing. *Sejanus*, having by these base arts set *Tiberius* against *Nero*, began to consult with his creatures how he might inflame him at the same time against *Drusus* and *Agrippina*, that the whole family of *Germanicus* might be involved in the same ruins. We shall soon see what steps he took towards the compassing of that design. In the end of this year, died *Asinius Agrippa*, descended of a family renowned rather than ancient (D), himself not unworthy of his ancestors; and *Quintus Haterius* of a senatorial family, and famous for eloquence while he lived, though the orations he left behind him were not much esteemed, the harmony of his voice, as our historian observes, which charmed the ears of his hearers, dying with him (E). This year *Pontius Pilate* was appointed by *Tiberius* governor of *Judæa* in the room of *Valerius Gratus*. How he behaved during his ten years administration, appears from *Philo*, and from what we have said in our history of the Jews^x.

Consults how to destroy the whole family of Germanicus.

THE following year, *M. Licinius Crassus* and *Lucius Calpurnius Piso* being consuls, *Atilius*, one of the race of freedmen, having built an amphitheatre at *Fidenæ*, in order to exhibit in it a shew of gladiators, vast crouds flocked thither from *Rome*, eager for such shews, as during the reign of *Tiberius* they were debarred from diversions at home. But, as the spectators were intent upon the gladiators, the amphitheatre, which was but slightly built and overcharged with the multitude, fell down, and with its fall destroyed or maimed fifty thousand persons. *Suetonius* says, that twenty thousand souls perished by this sad stroke. On this occasion the great men of *Rome* threw open their doors to receive such as had been hurt, supplied them with medicines, and took all possible care of them till they recovered. Thus, to the great satisfaction of the city, was revived at this juncture the public spirit of the ancient Romans, who after great battles constantly relieved the wounded, sustained them by their bounties, and restored them with care. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Tiberius*, upon the news of this dreadful calamity, immediately left *Capreæ*, passed over to the continent, and allowed persons of all ranks to come to him; but according to *Tacitus* he had not yet withdrawn to that island, but was either at *Capua* or *Nola*. *Atilius*, who had built the amphitheatre only for gain, and therefore employed bad materials and unskilful workmen, was banished; and it was provided for the future, by a decree of the senate, that no man, who was not worth four hundred thousand sesterces, should exhibit the shew of gladiators^a. The public affliction from this terrible blow was yet fresh, when another supervened. A fire breaking out on mount *Cælius* burnt with such rage and violence, that it utterly consumed all the houses in that quarter of the city. On this occasion *Tiberius* gave proofs of a generosity truly worthy of a great prince. For at his own expence he made good the loss of every sufferer, seeking out, of his own accord, the unknown, and, without any ambitious views, without the application of friends, relieving them by his bounty. For this the senate returned him thanks, and decreed, that mount *Cælius* should for the future be styled *Mount Augustus*, since the statue of *Tiberius*, which stood there in the house of

Fifty thousand persons destroyed or maimed by the fall of an amphitheatre.

Mons Cælius consumed by fire.

Tiberius's generosity on that occasion.

Junius

^f TACIT. c. 60. ^t Idem, c. 61. ^u JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. ^w PHILO, legat. ad Caium.
^x Hist. Univerf. Vol. IV. p. 372. ^y TACIT. c. 62. ^z SUET. ibid. c. 40. ^a TACIT. c. 63.

(C) *Drusus* was prompted to combine against his brother, not only by a passion for power, and by the usual and too common competition among brothers, but also by the partiality of *Agrippina*, who was fond of *Nero*, and shewed no great affection for him (38).

(D) *Asinius Agrippa* was the son of *Asinius Gallus*, of whom we have spoke above, and grandson of the famous *Asinius Pollio*, one of *Augustus*'s chief favourites, by whom he was raised to great honours,

though the *Asinian* family had made no figure till his time; and hence *Tacitus* says, that *Asinius Agrippa* was of ancestors more illustrious than ancient.

(E) *Quintus Haterius* is mentioned also by *Seneca*, who names him among the orators more applauded for their delivery than their compositions. *Eusebius* calls him a ready and popular orator, and adds, that he lived in great honours, and died in the ninetieth year of his age (39).

Junius the senator was spared by the flames, though every thing round it was consumed (F).

As the universal zeal of the great men in *Rome* and the generous bounty of the prince administered great relief in the present misfortunes, so the fury and rage of the informers, which grew daily more dreadful, involved without alleviation the most illustrious citizens in endless calamities. *Quintilius Varus*, a man of great wealth and related to the emperor (G), was accused by *Domitius Afer*, the same who had arraigned his mother *Claudia Pulchra*. The informer had, it seems, squandered away what he had earned by procuring the condemnation of *Claudia*; and therefore in hopes of a more ample reward had marked out and doomed to destruction *Varus*, one of the most wealthy men in *Rome*. The city was surprised to see *Publius Dolabella*, a man of an illustrious family and nearly related to *Varus*, join a person of such an infamous character as *Afer*, against his kinsman. The senate was so shocked with it, that they refused to hear the charge, and voted, that the trial should be postponed till the return of the emperor^b.

Informers become more dreadful.

Tiberius retires to Caprea.

In the mean time, *Tiberius*, having dedicated the temples in *Campania*, though he had by an edict warned the public not to disturb him, and posted soldiers on all the roads to prevent the concourse of people to the towns where he resided, nevertheless hating all towns and every place on the continent, retired at length to *Caprea*, an island separated from the cape of *Surrentum* by a channel of three miles. The air is mild there in the winter, the cold winds being intercepted by a mountain, and refreshed in the summer by gales from the west. The sea, open all round it, makes a delightful view: from thence was seen then one of the most beautiful coasts in the world; but which was afterwards greatly damaged by the eruptions of mount *Vesuvius*. The island was surrounded on all sides with inaccessible rocks, and a profound and almost bottomless sea, which was void of havens, and had but few stations for the smaller vessels, and those very difficult of access; so that none could put in unperceived by the guards (H); and this, as is commonly believed, was what chiefly took *Tiberius*, who confined himself to twelve stately villas on the island, some of which were probably built by *Augustus*, who, liking the solitude and mild air of the place, purchased it, according to *Dion Cassius*^c, of the *Neapolitans*. There *Tiberius* spent the last ten years of his life, giving himself intirely up to the most infamous lewdness and debaucheries, which for us shall be buried in oblivion, who think the detail *Suetonius* has published of them equally scandalous and unworthy of an historian. In that dark recess he threw off all concern for the commonwealth, though he had been to that time very assiduous in the administration of justice, and wholly intent upon public cares. But nevertheless he retained his old inclination to suspicions, and gave more credit than ever to informers, *Sejanus* inflaming his jealousies and fomenting his distrusts for the private views of his ambition. Secret spies and informers were employed in all parts of the city, which caused daily disturbances and the ruin of many worthy citizens. If a person of merit testified any zeal for the glory of the empire, *Tiberius* immediately suspected it was from a secret design of gaining it. If another had an innocent remembrance of liberty, he was looked upon as a dangerous person, and one who aimed at re-establishing the commonwealth. To praise any of the ancient *Romans* was a capital crime; to bewail *Augustus* was complaining of *Tiberius*, &c. Every action became liable to forced interpretations; the most innocent discourses expressed

Gives himself there up to all manner of wickedness.

The effects of his suspicions.

^b Idem, c. 66.

^c Dio, l. lii. p. 495.

(F) *Suetonius* disagreeing, as he often does, with *Tacitus*, tells us, that *Tiberius* exerted on this occasion his generosity, and made good to the sufferers all the losses they had sustained; but that he did it with so much affectation of his own liberality, that he caused mount *Cælius* to be called thenceforth mount *Augustus*, with a view of perpetuating the memory of his liberality. *Tiberius* was, as evidently appears from innumerable instances, an utter enemy to all flattery, pomp, and ostentation, which inclines us to prefer the authority of *Tacitus* to that of *Suetonius*.

(G) *Quintilius Varus* was probably son to the commander of that name, who was with the *Roman*

legions cut off in *Germany* in the manner we have related above. He married one of *Germanicus's* daughters, as we read in *Seneca* (40). Besides, he was the son of *Claudia Pulchra*, whom *Tacitus* calls *Agrippina's* cousin, and by that means too related to the reigning family.

(H) *Suetonius* tells us, that a few days after his arrival in the island of *Caprea*, a fisherman brought him a mullet of an extraordinary size; but that the emperor, instead of rewarding him, caused him to be used most barbarously, being frightened with the consideration, that he had made his way to him through places which he thought unfrequented and inaccessible. (41).

(40) *Senec. l. i. controvers. 3.*

(41) *Suet. ibid. c. 60.*

a expressed evil designs ; a discreet silence concealed mischievous intentions ; joy betrayed hopes of the prince's death, melancholly envy of his prosperity, and fear the just apprehensions of a guilty conscience. So that to speak, to be silent, to be glad, to be grieved, to be fearful, or assured, were all crimes, and frequently punished with death. But *Sejanus's* pernicious practices and wicked devices were chiefly levelled against *Agrippina* and her son *Nero*. As there was now no access to *Tiberius*, but by him, he made no longer his attempts upon them a secret, but openly placed guards about them to observe the messages they sent, the visits and company they received, their behaviour in public, their private conversation, &c. Besides, he suborned some of their friends, to advise them, as they were thus distressed, either to fly to the armies b in *Germany*, or, embracing the statue of *Augustus* in the forum, to implore the aid and protection of the senate and *Roman* people. These counsels, though rejected by them, were laid to their charge, as if they had intended to put them in execution d.

THE following year, when *Appius Junius Silanus* and *P. Silius Nerva* were consuls, began tragically. *Titius Sabinus*, an illustrious *Roman* knight, was hurried to prison, Titius Sabinus how circumvented. for no other crime but his steady and faithful adherence to the family of *Germanicus*, being circumvented by the blackest treachery. One *Latinius Latiaris*, having insinuated himself into his friendship with a design to betray him, first bewailed the case of *Agrippina* and her son *Nero* ; and then, as *Sabinus* burst into tears, inveighed bitterly against *Sejanus's* pride and cruelty, not sparing the emperor himself. *Sabinus*, c not aware of the snare, approved all he said ; and being softened with compassion for the misfortunes of the unhappy family of his friend *Germanicus*, he added many, but severe, reflections of his own upon the cruelty of *Tiberius*, and imperious conduct of his favourite minister. And now the traitor, wanting only witnesses to compass the ruin of one who reposed in him an intire confidence, placed three senators, who had combined with him against *Sabinus*, between the roof of his room and the cieling, a place no less unbecoming men of their rank, than the treachery, which made them thus degrade themselves, was execrable. The senators, *Porcius Cato*, *Petilius Rufus*, and *Marcus Opius*, who, having been all prætors, aspired at the consulship, to which d there was no access but by *Sejanus*, and his favour was to be purchased only by iniquity, having thrust themselves into the above-mentioned lurking-place, *Latiaris* went abroad to find out *Sabinus*, whom he easily drew home and into his chamber, under pretence of relating to him some late discoveries. Then he began his former complaints, speaking mighty things of *Germanicus*, and exclaiming against the cruelties of *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*. *Sabinus*, not suspecting the least treachery, readily joined him, and, resuming his former detail of the calamities they had already undergone, and were likely to undergo, inveighed with great bitterness against the authors of them, *Sejanus* and *Tiberius*. This was enough ; the three senators, who had been listening the whole time with their ears close to holes and chinks, dispatched forthwith a memorial to the emperor, acquainting him with what had passed, though they e could not well do it, without discovering to him at the same time their own detestable infamy. *Tiberius* immediately wrote to the senate, and after having charged in his letter *Sabinus* with treason, required the conscript fathers in plain terms to take vengeance of a traitor, who had aimed at his life. Hereupon the supposed criminal was immediately sentenced to death, and the same day, the first of the new year, which was a great festival among the *Romans*, executed, without being allowed time to make his defence (I). The city was never seized with greater dread ; one relation He is condemned and feared executed.

d Idem, c. 67.

(I) *Sabinus*, says *Tacitus*, was dragged away to immediate death, with his head muffled in his robe and a rope about his neck : but nevertheless, exerting his voice as far as he could, he cried out, *With these solemnities the year begins ; these are the victims which Sejanus offers ;* for on the first day of the new year victims were slain in all the temples. Such a dismal sight occasioned universal terror, flight, and solitude. where-ever the unhappy victim appeared, the people, to avoid betraying any marks of grief or compassion, fled, and withdrew in the utmost consternation ; so that all along, as he passed, the streets were empty, and the public places deserted. Some, however, who had fled, returned, and shewed

themselves again, dreading, that their having discovered dread might prove fatal to them. The law, which had been enacted a few years before, granting to every condemned person ten days respite, was, it seems, neglected on this occasion ; for *Tacitus* tells us, that the unfortunate *Sabinus* was immediately after condemnation hurried away and executed without being imprisoned. The fidelity of *Sabinus's* dog made his death be more spoken of ; for he constantly kept close to him, followed his body while it was dragged through the streets, and threw himself after it into the *Tiber*, where he perished (42). *Pliny* relates this story at length, and assures us, that it was preserved in the public registers of the city (43).

(42) *Dio*, l. lvi. p. 621.

(43) *Plin*, l. viii. c. 40.

His accusers
meet their just
doom.

feared another ; a general distrust reigned among men of all ranks ; strangers and acquaintance were equally avoided ; nay, even dumb and inanimate things, roofs and walls, occasioned dread and circumspection. The emperor no sooner heard of the execution of *Sabinus*, than he wrote to the senate, thanking them for having punished an enemy to the commonwealth. He added in his letter, that he led a life full of fear and anxiety, and that he was under continual apprehensions of the snares of his enemies : though he named none, yet it was no ways doubted but he meant *Agrippina* and *Nero*, against whom he was constantly incensed by *Sejanus* and his creatures. Just vengeance soon overtook the authors and contrivers of such a black piece of treachery ; for some of them perished miserably under the emperor *Caius*, and some under *Tiberius* himself, who, though he would not suffer the ministers of his tyranny to be crushed by others, yet, surfeited with their infamy, he often sacrificed them himself to the public vengeance, to make room for new ones, who were daily offering the same vile services ^e.

The Frisians
revolt and de-
feat L. A-
pronius.

WHEN *Tiberius*'s letter was read in the senate, *Asinius Gallus* moved, that the prince should be desired to explain his fears, and suffer the senate to remove the cause of them. This the emperor highly resented, thinking that *Asinius* was apprised of his dissimulation ; but, however, smothered his wrath for the present, *Sejanus* striving to appease him, not out of any kindness to *Gallus*, but because he knew the more his anger was restrained, the more tragical it would prove at last. This year the *Frisians*, no longer able to bear with the tyranny of the *Romans* sent to govern them, shook off the yoke, and defeated *L. Apronius*, who was dispatched against them with a considerable force (K). But *Tiberius* chose rather to dissemble the loss the empire had sustained, than trust any able general with the command of the army. The senate indeed met on this occasion ; but, instead of deliberating about an affair of such importance, they only decreed statues to *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*, being no ways affected with the losses sustained on the extremities of the empire, but wholly intent on securing themselves, by the most shameful flattery, against the evils that threatened them at home. They importuned both the prince and his favourite with repeated solicitations, that they would be pleased only to shew themselves in *Rome*. But to no purpose ; they could not by any intreaties be prevailed upon to approach the city, thinking it sufficient condescension to

Tiberius re-
turns for a
few days to
the continent.

quit

^e Idem, c. 68—70. DIO, l. lviii. p. 621.

(K) The *Frisians*, says *Tacitus*, rebelled, rather provoked at the avarice of their governors, than impatient of the *Roman* yoke. *Drusus* laid a tribute upon them suited to their poverty, obliging them only to furnish certain hides for the uses of the soldiers, without insisting upon any particular size or thickness. But *Olemmius*, whom *Tiberius* appointed to govern them, having procured the large hides of some wild bulls, insisted upon their paying the tribute according to that measure. As their domestic cattle were but small, this proved a very hard task upon them : at length, not being able to pay yearly the required tribute, they parted with their herds, next resigned their lands, and lastly surrendered their wives and children to bondage. Their miseries and complaints made no impression on their hard-hearted governor, which so provoked them, that in the end they resolved to seek relief from war. Accordingly, they fell unexpectedly upon the soldiers, who were gathering the tribute, and hanged them on gibbets. *Olemmius* had the good luck to make his escape to a neighbouring castle, which was defended by a numerous garison both of *Romans* and auxiliaries. *Lucius Apronius*, governor of *Lower Germany*, upon the first intelligence of this disturbance, drew together some companies of the legions, and a chosen body of auxiliaries both horse and foot, which he carried down the *Rhine*, and made a descent on the country of the *Frisians*. The enemy, who had invested *Olemmius* in his castle, no sooner heard of the arrival of *Apronius*, than they raised the siege, and marched with all their forces to meet him. *Apronius*, seeing them approach

in order of battle, ordered his auxiliaries, supported by some legionary horse, to charge them. The *Frisians* not only stood their ground, but repulsed first the auxiliaries, and afterwards five cohorts, sent successively to their relief. Hereupon *Apronius* ordered the whole cavalry of the legions to advance ; but that body being put into disorder by those who fled, before they could charge the enemy, *Cethegus Labeo*, legate of the fifth legion, was ordered to fall upon the *Frisians* at the head of the rest of the auxiliaries. He was attended with no better success ; for his men, being soon put into disorder, would have given ground, had not the whole army, and first of all the fifth legion, hastened to their relief. Then the *Frisians* retired in good order, the *Roman* general not thinking it adviseable to pursue them : nay, he did not deem it safe to remain on the field of battle, till he had buried the dead, tho' many officers of distinction were slain. Besides those who fell on the side of the *Romans* in the engagement, a body of nine hundred men, who had separated from the rest, were all cut off, after having defended themselves the whole night in a grove called *Badubenna*. Another band of four hundred men, having possessed themselves of a country-seat of a petty prince, named *Cruptorix*, once a tributary to *Rome*, and fearing they should be delivered up to the enemy, chose rather to fall by the hands of one another. This disgrace *Tiberius* dissembled, not daring to trust any experienced commander with the conduct of the war. So that the *Frisians* enjoyed their ancient liberties unmolested till the succeeding reign (44).

(44) *Tacit. annal. l. iv. c. 72, 73.*

a quit their island for a few days, and suffer themselves to be seen on the coast of *Campania*. Thither crowded senators, knights, and great part of the people, all eager to be seen by *Sejanus*, who was more difficult of access than the emperor himself, and admitted such only as were either his creatures, or by his creatures recommended to him. His thus seeing the greatest men of the empire crouching, with the meanness of slaves, before him, heightened his arrogance; nay, persons of the first rank were not ashamed to cringe to his slaves, to court the favour of his porters, and bear their insults with incredible patience. Many, after having continued several days and nights in the open fields, in hopes of being admitted at last to his presence, were in the end ordered to depart without the satisfaction of seeing him. These returned trembling, and seized with dread and terror; whereas such as he had daigned to receive were filled with joy, not knowing how fatal his friendship would soon prove to them. As for *Tiberius*, having here betrothed *Agrippina*, his grand-daughter by *Germanicus*, to *Cneius Domitius* (L), and ordered the nuptials to be celebrated at *Rome*, he quitted the continent and returned to his island^f. This year died *Julia*, grand-daughter to *Augustus*, by whom, after her marriage with *Æmilius Paulus*, she had been on account of her loose and scandalous behaviour banished to the island of *Trimetus*, where she died after twenty years of exile.

Sejanus's arrogance.

THE following year, *L. Rubellius Geminus* and *Caius Fusius Geminus* (M) being consuls, died *Livia*, the mother of *Tiberius*, commonly styled in the ancient inscriptions *Julia Augusta*, because adopted by *Augustus* in his last will into the *Julian* family. We have already spoken of her descent and marriage with *Augustus*, by whom she had no issue; but by the marriage of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, her blood came to be mixed with that of *Augustus* in their great grandchildren. She had an absolute sway over *Augustus*, which she acquired and maintained, says *Dion Cassius*, by a ready acquiescence to his will, without ever betraying the least desire to know what he concealed from her, or any jealousy or dissatisfaction on account of his intrigues with other women. In her were united the wisdom of her husband and the dissimulation of her son. She was so passionate for the grandeur of her children, that she was not without good grounds suspected of having purchased it with the destruction of her husband's family. For she was charged with the death of *Marcellus*, of *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsars*, of *Agrippa Posthumus*, nay, and of *Augustus* himself, which she was supposed by some to have hastened. She was an irreconcilable enemy to *Julia* the daughter of *Augustus*, and never ceased persecuting her whole offspring. She challenged an equal share with her son in the power which she had procured him. This *Tiberius* was not of a temper to bear; and hence the misunderstanding between them, which gave occasion to the satirical verses, we have related above. He frequently warned her not to meddle with state affairs, which he said were above the sphere of a woman. He avoided her conversation, especially in private, as much as he decently could, lest he should seem to be governed by her counsels. Being informed, that on occasion of a fire she had run immediately among the people, encouraging both them and the soldiers to stop the rage of the flames, as she used to do in the time of *Augustus*, he reprimanded

The death and character of Livia.

Tiberius's ingratitude to her.

^f TACIT. c. 71—75.

^g DIO, l. lvii. p. 619.

(L) *Cn. Domitius* was descended of a very ancient family, and besides was nearly related to the *Cæsars*: for he was the son of *L. Domitius*, of whom we have spoken above, and *Antonia Major*, the daughter of *Octavia* and *Marc Antony*; so that *Augustus* was his great uncle. By *Agrippina* he had the emperor *Nero*, and was, as *Suetonius* observe, worthy to be the father of such a prince, being in every part of his life detestable. In his youth he attended *Caius Cæsar* into the *Levant*, and there slew one of his freedmen, for no other reason, but because he refused to drink as much as he commanded him. On his return to *Rome* he drove his chariot over a boy on purpose, and trod him to death: in the midst of the forum he pulled out the eve of a *Roman* knight, for reprehending him with more than ordinary liberty. While he was prætor, he defrauded the victors in the chariot races of their prizes. About the latter end of *Tiberius's* reign he was accused of treason, of adultery, and

incest with his sister *Lepida*; but *Tiberius* dying, he escaped the punishment due to his crimes. He died under the emperor *Caius* of a dropsy, leaving behind him *Nero* by *Agrippina*. We are told, that being congratulated by his friends upon the birth of his son *Nero*, he answered, that nothing could proceed from *Agrippina* and him, but what was detestable, and would prove pernicious to the commonwealth (45).

(M) The consulate of the two *Gemini* is famous in the ecclesiastical history, many of the ancient christian writers having held, that our Saviour was crucified during their administration, which opinion is now followed by very few. *Aulus Plautius*, famous for his wars in *Britain* under *Claudius*, and *L. Nonius Asprenas* were substituted to the two *Gemini* the fifteenth day of *July*, as we gather from *Gruter's* inscriptions (46), and cardinal *Noris's* *epistola consularis*, printed at *Bologna* in 1682 (47).

(45) *Suct. in Ner. c. 5. & 6.*

(46) *Grut. inscript. p. 1087.*

(47) *Nor. ep. con. p. 10.*

manded her with some acrimony^b. We are told, that by degrees he arrived at such a height of iniquity, as to hate and detest herⁱ. At least it is certain, that during the three years she lived after his retirement, he never saw her but once, and then for a very short time. In her last malady, he never came near her, though he constantly gave out that he designed to pay his last offices to her; insomuch, that her body was kept in continual expectation of his arrival, till it began to putrify, and could be no longer borne. Afterwards he excused himself by a letter to the senate, pleading the multitude of public affairs. He would not suffer any divine honours to be paid to her memory, pretending her express command to the contrary. Nay, in his letter to the senate, he reflected on those who courted the friendship of women, alluding to the consul *Fufius*, who was a great favourite of the sex, in high esteem with *Livia*, but hated by *Tiberius*, whom, as he was a man of wit, he used to play upon with biting sarcasms^k. We are told, that he prosecuted all her friends, above all, those to whom she had committed the care of her funeral; that of the many honours decreed her, he admitted but very few, and that he suppressed her last will, which was not executed till after his death under his successor *Caius*, who caused divine worship to be appointed her^l. She died, according to *Pliny*^m, in the eighty-second, according to *Dion Cassius*, in the eighty-sixth, year of her age.

He becomes
more cruel af-
ter her death.

THOUGH *Tiberius* allowed his mother no great power, nevertheless, as he was indebted to her for the empire, he avoided openly opposing her; so that by her means many innocent persons were saved from ruin, *Sejanus* not daring to arrogate an authority superior to that of a parent. But after her death, both the prince and his favourite, being let loose from all restraint, set no bounds to their unbridled fury. Letters were immediately dispatched to the senate against *Agrippina* and *Nero*, which were thought to have been written before, and suppressed by *Livia*. They were couched in terms remarkably bitter, and yet they charged *Nero* with no crimes against the state, but only with unnatural lust and other impure pleasures. *Agrippina's* known virtue screened her from any imputations of this nature; her haughty looks therefore, and her violent, imperious, and ungovernable temper, were alledged against her. These letters, when read in the senate, struck the whole assembly with terror. The fathers continued long silent, looking with surprise at one another, till at length, some, desirous of currying favour with *Sejanus* and *Tiberius*, demanded that they should proceed upon the emperor's letters. The magistrates and leading men were at a loss how to behave on so nice and critical a subject; for though the expressions in the letter were very bitter, yet all the rest was left ambiguous. At length they concurred with *Junius Rusticus*, whom they thought well acquainted with the emperor's intentions, since by him he had been appointed to keep a journal of their proceedings. *Rusticus* had never before shewn the least instance of generosity, but nevertheless either by some secret impulse, or because unmindful of present dangers, he dreaded less *Tiberius* than the children of *Agrippina*, he opposed *Cotta Messalinus's* cruel motion, and exhorted the consuls to suspend their deliberations, and allow the old man time to change his wrath into repentance, since one moment might give a new turn to affairs. At the same time, the people, carrying with them the images of *Agrippina* and *Nero*, surrounded the senate-house, and, wishing happiness and prosperity to *Tiberius*, cried out incessantly, that the letters were counterfeit, and that the ruin of the prince's family was pursued against his will, and without his privity. Nothing was therefore concluded that day. In the mean time, several speeches were dispersed about the city, said to have been uttered in the senate against *Sejanus* by the consuls; but all feigned, and filled with most bitter and satirical reflections, as the authors of them were not known. This fired *Sejanus*, who immediately wrote to the senate, upbraiding them in the sharpest terms with despising the resentments of the prince, with listening to popular and disaffected harangues, with passing new and unprecedented acts, &c. He concluded, that nothing wanted to complete their rebellion, but to take arms, and place at their head those, whose images they had already chosen for their ensigns. *Tiberius* likewise wrote a second letter to the senate, repeating his reproaches against his grandson and daughter-in-law, and complaining of *Rusticus*, the senate, and the people, for insulting his authority, and making no account of his resentment; but at the same time he reserved to himself the final decision of the whole affair. The senate hesitated no longer, but instantly declared, that they were ready

Writes to the
senate against
Agrippina
and *Nero*.

Sejanus's let-
ter to the
senate.

^b Suet. *ibid.* c. 50. ⁱ Idem, c. 51. Dio, l. lvii. p. 603. ^k Tacit. *annal.* l. v. c. 1. ^l Suet. *ibid.* & Lips. in Tacit. *annal.* 5. not. 5. ^m Plin. l. xiv. c. 16. ⁿ Dio, l. lviii. p. 621.

to inflict the deserved punishments on such as had by their crimes provoked his displeasure, provided he would allow them on so just an occasion to exert their authority^a. We are sorry we cannot give such an account as the reader may expect of the further proceedings of the emperor and the senate against the unhappy *Agrippina* and her children, being destitute in this place of our faithful guide *Tacitus*, in whose excellent history begins here a chasm for almost three years, by which we have lost the detail of the most material transactions of *Tiberius*'s reign, namely of the condemnation and banishment of *Agrippina* and her two children, *Nero* and *Drusus*, of the disgrace and execution of *Sejanus*, of the further wickedness and death of *Livilla*, the widow of *Drusus* and daughter-in-law to *Tiberius*, &c. In short, time has robbed us of the flower, we may say, of *Tacitus*'s incomparable annals; so that we must, for the transactions of this year and the two following, recur to other writers, and be satisfied with their accounts, however imperfect. As for *Agrippina*, she was condemned and banished to the island of *Pandataria*, now known by the name of *Santa Maria*, over-against *Tarracina* and *Gaeta*. We are told, that, as she could not forbear reproaching *Tiberius* with cruelty, and bitterly inveighing against him, the centurion, to whose custody she was committed, gave her so many blows on the face, that he struck out one of her eyes^p. *Nero* her eldest son, was likewise condemned and banished to the island of *Pontia*, now *Ponza*, near that of *Pandataria*; and *Drusus*, her second son, by the same vile arts of *Sejanus*, declared an enemy to the state, and kept under close confinement in the lower part of the palace. *Nero* died soon after in the place of his exile, some say for want of necessaries, while others tell us, that the young prince, frightened at the sight of the executioner, who entered his room with the instruments of death in his hand, as if he had been sent by the senate, chose to put an end to his life by voluntary abstinence^q. *Agrippina* and *Drusus* lived four years in exile, that is, to the year of *Christ* 33, when we shall have occasion to speak of their tragical end. *Cn. Lentulus Getulicus* was this year appointed commander of the legions in *Upper Germany*, in which employment he was continued for the space of ten years^r.

THE next consuls were *L. Cassius Longinus* and *M. Vinicius* (N). This year the senate decreed many extraordinary honours to *Sejanus*; among the rest, it was ordained, that his birth day should be yearly celebrated; that his statues, which were set up in every quarter of the city, should be adored; that vows and sacrifices should be offered for his safety, &c. In short, he became, after the disgrace and condemnation of *Agrippina* and her children, so powerful and formidable, that he was more respected and dreaded than *Tiberius* himself. As there was no access to honours but through his favour, the soldiers, the senators, and all the great men of the empire, were intirely at his devotion; so that by their means he was immediately informed of all the actions of the prince, while no one dared to discover to the emperor the ambitious designs and views of his minister, though they were all well apprised of them^s. However, he began to suspect him at last. *Josephus* tells us, that *Antonia*, the widow of his brother *Drusus*, having received private intelligence of the deep designs and secret practices of *Sejanus*, wrote a detail of them to the emperor, sending the letter to *Capreae* by *Pallas*, one of her most trusty domestics, the same who afterwards became so famous under the emperor *Claudius*^t. The emperor, thus warned of his danger, and recovering from his fatal blindness, began to consider with himself how he might thwart the ambitious views of his over-powerful minister, and deliver himself from the impending ruin. The prætorian cohorts were more addicted to the minister than to the sovereign, being filled with his creatures; the senate was intirely at his devotion; even those whom the emperor had about him were so many spies in the pay of *Sejanus*; so that *Tiberius* was kept in a kind of captivity, from which it was no easy matter to disengage himself. But he surmounted all difficulties with incredible

Agrippina and Nero condemned.

Extraordinary honours decreed to Sejanus.

Tiberius begins to suspect him.

^a TACIT. annal. l. v. c. 2---5. p. 657.

^p Idem, l. lviii. p. 653.

^q SUET. ibid. c. 54.

^r Idem, c. 53.

^s DIO, l. liii.

^t JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 8.

(N) Both these consuls were chosen two years after by *Tiberius* for husbands to two of *Germanicus*'s daughters. *Vinicius* married *Julia*, and *Cassius Drusilla*, who became so famous, or rather infamous, in the reign of her brother *Claudius*, who took her

by force from her husband (48). *C. Cassius Longinus* and *L. Nævius Surdinus* were substituted to them in the consulate (49). In an ancient inscription quoted by *Spon*, *Vinicius* is called *Venicius* (50).

(48) Suet. in *Calig.* c. 24.

(49) *Noris* ibid.

(50) *Spon.* p. 34.

incredible address, which he thought it more adviseable to employ than open force, ^a left *Sejanus*, finding himself discovered, and thence driven to despair, should make a bold push and attempt the empire. The first step he took was to remove him from *Capreæ*, and in order to this, he declared his intention of taking upon him the consulate the next year, and named *Sejanus* for his colleague. This the haughty minister, ^b not suspecting any snare, looked upon as the greatest mark of distinction the emperor could confer upon him. It is not to be doubted, but he created him at the same time senator; for *Sejanus* five years before, when the emperor removed from *Rome*, was but a knight, and we have not in the whole *Roman* history an instance of a knight being raised to the consular dignity. In the end of the year, *Tiberius* dispatched *Sejanus* to *Rome* to take possession of his new dignity there on the calends ^c of *January*, which he did accordingly; but the emperor did not remove from his island, where he entered upon his fifth consulship, and held it to the fifteenth of *May*, when he resigned the fasces to *Faustus Cornelius Sylla* ^d (O). As *Tiberius* continued to shew the same affection to *Sejanus*, the senate was for the greatest part of the year wholly taken up in decreeing him new honours. His name was added to that of *Tiberius* in all inscriptions; new statues were erected to him, and victims slain before them: a decree passed confirming the consulate to him and *Tiberius* for the term of five years; his house was crouded from morning to night with persons of all ranks; nay, the greatest men in *Rome* were not ashamed to court, with the meanest submissions, the favour of his slaves and freedmen. In short, one would have taken *Tiberius*, ^e as *Dion Cassius* observes, for the prince of his small island, and *Sejanus* for the sovereign of *Rome*. However, several prodigies are said to have happened at this time, which seemed to forbode the downfall of the favourite minister; but if any deity, says our historian, had revealed what happened soon after, no one would have believed him ^f. In the mean time, *Tiberius*, to sound the disposition of the senate and people, and discover the partizans of *Sejanus*, wrote frequent letters, acquainting the fathers at one time, that he was greatly indisposed; at another, that he was perfectly recovered, and designed in a short time to return to *Rome*: in some of his letters he blamed, in others he commended *Sejanus*. This conduct surprised the minister and his friends, who insensibly began to abandon him, seeing his authority ^g with the prince somewhat diminished. The senate, however, conferred on him the proconsular power on his resigning the consulship; which he did, according to some, on the eighth, according to others, on the fifteenth, of *May*, to *Sextidius Catullinus*. At the same time *Tiberius* honoured both him and his son with a place amongst the pontiffs; but could not by any intreaties be prevailed upon to give him permission to return to *Capreæ*. The pretence *Sejanus* alledged for such a permission was, says *Dion Cassius*, to visit his future spouse, probably *Livilla* the widow of *Drusus*, who was indisposed; but his real design was, to secure the person of the prince, whose guards were all at his devotion. *Tiberius*, to keep both him and the senate in suspense, returned no other answer to his earnest and repeated intreaties, than that he ^h designed to come himself very soon to *Rome*.
 In the mean time, he began to heap honours on *Caius*, surnamed *Caligula*, the only surviving son of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*. He had accompanied his grandfather to *Capreæ*, and artfully concealed under a deceitful appearance of modesty his savage and inhuman temper. He had so well learnt to hide his heart, that when his mother and both his brothers were condemned, not a word, not a groan, escaped him, though all arts were used to draw words and resentment from him. Young as he was, he smothered with the deepest dissimulation all symptoms of tenderness and sorrow. He was so observant of *Tiberius*, that he made it his whole business to study the bent of his temper, and to second it in all things. He imitated his looks, affected his words and manner of expression, and conformed even to the change and fashion ⁱ of

He names him
his colleague in
the consulship.

New honours
conferred on
Sejanus.

Is forsaken by
some of his
friends.

Tiberius re-
fuses him
leave to return
to Capreæ.

The character
of Caius Ca-
ligula.

^a Suet. *ibid.* c. 26. ^b *Noris* ep. *cons.* p. 13. ^c *Grut.* *inscrip.* p. 1087. ^d *Dio*, *ibid.* p. 623.
^e 624. ^f *Idem*, *ibid.* 625.

(O) As the name of *Sejanus* was razed out of the consular tables, several writers of chronicles mark the name of *Tiberius* alone this year. Both he and *Sejanus* resigned the fasces, before the consular year expired, the one to *Faustus Cornelius Sylla*, the other to *Sextidius Catullinus* (51). *L. Fulcinus Trio* and *L. Pomponius Secundus* were substituted to them; the former held the consulate to the end of the year, but *Pomponius* resigned it on the calends of *October* to *P. Maximus Regulus* (52).

(51) *Grut.* p. 1087.

(52) *Vide Pagi*, *an.* 30.

a of his drefs. Hence the obfervation of the orator *Passienus*, that *never lived a better slave, nor a worfe mafter*. *Tiberius* made him this year augur, in the room of his brother *Drufus*, and raifed him, before he had entered upon that office, to the dignity of pontiff of *Augustus*, beftowing upon him the higheft encomiums, as if he defigned to appoint him his heir and fucceffor. This awaked the rage and jealousy of *Sejanus*, who now could not forgive himfelf his paffed indolence. In the tranfports of his paffion he condemned himfelf for not having taken arms, and openly revolted, when he was vefted with the confular authority: he reflected with the utmoft anguifh on the many favourable opportunities he had neglected, to fecure the perfon of the prince, and feize the empire; but the great joy the people testified at the preferments of *Caius*, deterred him at prefent from any attempts of that nature. At the fame time, he

 b had the mortification to fee fome of his friends turned out of their employments, and his enemies placed in their room. But nothing mortified him fo much as a letter from *Tiberius* to the fenate concerning the death of *Nero*; wherein he named *Sejanus*, without the ufual encomiums and commendations which he beftowed on him in all his letters. Neither did he doubt, but the emperor had him chiefly in view, when he wrote to the fenate, defiring them to renew and put in execution the decree, forbidding divine worfhip to be paid to any mortal man; for vows were every-where made, and victims flain, before the ftatues of *Sejanus*; nay, he was arrived at fuch a height of arrogance, that he joined his adorers, and, with an impudence hardly to

 c be matched, offered facrifices to himfelf. After fo many tokens of coolnefs in the emperor towards his favourite minifter, many, who had profefled an inviolable friendship for him, began to withdraw through fear of being involved in the calamities, which they apprehended would foon overtake them, if they did not, by abandoning him, in time confult their own fafety. The crouds, which daily frequented his houfe, infenfibly diminished: few perfons, and thofe not of the firft quality, attended him abroad; no farther mention was made of him in the fenate &c. This encouraged *Tiberius*, who had hitherto doubted of the difpofition of the fenate and

 d people, to come to a final refolution; which was to fecure himfelf, without further delay, againft the dangers that threatened him, by the utter deftruction of *Sejanus* and his friends. However, to proceed in fo nice an affair with all poffible caution, and to prevent *Sejanus* from putting himfelf upon his defence, or taking any desperate

 e meafures, he gave out, that he defigned to inveft him with the tribunitial power. But, in the mean time, he privately gave the command of the prætorian guards to *Nervius Sertorius Macro*, one in whom he knew he could confide; and difpatched him to *Rome* with a letter to the fenate, after having communicated to him the contents of it, and carefully inftituted him how to behave, with refpect both to *Sejanus* and the fenate.

Macro entered *Rome* late in the night, and immediately imparted his orders to the

 f confal *P. Memmius Regulus*, who had been fubftituted to *L. Pomponius Secundus*; for the other confal, *L. Fulcinius Trio*, was a friend to *Sejanus*. *Regulus* early next morning fummoned the fenate to afsemble in the palace, whither *Sejanus* conveyed himfelf, attended, according to his cuftom, by a detachment of the prætorian guards. As he was entering the palace, he was greatly furprized to fee *Macro*, the more, becaufe he had brought no letters for him from the emperor; but *Macro* accofting him, whifpered him in the ear, that he had brought letters to the fenate, wherein the emperor befought them to confer upon him the tribunitial power. *Sejanus*, overjoyed at this news, entered the palace, and there took his place in the temple of *Apollo*, where moft of the fathers were already met. In the mean time, *Macro*, having firft fhewn to the foldiers of the prætorian guard his commiffion from the emperor, appointing him to command them in the room of *Sejanus*, and affured

 them, that *Tiberius* had ordered a very confiderable fum to be diftributed among

 them, took poffeffion of his new office, by remanding them to their camp without the walls of the city. In their ftead *Gracinus Laco*, who was privy to the fecret and commanded the *vigiles*, that is, the troops appointed to watch all night and prevent difturbances, placed a ftrong detachment of his men at the gates of the temple. And now the fathers being afsembled, *Macro* appeared before them with the emperor's letter in his hand; which he had no fooner prefented to the confals, than he withdrew, haftening to the camp in order to prevent any difturbance that might happen there. In the mean time, *Regulus* read aloud the emperor's letter, which was very long,

 and

Honours be-
ftowed on him
by Tiberius.

The power of
Sejanus in
fenfibly lef-
fened.

Tiberius re-
folves upon his
deftruction.

He writes to
the fenate.

The caution
ufed by Tibe-
rius on this
occafion.

Tiberius orders him to be secured.

He is abandoned by all ;

And committed to prison ;

Insulted by the people.

and wrote with great craft and address. For, after a long preamble upon other matters, came some complaints against *Sejanus*, which were immediately interrupted by quite different affairs : then followed other complaints, but without any bitterness of expression ; so that *Sejanus* hitherto betrayed no great concern. But when at length the emperor's orders were read touching the execution of two of his most intimate friends, who were privy to his ambitious and treacherous designs, he was struck with such terror, that he could not utter a single word in their favour. Before he recovered from the consternation, into which those fatal orders had thrown him, he heard to his great surprise another article relating to himself, wherein the emperor, in an angry style, enjoined the fathers to secure his person. Hereupon the tribunes and prætors, quitting their seats, placed themselves by him, to prevent him from making his escape and raising disturbances^z. *Suetonius* tells us, that in this letter *Tiberius* betrayed a meaness of spirit altogether unworthy of a prince, begging, amongst other things, of the senate, that they would send one of the consuls with a convoy of soldiers to conduct to *Rome* a poor old man forsaken by all. The same author adds, that he was under such apprehensions, that he had given private orders to *Macro* to set *Drusus*, in case of any disturbance, at liberty, to present him to the senate and people, and even to declare him emperor. He had several ships ready to put to sea, and convey him to some of his legions, if his affairs at *Rome* should not take a good turn. He kept himself the whole time upon the top of a high rock, to know by certain signals agreed on what passed in the capital, fearing the messengers might betray him, or not bring him the news with the necessary expedition^a. *Seneca* tells us, that while the consul was reading the emperor's letter, a huge globe of fire appeared in the air, and soon after vanished^b ; a true symbol of what passed in the senate. For the senators at first, not doubting but the emperor demanded in his letter the tribunitial power for *Sejanus*, crowded round him, each striving to be the foremost in congratulating him with flattering speeches upon his new dignity. But they no sooner learnt the real contents of the fatal letter, than they all to a man forsook him, not one person in so numerous an assembly daring to utter one word in his favour. Even those who happened to sit by him, abandoning their places, seated themselves elsewhere, fearing they might be looked upon as his friends, if they continued near him. The last article was no sooner read, than the whole temple resounded with curses and most bitter invectives, against the very person, on whom they had a few minutes before bestowed the highest commendations. Some inveighed against him out of the hatred they bore him, and others through fear of being reckoned amongst his friends. Though all the senators declared against him, nevertheless, as he had many friends and relations amongst them, the consul *Regulus* thought it adviseable not to propose condemning him to death, nor even to gather the suffrages of the whole assembly. He therefore only asked the opinions of some, whom he looked upon as the most impartial and unprejudiced ; and finding they were for committing him to prison, he conducted him thither himself, attended by *Gracinus Laco* and all the magistrates. A memorable instance of this of the vicissitude of fortune, and the instability of all human grandeur ! How different was *Sejanus* ruling the universe with an absolute sway, raising to the highest honours, or dooming to death whom he pleased, from himself loaded with chains, and dragged like a common malefactor to the public prison ! Had he succeeded in his attempts, and entailed the *Roman* empire upon his race, there would not have been wanting flattering poets and historians, who would have echoed his praises, his liberality, his politics, with all the other topics which are urged in commendation of *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*. But *Sejanus* failed, and is owned to have been a traitor ; *Cæsar's* iniquity and that of *Augustus* were triumphant, and so were their names. Iniquity unprosperous or punished no man praises ; but successful iniquity never wants flatterers. But to return to *Sejanus* ; he was followed from the palace to the prison by immense crowds, the populace all the way loading him with curses, upbraiding him with the many murders he had committed, and insulting him with bitter sarcasms upon his tribunitial power. His confusion was so great, that, not able to bear it, he threw his robe over his head, in order to cover his face ; but the guards, who attended him, obliged him to shew himself to the multitude, eager to see him humbled, and to insult one who had so long rid upon their necks. At the same time, the populace in a sudden transport overturned and broke in pieces all his statues, those very statues which

^z Idem, p. 626, 627. JUVENAL. SATYR. 10. V. 71. 95. question. l. i. c. 1.

^a SUST. ibid. c. 65.

^b SENEC. nar.

^a which a few hours before they had adored. The same day, the senate assembled the second time in the temple of *Concord*, near the prison, when the fathers, finding all quiet in the city, by the care and vigilance of *Macro*, *Gracinus*, and the consul *Regulus*, pronounced, without hesitation, no one daring to speak in favour of the criminal, sentence of death against *Ælius Sejanus*, accused and found guilty of high treason. ^{Condemned and executed.} The sentence was put in execution the same day, that is, the seventeenth of *October*, notwithstanding the late law, indulging ten days respite to every criminal after condemnation. His body was exposed, like those of other malefactors, on the *scalæ Gemoniæ*, and afterwards abandoned to the rage of the populace, who dragged it for three days together through the streets of *Rome*, and mangled it to such a degree ^b that the executioner could scarce find a limb intire to throw, according to custom, into the *Tiber*^d. (P).

THE death of *Sejanus* was followed by a general slaughter of all his friends and relations. *Tiberius*, after having for a course of years destroyed every man who was ^{The general slaughter of Sejanus's friends.} obnoxious to this execrable favourite of his, destroyed every man who had been well with his favourite. He spared none who were accused of any intelligence with *Sejanus*, and any thing upon earth, the most fortuitous, the most slight or foolish, served for proof of such intelligence. All the streets of *Rome* were covered with single carcases, or filled with carcases in piles; persons of all ranks, without distinction of sex or age, were promiscuously butchered, and their bodies cast into the public streets; neither ^c their acquaintance nor kindred were allowed to approach them, or bewail them, nor even at last to behold them: spies were placed every-where to watch countenances and the signs of sorrow; and when they putrified, and became noisome, and were thrown into the *Tiber*, whether they floated in the stream, or were cast upon the banks, no one ventured to touch them, no one dared to bury or burn them. Among the many who perished on this occasion, *Junius Blæsus*, uncle to *Sejanus*, of whom we have often ^{Junius Blæsus put to death.} spoken above, seems not to have escaped the common slaughter, being loaded with many odious imputations^e. *Publius Vitellius* being charged with offering the public ^{Publius Vitellius arraigned;} treasure, which was committed to his care, towards compassing a revolution, was nevertheless only delivered into the hands of his brother *Lucius*, father to *Aulus Vitellius*, who was afterwards emperor. *Publius* being soon weary of his confinement, and ^d finding his trial put off from day to day, called for a penknife under pretence of writing, and pricked his veins with it, but timorously and without effect. However, he died, before his trial, of grief, and by his death saved both his estate and the reputation of his family^f. He left, it seems, some writings behind him; for we find him quoted by *Tertullian*^g. *Pomponius Secundus*, who had a little before resigned the fasces to *P. Memmius Regulus*, was likewise accused of treason, because *Ælius Gallus*, ^{And Pomponius Secundus} who was a friend to *Sejanus*, had, after the execution of that traitor, fled to the gardens of *Pomponius*, as to a place of safety. However, he was not committed to the public prison, but consigned to the custody of his brother *Quintus Pomponius*, who generously became his surety. As *Pomponius* was a man of a gay temper, he bore his ^e disgrace with great constancy and resolution; so that he outlived *Tiberius*, and was set at liberty by his successor *Caius*. This is the same *Pomponius*, according to *Vossius*^h, whose victories over the *Catti* we shall see in the following reign honoured with a triumph. If *Pomponius* was kept confined so long as *Tiberius* lived after the death of *Sejanus*, that is, seven years, only for some signs, not shewn by him neither, of friendship between him and a friend of *Sejanus*, we may judge from thence with how much severity his relations were treated, and his avowed partizans, who had been privy to his ambitious designs^h.

AND now the chief friends and favourites of *Sejanus*, who could give any umbrage, being all to a man massacred, the senate ordered the two remaining children of the wicked minister to be executed, in order to cut off the whole family root and branch. ^{The execution of Sejanus's children.} *Sejanus* had three children, of whom the eldest son was already put to death, as *Tacitus* seems to insinuate; but we are quite in the dark as to the circumstances of his execution,

^d DIO, *ibid.* p. 627, 629. SENEC. *de tranq.* c. 11. JUVENAL. *satyr.* 10. ^e TACIT. *annal.* v. c. 7.

^f TACIT. *ibid.* c. 8. SUET. in *Vitell.* c. 2 and 3.

^g TERTULL. in *apologet.*

^h TACIT. *ibid.* &

DIO. l. lix. p. 644.

(P) The mighty power of *Sejanus*, his disgrace and downfall, the inconstancy of the multitude, and instability of all human grandeur, are, with great

elegance and no less humour, described by *Juvenal* in his tenth satire, to which we refer the reader.

tion, by reason of the lamentable chasm in *Tacitus's* annals, which has robbed us of the detail of many remarkable incidents. There still remained of that unhappy and generally abhorred family a son and a daughter, who were by a decree of the senate both sentenced to death, notwithstanding the tenderness of their age, and carried to prison; the boy, sensible of his impending death; but the girl so ignorant of it, that she often asked whither they dragged her, and for what fault? adding, that if she had done any thing amiss, they might take the rod and whip her, and that she would do so no more. But the senate had no regard either to her age or innocence; she was by the common executioner strangled in prison with her brother, and the tender bodies of both first exposed on the *scalæ Gemoniæ*, and thence dragged with an iron hook through the city, and thrown into the *Tiber*. We are told by some writers of that time, that as it was a thing unheard-of to punish a virgin with death, the executioner deflowered her just before he tied the rope (Q)ⁱ.

Tiberius more
cruel than
ever.

Spare nobody.

Is informed of
the secret of
Drusus's
death.

EVERY one hoped, that, after the execution of *Sejanus* and his accomplices, the reign of *Tiberius* would prove more mild, since to that powerful and cruel favourite they chiefly imputed the many executions, which had occasioned such a dreadful havock of their best citizens. But, when they expected some alleviation of their evils, they found themselves involved in greater calamities than ever, the emperor waxing daily more cruel, and from this time commencing, as it were, an open enemy to his people, and delivering himself up to cruelty without restraint, and to every abomination, even to rapaciousness and plunder, a vice to which he hitherto seemed to have no bias. No person, however virtuous and cautious, could be safe; for it was not enough for them to be upon their guard against the snares of the accusers, and the false reports of informers; but they were liable to be sacrificed to the jealousy and conjectures of the emperor, when they thought themselves secure by the innocence, not only of their actions, but even of their thoughts. He was under perpetual apprehensions of the great lords of the senate, and making daily victims of them: their wealth and race, nay, their poverty, names, and quality, gave him umbrage: he was almost equally jealous of friends and enemies. Those who advised him in council, those who diverted him at his leisure hours, fell all at length victims to his furious and distrustful temper. He was so afraid of considerable men, and so unwilling to give them employments that made them so, that some, who were appointed governors of provinces, were never allowed to go thither; insomuch, that great provinces for a course of years were left destitute of their governors, and abandoned to the mercy of barbarous nations, *Tiberius* chusing rather to suffer the insults and invasion of the enemy, than trust any one with the power of avenging the state and repulsing the public foe. This year *Apicata*, whom *Sejanus* had divorced, as we have related above, in hopes of marrying *Livia* or *Livilla* the widow of *Drusus*, seeing the bodies of her children publicly exposed among those of the other criminals, wrote a letter to *Tiberius*, acquainting him with the manner of his son *Drusus's* death, with no other view but to torment him, and then laid violent hands on herself. *Tiberius*, who had ascribed his son's death to his own intemperance and irregular life, was so transported with rage, when he understood he had been poisoned by a conspiracy of *Livilla* and *Sejanus*, that he resolved to exterminate all those who had ever shewn the least token of friendship to either^k, *Suetonius* tells us, that he applied himself to the examination of that affair so seriously, that word being brought him, while he was receiving the depositions of some witnesses, that an inhabitant of *Rhodes* was arrived, at whose house he had lodged, and whom he had invited by many kind letters, he immediately ordered him to be put to the rack, having at that time nothing in his thoughts, but blood, torments, and revenge. The same writer adds, that afterwards, when he came to himself, and was sensible of his mistake, he commanded the innocent *Rhodian* to be privately

ⁱ Idem ibid. c. 9.

^k Dio, ibid. p. 628.

(Q) The word *virgo*, in the law forbidding a virgin to be put to death, signified a girl, or a young woman under such an age, whether she was a virgin or no; but the grave senators with a chicane worthy only of such mean, crouching slaves, took it in a sense quite different from that of the law, which they pretended to observe, by causing the innocent

girl to be deflowered by the executioner before she was put to death. With a like cavil the triumvirs, as we read in *Dion Cassius*, that they might not seem to transgress the law forbidding children to be put to death, caused one, whom they had condemned, to put on the manly robe before he was executed (53).

privately murdered, lest he should divulge the injury he had received¹. Such as he condemned in the island of *Capreae* were from a rock thrown headlong into the sea, where numbers of seamen were disposed beforehand with their oars and long poles to dispatch them. He suffered none to be executed, till they had undergone the most exquisite torments cruelty itself could invent : for he looked upon death as so slight a punishment, that when he heard one of his prisoners, named *Carnulius*, had laid violent hands on himself, he cried out, *Carnulius has escaped me*. One of his prisoners begging him to hasten his execution, *No*, answered *Tiberius*, *You and I are not yet so good friends*^m. But notwithstanding the severity with which he punished others, *Dion Cassius* tells us, that he was inclined to pardon *Livilla* his daughter-in-law, in regard of her mother *Antonia* ; but that *Antonia* herself opposed such an unseasonable instance of mercy ; so that *Livilla* was this year by *Tiberius*'s orders starved to deathⁿ.

Various instances of his cruelty.

Livilla put to death.

THE following year, *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus* and *Furius Camillus Scribonianus* being consuls (R), furious orders were passed against the statues and memory of *Livilla*, and likewise a decree of the senate, commanding the effects of *Sejanus* to be taken out of the public treasury, and placed in that of the emperor. This was the motion of *Scipio*, *Silanus*, and *Cassius*, the principal men in the senate, who all urged it almost in the same words, and with great zeal and eagerness. *Tagonius Gallus* moved, that *Tiberius* should chuse twenty senators to wait upon him under arms, and defend his person as often as he entered the senate. The emperor, who was too wise to allow the senators arms, returned them thanks for such an instance of affection ; but rejected, and even turned into ridicule, the motion, as well as the author of it, adding in his letter, that he did not think his life of such importance to have it thus protracted. *Junius Gallio* moved, that the prætorian soldiers, after their term of service, should have the privilege of sitting in the theatre among the *Roman* knights. This proposal was highly resented by *Tiberius*, who in his letter to the senate fell upon *Gallio* with great warmth, demanding, as if he had been present, what business had *Gallio* with the soldiers, whose duty it was to observe only the orders of the emperor, and from the emperor alone to receive their rewards ? *Gallio* indeed meant to flatter, but *Tiberius* highly resenting that motion, which he said tended to corrupt the military discipline and debauch the minds of the soldiers, he was instantly expelled the senate, and banished *Italy*. He chose the island of *Lesbos* for the place of his banishment ; but the senate, thinking his exile would be too easy there, recalled him, and put him under close confinement in the house of a magistrate. Such was the reward of his studied flattery. In the same letter the emperor demanded the death of *Sextus Paconianus*, who had conspired with *Sejanus* to compass the ruin of *Caligula* ; but he escaped for the present by making an ample discovery of the plot, and naming all who were concerned in it. Among these was *Latinius Latiaris*, of whose detestable character we have spoken above. He was one of the most mischievous informers in *Rome*, and had procured the destruction of many illustrious citizens ; but now met his just doom, being to the great joy of the whole city condemned and executed. The next accused was *Cotta Messalinus*, the most forward man in the senate to gratify on all occasions the cruelty of *Tiberius*, and therefore universally hated. He was charged with having spoken contemptuously of *Caligula*, *Livia Augusta*, and of *Tiberius* himself (S) ; and the charge was

Several flattering motions in the senate.

The motion of Gallio resented by Tiberius

How his flattery was rewarded.

(R) *Domitius*, the same who married *Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus*, continued in the consulship the whole year ; *Aulus Vitellius*, uncle to the emperor of the same name, was his colleague from the first of *July* to his death ; for *Vitellius* died in his consulate (54). We find the name of *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus* in an ancient inscription quoted by *Gruter*, (55), where he is said to have been consul the year after the fifth consulship of *Tiberius* ; but the name of his colleague is razed both out of this, and out of another made this year at *Terni*, which inclines us to believe that he was the same *Furius Camillus*, who afterwards rebelled against the emperor *Claudius*, as we read in *Suetonius* (56).

(S) He had traduced *Caligula* as guilty of the most scandalous debaucheries, as a pathic, as one destitute

of all shame and modesty ; in celebrating among the priests the birth-day of *Livia*, the emperor's mother, he had spoken of her with disrespect without sparing *Tiberius* himself : in complaining of the great sway which *Manius Lepidus* and *Lucius Arruntius*, with whom he had a suit about money, bore in the senate, he had said, *They indeed will be supported by the senate, but I by my little Tiberius*. These were the crimes alledged against him ; and to any other the charge would have proved fatal ; but as he studied in every thing to gratify the cruel temper of *Tiberius*, and was the author, as our historian tells us, of every most bloody counsel, the emperor took him under his protection, and shewed that mercy to him, which he would have denied the most worthy man in the senate.

¹ 54) *Suet. in vit. c. 2. Noris. ep. con. p. 15.*

(55) *Gruter. p. 2087.*

(56) *Suet. in Claud. c. 13.*

Cotta Messalinus accused and by the favour of Tiberius discharged.

Other persons of distinction arraigned.

The noble defence of Marcus Terentius

was proved by men of the first rank in Rome. But *Cotta* appealing to *Tiberius*, a letter was soon after brought from him in behalf of the criminal, wherein, after relating the beginning of his friendship with *Cotta*, and his many good services to himself, he besought the fathers not to wrest into crimes words perversely construed, and humorous tales told at an entertainment (T). Hereupon the fathers not only discharged *Cotta*, but inflicted on *Cæcilianus* the senator, who was the chief evidence against him, the same punishment which had been formerly decreed against the accusers of *Lucius Arruntius*, one of the most virtuous men in Rome; but what this punishment was, we find no-where recorded. Afterwards, *Quintus Servæus* and *Minutius Thermus* were arraigned, *Tiberius* charging them as principals in the treason of *Sejanus*, and ordering *Gaius Cestius*, a senator, to report to the senate what he had written to him. Thus *Sestius* undertook the accusation; for in those calamitous times the most illustrious chiefs of the senate were not ashamed, as *Tacitus* observes, to degrade themselves to the mean office of informers, some openly, some secretly, but both without regard to the ties of blood or friendship; no distinction of kinsmen from strangers; for words spoken in the forum, or in private conversation, upon what subject soever spoken, those who uttered them were accused, every one striving to get the start of another, some for their own safety, others as it were infected with the common contagion of informing. *Mutius* and *Servæus* were condemned, but saved themselves by becoming evidence against others, namely *Julius Africanus* and *Seius Quadratus*. While all men else were affecting to renounce the character of friends to *Sejanus*, a Roman knight, by name *Marcus Terentius*, being accused on this very account, owned the charge before the senate in the following speech, which well deserves to be recorded: “It would perhaps be more wise in me, conscript fathers, to deny than to acknowledge the crime with which I am charged. But whatever be the result, I cannot, I will not, deny it. I therefore own, and publicly declare, that I was one of *Sejanus*’s friends, that I courted and sought his friendship, that I gloried in it, after I had gained it. And what wonder that I did so? I saw *Sejanus* joined with his father in the command of the prætorian guards, and next governing the state and the soldiery, both as a minister and a general: his kinsmen and friends were raised to the first employments; as every man was in credit with *Sejanus*, he was favoured by *Tiberius*; such on the contrary as incurred his displeasure, were persecuted without mercy. Of this I need give no instances. *Sejanus* therefore the *Vulfinian* was not the man we courted; but *Sejanus* ingrafted by alliance into the *Claudian* and *Julian* families; *Sejanus*, your son-in-law, O *Cæsar*, your colleague in the consulship, your favourite, and under you charged with the administration of the empire. It does not belong to us to judge who he is, whom you think fit to raise above the rest, nor on what considerations you have raised him. To you the gods have left the supreme disposal of all things, and to us the glory of obedience. We only behold the outward appearance of things; we perceive upon whom you bestow wealth and honours, to whom you trust the greatest power of relieving or oppressing us, which no man can deny *Sejanus* to have had. But to pry into the secret thoughts of the prince, and the designs which he industriously conceals, is both unlawful and dangerous. Let us not, conscript fathers, fix our thoughts on the last day of *Sejanus*; but remember him for the space of sixteen years, during which time we adored such of his retainers as *Satrius* and *Pomponius*, and reckoned it a great honour to be acquainted with his porters and freedmen. I speak here of those only who were guilty of his last designs. Let those be punished who conspired with him against the state, who were privy to his wicked attempts upon the life of the prince; nothing can

ⁱ SUET. *ibid.* c. 62.

^m Idem *ibid.*

ⁿ DIO, *ibid.* p. 621.

(T) The beginning of his letter was very remarkable; for he introduced it with the following words: *What to write to you, conscript fathers, or in what manner to write to you at this time, if I know, may all the gods doom me to greater agonies, than those under which I feel myself daily perishing.* Such were the horrors that haunted him even among the rocks of *Caprea*; though hardly accessible to men, yet they could not keep off the avenging furies that pursued him, nor insure his tranquillity. This great prince, this sovereign of *Rome*, with his numerous armies, with his prætorian bands, and his unlimited power, was in hourly fear of secret assassins, incessantly racked by his own apprehensions; and consequently with all the eclat of empire, the most

miserable being in his dominions. His power indeed was unlimited; but so was his misery: the more he made others suffer, the faster he multiplied his own torments. All the pleasures and debaucheries in which he wallowed without controul, had not sufficient charms to allay or mitigate his dreadful apprehensions, and the anguish under which he felt himself daily perishing. Private persons, however obnoxious and threatened, had but some things and some persons to fear; whereas *Tiberius* dreaded all men, and every thing but to do evil, which yet was the sole cause of his fears. Such was his situation and life, and such are the natural consequences of the abuse of power.

a "can be more just. But as for us, who are charged only with offices of friendship
 "and instances of benevolence towards *Sejanus*, you cannot condemn us, O *Cæsar*,
 "without condemning at the same time yourself." The liberty of this speech, and
 the joy that one was at last found, who had courage enough to speak aloud what they
 all thought in their hearts, had such a powerful effect upon the minds of the fathers,
 that *Terentius* was absolved, and his accusers for this and other crimes condemned, some *Who is ab-*
 to banishment, others to death°. *Tiberius* himself approved of the proceedings of *solved.*
 the senate on this occasion, probably not daring to oppose a truth spoken with such
 liberty, and so generally applauded. But what induced him to dissemble an affront
 offered him at this time by *L. Sejanus* the prætor, probably one of the disgraced
 b minister's kinsmen, 'tis no easy matter to guess. For the prætor in the shews, which
 he exhibited in virtue of his office, employed such only as were bald, and disposed
 five thousand boys all shaved with torches in their hands to light the spectators home.
 No-body doubted, but this was done to deride *Tiberius*, who was bald; but never-
 theless, he took no more notice of it, than if he had never known it^p.

NEXT came letters from *Tiberius* against *Sextus Vestilius*, formerly prætor, one
 whom *Tiberius* had long since admitted into the number of his friends in regard of his
 brother *Drusus*, to whom *Vestilius* was exceeding dear. He was accused of having
 composed a satyr against *Caligula*, reproaching him with the lewdness of his life. *Tiberius* forbad him his table, which so grieved him, that he resolved to lay violent *Tiberius sa-*
 hands on himself. Accordingly, having, with a trembling and feeble hand, as he *crifies his*
 c was very old, opened his veins, he bound them up, and wrote a letter to the prince,
 imploring his mercy; but *Tiberius* returning him an angry answer, he opened them
 again, and died. Not even women escaped the fury of accusers: as they could not
 be charged with designs of usurping the sovereign power, their tears were made trea-
 sonable; and *Vitia*, the mother of *C. Fusius Geminus* consul three years before, was
 condemned and executed in her old age, for bewailing the death of her son condemned
 by the senate. Neither did *Tiberius* spare his own friends; for by him were this
 year doomed to die *Vesularius Flaccus* and *Julius Marinus*, two of his oldest friends,
 who had followed him to *Rhodes*, and not forsaken him at *Capreæ*. The former
 d had acted a chief part in the trial and condemnation of *Libo Drusus*, and the latter
 had been employed by *Sejanus* to procure the ruin of *Curtius Atticus*, of whom we
 have spoken above. This year died *Lucius Piso*, who being substituted to *Taurus* *Lucius Piso*
Statilius in the government of *Rome*, discharged that important office with such cre- *dies.*
 dit, that by a decree of the senate he was distinguished with a public funeral. He had
 obtained for his warlike exploits in *Thrace* a triumph, was universally esteemed and
 beloved, and nevertheless died in the eightieth year of his age by the course of nature,
 a rare thing, as our historian observes, in a man of great parts and of such an illustri-
 ous descent (U)^q. A motion was afterwards made in the senate by *Quintilianus*,
 e tribune of the people, concerning a book of the sibyl, which *Caninius Gallus*, one
 of the college of fifteen, had begged might be received by a decree amongst the rest
 of that prophetess. The decree passed without opposition; but *Tiberius* in a letter to
 the senate desired, that the book might first be examined by the quincevirs (W).

THIS

° TACIT. *ibid.* c. 7, 8.

p DIO, l. lviii. p. 633.

q Idem, c. 10, 11.

(U) We read in *Tacitus*, that *Piso* governed *Rome* twenty years: if so, he must have been raised to that dignity by *Augustus*; for he died in the eighteenth year of *Tiberius*'s reign. But, on the other hand, both *Pliny* (57) and *Suetonius* (58) tell us in express terms, that he was created governor of *Rome* by *Tiberius*, for having continued drinking with him a night and two days, or two days and two nights, as *Pliny* will have it, after he was emperor. We therefore conclude with *Lipsius*, that some mistake has crept into the text of *Tacitus*. That writer thinks, that we ought to read *ten* instead of *twenty*, because *Pomponius Flaccus*, who was with *Piso* at that famous debauch, was on that score raised to the government of *Syria*, which at the time of *Piso*'s death he had held ten years (59).

(W) In his letter he gently chid *Quintilianus* as

young, and therefore not well acquainted with the ancient customs; but fell upon *Gallus* with some bitterness, for proposing to a thin senate the receiving of a book, whereof the author was unknown, among the prophetic books of the sibyl: he told him, that he, who was so well skilled in the science of sacred ceremonies, ought not to have taken such a step without hearing the opinion of his own college, and without the usual reading and deliberation with the other priests. He also put the senators in mind of the conduct of *Augustus*, who, to suppress the many fictitious predictions, every-where published under the name of the sibyl, had ordered, that within a fixed day they should be carried to the prætor, and declared it unlawful for any private person to keep them. Upon the receipt of this letter, the senate, notwithstanding their decree, ordered the book

(57) *Plin. l. xiv.*(58) *Suet. ibid. c. 42.*(59) *Vide Lips. in hunc locum Tacit.*

THIS year the dearth of corn occasioned some disturbances in the city, the people urging their wants in the theatre with great freedom, or rather licentiousness. *Tiberius*, alarmed at their boldness, censured in his letter to the senate both them and the magistrates, for not quelling by their authority the mutinous populace. This encouraged the fathers to pass a severe edict against rioters and such as disturbed the public tranquillity, which restored peace and quiet to the city. In the end of the year, *Geminus*, *Pompeius*, and *Julius Celsus*, all Roman knights, were arraigned of treason and condemned. *Geminus* was indeed one of *Sejanus*'s friends, but had never been trusted by him with his private designs. However, he was executed with *Pompeius*; but *Celsus*, by stretching his chain over his head, and straining with great violence against it, broke his neck, and escaped the infamy of a public execution^r. This year *Tiberius*, having crossed the channel between *Capreae* and *Surrentum*, sailed along the coast of *Campania*, and entering the *Tiber*, as if he designed to proceed to *Rome*, came as far as the gardens on that river, having first posted guards all along the banks to keep off the multitude. But he advanced no farther, being ashamed of his cruelties and abominable lusts, and impatient to return to his gloomy rocks, and beloved solitude, where he rioted without check or controul in the most infamous and unnatural debaucheries^s.

Other arraignments and executions

The daughters of Drusus married.

Tiberius demands a guard

Further instances of his cruelty.

THE next consuls were *Servius Sulpicius Galba* (X) and *L. Cornelius Sylla Felix*. This year *Tiberius* disposed of his two grand-daughters, who were now of age, bestowing *Drusilla* on *Lucius Cassius*, and *Julia* on *Marcus Vinicius*, as we have related above. On this occasion he wrote to the senate with a short commendation of the young men; then touching upon the causes of his absence, and the hatred and ill-will he had drawn upon himself by his zeal for the republic, he desired, that *Macro*, commander of the prætorian guards, with some few tribunes and centurions, might always attend him into the senate. The fathers readily granted him his request, without any limitation either to the number or condition of the guards who were to accompany him^t: nay, they passed a decree, ordering, that whenever the prince came to the senate, all the senators should be searched to prevent their carrying arms under their robes^u. But for all this, *Tiberius* never appeared in the senate, nor entered the walls of *Rome*, though he came sometimes to the very gates, for the most part by solitary and by-ways, and flying back with great precipitation. This year great disturbances being raised by the debtors, the emperor, to administer some relief, declared, that he would lend a hundred thousand great sesterces for the term of three years without interest, provided each borrower mortgaged in land double the value of what he borrowed. But this generosity did not in the least allay the public hatred which the emperor drew upon himself with his cruelties, many illustrious persons being this year condemned and executed, and many others banished upon the most groundless suspicions. Among these, *Considius Proculus*, while, void of all apprehension, he was celebrating his birth-day, was suddenly accused of treason, hurried to the senate, condemned, and executed. *Pompeia Macrina* was sentenced to exile; her husband and his father, two men of great distinction among the *Greeks*, were both executed; but her father, an illustrious Roman knight, and her brother, once prætor, prevented their execution by a voluntary death. The crime laid to their charge was, that *Macrina*'s husband being descended from *Theophanes*, who had been one of the confidants of *Pompey the Great*, they had all paid divine honours to that illustrious

^r Idem, c. 13, 14.

c. 15.

^s Idem annal. 6. c. 1. Suet. in Tib. c. 72.

^t Tacit. c. 15. ^u Dio, l. lviii. p. 633.

book to be examined by the college of the quindcemvirs. Whether the book was admitted amongst the authentic prophecies of the sibyl, we are nowhere told. *Augustus*, as we have observed in his reign, having gathered together a great number of prophecies and books of predictions written by unknown authors, whether in *Greek* or *Latin*, he caused them all to be burnt, to the number of two thousand and upwards, reserving only some select pieces, which he deposited under the pedestal of *Apollo Palatinus* (60).

(X) *Servius Sulpicius Galba* was afterwards raised to the empire: *Suetonius* observes, that he succeeded

in the consulship *Cn. Domitius* the father of *Nero*, and was succeeded by *Salvius Otho*, the father of the emperor of the same name. As the name of *Otho* is not marked in the consular tables, *Onuphrius*, *Cassiodorus*, and the learned cardinal *Noris* conclude, that he was substituted to *Galba*. *Lucius Vitellius*, one of the following year's consul's, was father to *Aulus Vitellius*, who was likewise emperor, and succeeded *Otho*. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Tiberius* having sent for *Galba*, during his consulship, and sifted him upon several subjects, he at last told him in *Greek*, that one day he should taste of empire, signifying thereby his short sovereignty (61).

(60) Vide Suet. in Aug. c. 31.

(61) Tacit. c. 20.

illustrious Greek. The death of *Sextus Marius*, the most wealthy man in Spain, reflected great disgrace upon *Tiberius*; for though he was accused of incest with his daughter, and for that crime, as was pretended, thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, yet it was commonly believed, that his immense riches had occasioned his ruin; and indeed not without good grounds; *Tiberius* having, after his condemnation, appropriated to himself his mines of gold, though forfeited to the public. So many bloody executions, instead of satiating, served only to whet and inflame, *Tiberius's* cruelty. For this year he commanded all those to be put to death without distinction of sex or age, who were kept in prison under accusation of any attachment to *Sejanus*^w. *A general massacre of Sejanus's friends.* Infomuch, that twenty were executed on one day, and among them several women and children; their bodies were exposed on the *scalæ Gemoniæ*, from thence with iron hooks dragged through the city, and then thrown into the *Tiber*. The butchery, says *Tacitus*, was dreadful and general; exposed to the sun lay the carcases of the noble and ignoble; those of every sex and age scattered up and down, or ignominiously thrown together in heaps: their surviving friends were not allowed to approach them, to bewail them, or even behold them; but round the dead, guards were placed to watch countenances, and observe the signs of sorrow: when the bodies began to putrify, they were dragged to the *Tiber*, where they floated, or were driven upon the banks, no man daring to burn or touch them, the force of fear having cut off all intercourse of humanity, and banished every symptom of pity and tenderness. Among the rest perished this year three of the most illustrious persons of the empire, *Asinius Gallus*, *Drusus* the son of *Germanicus*, and the celebrated *Agrippina*. Of *Asinius Gallus* we have spoken above^x (Y). He was the son of the famous *Asinius Pollio*, one of *Augustus's* chief favourites, and married *Vipsania* the daughter of *Agrippa*, after *Tiberius* had divorced her to marry *Julia*: so that his children were brothers to *Drusus*, whom *Tiberius* had by *Vipsania*, nephews to *Agrippina*, and nearly related to the *Cæsars*. *Tiberius* had long hated him on account of his marrying *Vipsania*, but with his usual dissimulation concealed his hatred till this year, when *Gallus* being, we know *Tiberius's dissimulation.* not about what business, dispatched to him by the senate, he received him in a most obliging manner, but at the same time wrote to the senate, requiring his condemnation; so that the very day he was entertained as a familiar friend at the emperor's table in *Capreæ*, he was condemned as a traitor to *Rome*, and a prætor was sent to see the sentence put in execution. However, the inhuman tyrant would not allow him to be immediately dispatched; but caused him to be kept under close confinement, no one being suffered to come near him, except such as were charged to watch, lest he should by a voluntary death put an end to his miseries. He perished at length, after three years painful confinement, through famine; but whether of his own accord, or starved by *Tiberius's* orders, was never known. The pleasure of the emperor being consulted, whether he would suffer him to be buried, he was not ashamed to reckon his allowing the last offices to be paid to him as a particular favour^y. As for *Drusus*, *The death of Drusus.* he was condemned by the emperor to be starved; but protracted his life nine days by feeding, for want of other sustenance, on the flocks of his bed. The inhuman monster, not satiated with the death of his grandson, pursued him even beyond the grave with cruel invectives, and in a letter to the senate charged him with many heinous crimes, ordering at the same time the minutes of his words and actions to be read, which had long and daily been registered by persons expressly appointed to observe his looks, to watch all his actions, and note down every word, every complaint he uttered. The recital of this journal filled all who heard it with horror; and indeed, that a grandfather should appoint persons to watch all the actions, should have all the weaknesses or crimes of his grandson registered by secret spies, and thus exposed to the world, seems such a series of treachery and meanness, as would hardly be credited, were it not attested by the most eminent writers of antiquity. *Tacitus* quotes the letters of *Atius* the centurion and *Didymus* the freedman, declaring particularly the names of the slaves set purposely to abuse and provoke *Drusus*, with the several parts they acted, in order to draw from him complaints against *Tiberius*. The centurion, to whose custody

^w Idem, c. 19.^x Vide p. 414. not. N.^y TACIT. c. 23. DIO, l. lviii. p. 622.

(Y) *Lipsius* takes this *Asinius Gallus* to be the son of *Asinius Pollio*, who was surnamed *Saloninus*, and upon whose birth *Virgil* composed the famous eclogue *Sicelides Musæ*, &c. He owns, that no historian gives *Asinius* the surname of *Saloninus*, but founds his opinion intirely upon the authority

of *Servius*; which is very surprising in so wary a critic, since *Servius* tells us in express terms, that *Saloninus* died soon after he was born; *nam ipsum puerum inter ipsa primordia periisse manifestum est*, says that commentator.

His imprecations against Tiberius.

The death of Agrippina.

Tiberius endeavours to blacken her reputation.

Plancina lays violent hands on herself.

The death of Cocceius Nerva.

Of Ælius Lamia, M. Lepidus, &c.

custody he was committed, being introduced to the senate, repeated in the presence^a of the fathers, as matter of glory, his outrageous language to the young prince, with the words uttered by him under the agonies of hunger. He told them, that *Drusus* at first pretending to be distracted, vented in the style of a madman dismal imprecations against *Tiberius*; but afterwards, finding his doom inevitable, he invoked with great deliberation and sedateness the vengeance of the gods, beseeching them, that as *Tiberius* had slaughtered his daughter-in-law, his nephew, his grandchildren, and filled with slaughters his whole house, so they would in justice to the ancestors of the slain, in justice to their posterity, avenge on this man of blood so many cruel and barbarous murders. The senators, in hearing the centurion, raised a mighty noise, as if they detested those imprecations; but they were struck with amazement in hearing the detail of the barbarities practised by the emperor's orders upon his grandson. The death of the son was followed by that of the mother, which happened on the seventeenth of *October*. *Agrippina* had been confined before the disgrace of *Sejanus*, upon whose execution she hoped *Tiberius* would use her and her son *Drusus* with more humanity. But finding him no less implacable than before, she put an end to her miseries by abstaining from all food. *Suetonius* tells us, that after she had taken a resolution to starve herself, *Tiberius* caused her mouth to be opened, and nourishment crammed down her throat by force^a. But *Tacitus* questions whether she abstained voluntarily from all food, or was denied it by *Tiberius's* orders; and a report was afterwards spread, that death had been her own choice. Be that as it will, her death^c did not put an end to the malice and cruelty of the outrageous tyrant, who charged her with several abominable crimes, especially with adultery, as if she had maintained a criminal correspondence with *Asinius Gallus*, and upon his death become weary of life. But *Agrippina's* character and known chastity sufficiently cleared her from all imputations of that nature; for she had sacrificed, as *Tacitus* observes, to a manly ambition all the passions and vices of her sex. The emperor in his letter to the senate observed, that she died the same day on which *Sejanus* had been executed two years before, adding, that such a day ought to be particularly distinguished; nay, he boasted of his clemency, since he had not caused her to be strangled, and her body to be exposed on the *scalæ Gemoniæ*, and thence dragged to the *Tiber*. For this^d instance of mock-mercy the senate solemnly thanked him, and decreed, that on the seventeenth of *October*, the day of the death of *Agrippina* and *Sejanus*, a yearly offering should be consecrated to *Jupiter Capitolinus* for ever^b. The death of *Agrippina* procured that of her declared enemy *Plancina*, the widow of *Cneius Piso*. She was guilty of many other crimes, besides that which was laid to her charge of poisoning *Germanicus*. When her husband fell, she was protected by the solicitations of *Livia*, and also by the animosity of *Agrippina*, whom the spiteful *Tiberius*, could not find in his heart to gratify with the death of a person, whom she abhorred. But as there was now no farther room for favour or hatred, justice prevailed; and *Plancina*, being accused of crimes long since sufficiently proved, executed with her own hand that vengeance which was rather too late than too severe. Notwithstanding the pleasure *Tiberius* took in destroying the most illustrious families in *Rome*, yet he was sensibly affected with the death of *Cocceius Nerva*, though it was intirely owing to his cruelty. He was one of the most learned civilians in *Rome*, had been consul twelve years before, had attended *Tiberius* to *Capree*, and was in high favour with him, so that he had no reason to be weary of life. But though thus in full prosperity of fortune, in perfect vigor of body, he resolved to die, and accordingly refused all nourishment. *Tiberius*, having learnt his design, did all that lay in his power to dissuade him from putting it in execution; examined his motives, and descended even to intreaties, declaring, that it would be a great affliction to him, that it would reflect disgrace upon him, and tarnish his reputation, if one of his most intimate friends, his inseparable companion, should thus shew himself weary of life. But notwithstanding the remonstrances and reasoning of *Tiberius*, *Nerva* persisted in his purpose, and ended his life by abstinence. Towards the end of this year died three illustrious citizens, *Ælius Lamia*, *Manius Lepidus*, and *Pomponius Flaccus*. *Lamia* had for several years held the government of *Syria*, but had never been allowed to visit his province. Upon the death of *L. Piso*, which happened the preceding year, *Tiberius* discharged him from the mock-administration of *Syria*, and appointed him governor of *Rome*. A public funeral was decreed him by

^a Idem, c. 23, 24.

^a Suet. ibid. c. 53.

^b Tacit. c. 25. 26. Suet. ibid. c. 53.

a by the senate c. He was succeeded in his last employment by C. Cossus, who, though a famous drunkard, was never known, as Seneca informs us^d, to disclose a secret; whence Tiberius trusted him with his most private counsels. Lepidus was one of the most worthy men in Rome; we have already given various instances of his wisdom and moderation: as to his abilities, he was in the opinion of Augustus, as we have observed in the beginning of this reign, well qualified for the sovereign power, but not fond of it. Pomponius Flaccus was by Tiberius first raised to the government of *Mæsia*, where he betrayed and seized *Rhescuporis*, as we have related above. He was afterwards made proprætor of *Syria*, either for this piece of treachery, or upon the merit of his famous debauch with L. Piso and Tiberius. This year, Claudia daughter to Marcus Silanus, a senator distinguished by his illustrious birth and great eloquence, b was married to Caius Caligula, the only surviving son of Germanicus. The people were no less pleased with this match, than dissatisfied with that of Julia, the daughter of Drusus and widow of Nero, who debased herself to marry Rubellius Blandus, whose grandfather was a native of Tybur, and only a Roman knight c.

THIS year, the thirty-third of the common æra and nineteenth of Tiberius's reign, Christ cruci- our Saviour was crucified, according to the opinion of the best chronologers; Phlegon, *sed.* the emperor Adrian's freedman, who wrote sixteen books of the olympiads, seems to speak of the darkness which happened at his death: his words are; *There hap- pened the greatest and most remarkable eclipse that ever had been known; at the sixth hour the day was suddenly turned into night, insomuch, that the stars were seen: at the same time, an earthquake in Bithynia overturned many houses in the city of Nice.* This darkness, which Phlegon calls an eclipse, happened, according to him, in the fourth year of the two hundred and second olympiad, which ended about the middle of the present year f.

THE following year, when Paulus Fabius Persicus, or, as some call him, Priscus, and L. Vitellius were consuls, many eminent persons fell, either by their own hands, or those of the public executioner, among the rest Pomponius Labeo and Marcus Æmi- lius Scaurus; the former, once governor of *Mæsia*, being charged with male-admi- nistration, and other crimes, prevented condemnation by opening his veins, his wife d Paxea following his example. The latter, a noble orator, a man of an illustrious descent, but a professed debauchee, was accused by Servilius and Cornelius of adultery with Livia the widow of Drusus, and of offering magical sacrifices; but his true crime was the hatred Macro bore him; for Macro, who was at this time as much in favour with Tiberius, and no less mischievous than Sejanus had ever been, prejudiced the emperor against him, by persuading him, that Scaurus, in a tragedy which he had com- posed, described him, and displayed his cruelties under the name of Atreus. But the pretended criminal, before sentence was awarded against him, laid violent hands on himself, being encouraged thereto by his wife, who died with him e. Servilius and Cornelius, his accusers, were soon after banished into several islands for accept- ing a bribe to drop the prosecution, which they had begun against Varius Ligur. Abu- e dius Rufus likewise, once ædile, was himself condemned and driven out of Rome, while he attempted to get Lentulus Getulicus, under whom he had commanded a legion, condemned, because he had espoused his daughter to a son of Sejanus. Getulicus was at this time commander of the legions in Upper Germany, and by them extremely beloved on account of his great mildness and clemency. He was likewise acceptable to the legions of Lower Germany in consideration of their general Apronius, his father-in-law. Hence he was generally believed to have written to Tiberius, that not by his own inclination, but by his advice, he had sought the alliance of Sejanus; that he had been as liable to be deceived as Tiberius, and that it was not reasonable a fault common to both should pass unblamed in one, and be punished in another: he added, that he had hitherto inviolably maintained the allegiance he owed him, and that he would continue unshaken in his fidelity to the last, provided no dark plots were framed against him; but that he would look upon a successor as the messenger of death; and therefore, that they should, as it were, strike up an agreement between them, by which the prince should enjoy the rest of the empire, and he always retain his pro- vince. This proceeding, however surprizing, was believed, because of all those who were allied to Sejanus, Getulicus alone escaped unhurt, and continued in high favour to the last. Tiberius, sensible that he was universally hated, and that his authority

Several per-
sons arraigned

Lentulus
Getulicus
accused.

His bold letter
to Tiberius.

c Idem, c. 27.

d SENEC. epist. 87.

e TACIT. c. 27.

f ORIG. contra

Celsum, p. 89. & 99. edit. Græc.

g TACIT. c. 29.

A counterfeit
Drusus.

authority was supported more by reputation than by force, did not care to attack a man, who had both sufficient power and courage to defend himself^f. This year, as *Dion Cassius* will have it, or four years before, while *Drusus* was yet living, as *Tacitus* relates it, a young man gave out, that he was *Drusus* the son of *Germanicus*. He was first seen in the *Cyclades*, and soon after on the continent, attended by some of the emperor's freedmen, and by great crouds of people, who flocked to him from all parts. But in the mean time, *Poppæus Sabinus*, governor of *Greece* and also of *Macedon*, where he was at that time, hearing the story, hastened to *Nicopolis*, a Roman colony, to obviate the evil consequences of such a report. There he learnt, that this counterfeit *Drusus*, being artfully examined, had declared himself to be the son of *Marcus Silanus*, and that many of his followers falling off, he had imbarqued, as if he designed to sail to *Italy*. Further than this, says *Tacitus*, we have found nothing concerning the origin or issue of that affair^g. But *Dion Cassius* adds, that the impostor being received by many cities, and strengthened with vast numbers of followers, would have reached *Syria*, and probably been acknowledged there by the armies of his pretended father, had he not been discovered by some who knew, seized, and sent him to *Tiberius*^h. The same writer tells us, that this year, the twentieth of *Tiberius's* reign, ending on the nineteenth of *August*, the consuls solemnized it with public vows and sacrifices; which the emperor highly resenting, as if they had taken upon them to confirm to him the sovereign power for a further term of ten years, caused them both to be arraigned, condemned, and executedⁱ. What *Dion* says of the consuls of this year is not to be understood of those we have named, but of others, who were substituted in their room, it being evident both from *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, that *L. Vitellius*, the father of the emperor *Aulus Vitellius*, was sent the year following into *Syria* to govern that province. We shall have frequent occasion to mention him in the following reign (Z).

Two consuls of
this year put
to death.

The deaths of
several per-
sons of distin-
ction.

In the following consulship of *Cestius Gallus* and *M. Servilius Nonianus*, the domestic evils continued, *Tiberius*, though now three years since the execution of *Sejanus*, being no ways appeased, either by time or the innumerable victims he had already sacrificed to his jealousy. He still pursued with fresh rage stale and dubious imputations, punishing them as recent, heinous, and proved crimes. The most distinguished persons, who perished this year, were *Fulcinus Trio*, *Granius Martianus*, *Tatius Gratianus*, *Trebellienus Rufus*, and *Sextius Paconianus*. *Trio*, who was consul the year *Sejanus* was executed, being accused of having been privy to the treacherous designs of that minister, made his last will, in which he compiled a long charge of iniquities and dreadful invectives against *Macro* and the emperor's chief freedmen, not sparing the prince himself, whom he styled an old dotard, and, on account of his long absence, a despicable exile. These invectives were suppressed by the heirs of *Trio*; but *Tiberius*, not ashamed to publish his own infamy, ordered them to be read in the senate, either to shew that he could bear such liberties, or because he was willing, since he had been so long ignorant of the black enormities of *Sejanus*, that whatever was said, and however said, concerning him and his administration, should be divulged, that

^f Idem, c. 30.

^g TACIT. annal. 5. c. 10.

^h DIO, l. lviii. c. 637.

ⁱ Idem ibid. p. 656.

(Z.) *Tacitus* tells us, that in the consulship of *Fabius* and *Vitellius*, after many ages the phoenix appeared in *Egypt*, and furnished the learned, both of that country and of *Greece*, with matter for various observations concerning that miraculous bird. On this occasion he acquaints us with the opinions of such as have written on that subject, and tells, that they all agree in this, viz. that it is a creature sacred to the sun, and that as to its beak and feathers it differs from all other birds; but as to the length of its life relations vary: the common opinion is, says our historian, that it lives five hundred years; but there are not wanting some who extend its life to 1461, and affirm, that the three former phoenixes appeared in reigns greatly distant, the first under *Sesofstris*, the next under *Amasis*, and that the last was seen under *Ptolemy*, the third king of the *Macedonian* race, and flew to the city of *Heliopolis*, accompanied by a vast number of other birds won-

dering at her strange shape. But the accounts of antiquity, says *Tacitus*, are obscure: between *Ptolemy* and *Tiberius*, scarce passed two hundred and fifty years; whence some thought that this was no true phoenix, nor come from *Arabia*, and that it had nothing of the instinct which ancient tradition ascribes to the genuine; according to which tradition the true phoenix, having completed a certain course of years, builds just before its death a nest in its native land, upon which it sheds a generative power, whence springs up a young one, whose first care, when grown up, is to bury its father: this it does not undertake unadvisedly; but first tries its strength by gathering and carrying a great way loads of myrrh: when it finds itself equal to the burden, and fit for a long flight, it takes upon its back its father's body, carries it to the altar of the sun, and there burns it (62). Such were the opinions of the ancients, touching this miraculous, or rather fabulous, bird.

he might at least learn from the reproaches uttered against him, the truths which flattery studied to disguise. *Granius Martianus*, the senator, being charged with treason by *Caius Gracchus*, laid violent hands on himself (A). *Tatius Gratianus*, who had been prætor, was for the same charge sentenced to death; and also *Trebellienus Rufus*, who had been likewise prætor, and formerly appointed by the senate guardian to the sons of *Cotys*, king of *Thrace*; but he prevented condemnation by a voluntary death. *Paconianus*, who had been chosen by *Sejanus* to plot the overthrow of *Caligula*, as we have related above, was after three years confinement strangled in prison for verses made there against *Tiberius*^k. In the end of the year, died *Poppæus Sabinus*, who had been consul under *Augustus*, had acquired triumphal honours, and governed for the space of twenty-four years the two *Mæstias*, to which *Tiberius* had added in the second year of his reign *Macedon* and *Achaia*^l. *Tacitus* tells us, that he was not distinguished either by his birth or abilities; but was nevertheless raised and favoured by the princes, because he had talents equal to the employments given him, and not above them^m. He was succeeded in the government of the above-mentioned provinces by *C. Memmius Regulus*ⁿ. As for the disturbances which happened this year in *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and *Cilicia*, the reader will find them described by us at length in the histories of those kingdoms.

THE following year, *Q. Plautius* and *Sextus Papinius Allenius* being consuls, the same course of slaughter continued unrelenting. *Lucius Aruseius* and several others were condemned and executed. Such executions were now become so frequent and familiar, that they were hardly taken notice of; but that of *Vibulenus Agrippa*, a Roman knight, struck all with terror and amazement. After his accusers had finished their pleadings against him, he pulled out poison, which he had concealed under his gown, and swallowed it in open senate. He immediately fell, so potent was the poison; but nevertheless was hastily dragged by the lictors to the dungeon, where, though ready to expire, he was strangled by the common executioner^o. *Caius Galba*, a consular and brother to the emperor of this name, with the two *Blæsi*, fell by their own hands; *Galba*, upon the receipt of a letter from the emperor, forbidding him to cast lots for the government of a province; and the *Blæsi*, because *Tiberius* bestowed their priesthoods, as vacant dignities, upon others; this they took as a signal of death, and obeyed it. *Tigranes*, grandson to *Herod* king of *Judæa* by his father *Alexander*, and to *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia* by his mother *Glaphyra*^p, and who had himself reigned some time in *Armenia*, was accused like a private citizen, and, without any regard to the royal dignity, condemned and executed with the other pretended criminals^q. This prince and his elder brother *Alexander* had renounced the Jewish, and embraced the Pagan, religion out of complaisance to their grandfather *Archelaus*. *Agrippa* their cousin german was in the month of *September* dragged to prison loaded with chains, and kept there under close confinement till the death of *Tiberius*, as we have related in the history of the Jews. The same year, the city suffered greatly by an inundation of the *Tiber*^r, and by fire, which burnt down that part of the circus which was contiguous to mount *Aventine*, and all the buildings on the mount itself. This misfortune turned to the glory of the prince, for he paid the value of the houses destroyed, and expended in this bounty a hundred thousand great sesterces; which proved the more acceptable to the people, says *Tacitus*, as he had ever been sparing in private buildings (B). To make an estimate of every man's loss, he appointed

Tigranes put to death.

The generosity of Tiberius on occasion of a fire.

^k Idem, c. 38, 39. Dio, p. 626.

^l Tacit. ibid. Dio, p. 637.

^m Tacit. ibid.

ⁿ Dio, ibid.

^o Tacit. c. 40.

Dio, p. 634.

Suet. in Tib. c. 61.

^p Joseph. antiq. l.

xviii. c. 7.

^q Tacit. c. 40.

^r Dio, p. 638.

(A) No wonder, that voluntary deaths should be so common at *Rome*, not yet illuminated with the light of the gospel. For those, who fell by the hand of the executioner, forfeited their estates with their lives, and were debarred the honour of burial. Their bodies were publicly exposed to the insults of the populace, dragged through the streets with iron hooks, and thrown into the *Tiber*. No criminal, of what rank soever, nay not even women, were exempted from this base treatment. On the other hand, the bodies of such, as by a voluntary death prevented condemnation, were interred; their wills

remained in force, and their estates devolved to their children (63).

(B) *Tacitus* tells us, that this bounty proved the more grateful to the people, as he was ever sparing in private buildings; and adds, that his public works never exceeded two, viz. the temple of *Augustus*, and the scene of *Pompey's* theatre: nor, when he had finished both, did he consecrate either, whether prevented by old age, or despising popularity, is uncertain. Thus *Tacitus* (64), with whom *Suetonius* does not intirely agree. During the whole time he was emperor, says that writer, he built nothing that

was.

pointed his four sons-in-law, *Cneius Domitius*, *Cassius Longinus*, *Marcus Vinicius*, and *Rubellius Blandus*, assisted by *Publius Petronius*, nominated by the consuls^r. The ecclesiastic writers tell us, that in this or the preceding year, *Pontius Pilate* wrote to *Tiberius* on account of the passion, resurrection, and miracles of our Saviour, adding, that the number of his followers daily increased, and that he was accounted a God. Hereupon the emperor, say they, made a report of the whole matter to the senate, with this favourable suffrage, that Christ might be reckoned among the gods: the senate opposed this motion, and even by an edict commanded all christians to be banished the city. But *Tiberius* by another edict threatening their accusers with death, the persecution ceased, and the number of the believers daily increased both in *Judea* and at *Rome*^s. Whether this account is consistent with the servile spirit of the senate, and the dread they were all under of opposing any motion made by the emperor, is what we refer to the judgment of every impartial reader.

Tiberius is
taken ill.

Lucius Ar-
runtius accu-
sed.

His fine and
affecting rea-
soning.

THE next consuls, and the last under *Tiberius*, were *Cneius Acerronius Proculus* and *Caius Pontius Nigrinus*, or, as *Suetonius* calls him, *Niger*. The emperor was now in the seventy-eighth year of his age, without having been ever once indisposed since he came to the empire, though he neglected, and was even wont to ridicule, the rules and prescriptions of physicians, and such as after the age of thirty wanted to be informed by them, what helped or hurt their constitutions. At length he was taken ill at *Astura* between *Antium* and *Circei*, as he was returning to *Capreae* from the neighbourhood of *Rome* (C). However, he went forward, and reached *Circei*, where, to dissemble his indisposition, he not only assisted at the military games exhibited there, but threw darts himself at a boar, and killed him. From *Circei* he advanced to *Misenum*, and finding his strength began to fail him, he settled in a villa near the promontory, which once belonged to the celebrated *Lucullus*. Already his strength, already his spirits failed him; but his dissimulation failed him not. To hide his declension now very visible, he exerted the same vigor of mind, the same energy in his discourse, and even affected sometimes to be gay. In the mean time, the course of executions was not interrupted at *Rome* by the emperor's illness. *Acutia*, once the wife of *Publius Vitellius*, being charged with treason by *Lælius Balbus*, was condemned. Afterwards *Albucilla*, who had been married to *Satrius Secundus*, and was infamous for her amours and debaucheries, was accused of devising charms against the life of *Tiberius*. In the same charge were involved, as her accomplices and adulterers, *Cneius Domitius*, *Vibius Marsus*, and *Lucius Arruntius*, all three persons distinguished by their birth and employments. But as the minutes transmitted to the senate imported, that *Macro* had presided in the examination of the witnesses, and torture of the slaves, and the minutes were not accompanied by any letter from *Tiberius* against the accused, the fathers suspected, that while he was ill, the accusations were in great measure forged, perhaps without his privacy, by *Macro*, an irreconcilable enemy to *Arruntius*. However, that brave *Roman* chose to die, and to his friends attempting to divert him from that resolution, by representing to him, that news of the emperor's death, which would deliver him from the present danger, was daily expected, he answered in the following manner: "The same measures are not alike honourable to all men: I
" have lived long enough, and have not wherewithal to reproach myself, save that I
" have submitted to bear thus far an old age exposed to so many dangers, long hated
" as I was by *Sejanus*, and am now by *Macro*, always obnoxious to some reigning
" minister,

^r TACIT. c. 45.
c. 2. GILDAS.

^s TERTULL. in apol. c. 5. & 21. EUSEB. in chron. & hist. eccles. l. ii.

was great and magnificent: the temple of *Augustus*, and the reparation of *Pompey's* theatre; the only public works he ever undertook, he left unfinished after so many years (65). And in the life of *Caligula*, he finished the temple of *Augustus*, says he, and the amphitheatre of *Pompey*, which *Tiberius* had begun, but not completed (66): So that, according to *Tacitus*, he finished these buildings; but left them imperfect according to *Suetonius*.

(C) About the end of the preceding year, *Tiberius*, leaving his island, approached *Rome*, and having staid some time at *Tusculum*, he came within six miles of the city, and thence beheld his metropolis floating,

as it were, in blood. On his return to *Campania*, he was taken ill at *Astura*. *Suetonius* tells us, that he removed from the neighbourhood of *Rome*, being frightened with a kind of prodigy: for being wont to feed with his own hand a dragon, in which he took great pleasure, he found it one morning killed and half devoured by a swarm of ants. Hereupon, being warned by the soothsayers to avoid the multitude, he hastened back to *Campania*. We find no accounts of this nature in *Tacitus*, who only tells us, that *Tiberius*, after much shifting of places, settled in the end at the promontory of *Misenum* in a villa, which once belonged to *Lucullus*.

(65) *Suet. ibid. c. 47.*

(66) *Idem in Calig. c. 21*

a "minister, through no fault of mine, but because I am irreconcilable to the wicked.
 " 'Tis true, I may outlive, and escape, the few and last days of *Tiberius*: but how shall
 " I escape the young prince, his heir? If *Tiberius*, at such an age, and after so long
 " experience, has been intirely changed by the spirit of an uncontrouled power, is it to
 " be hoped, that *Caligula*, who is yet scarce out of his childhood, unexperienced in
 " affairs, and brought up in the worst of principles, will pursue a better course, having
 " *Macro* for his guide? that *Macro*, who, being chosen to oppress *Sejanus* as the more
 " wicked of the two, has since afflicted the republic with more mischiefs and cruelties.
 " I foresee a servitude yet more dreadful, and therefore will fly both from the present
 " and the impending calamities." Having uttered these words, as if he had been
 b inspired by the gods, he opened his veins, and bled to death^h. Such was the end of *His death*.

Lucius Arruntius, a man of a most illustrious descent, of great fortune, and extraordinary accomplishments, for which he was accounted by *Augustus*, as we have observed in the beginning of this reign, equal to the sovereignty. *Domitius*, by pretending to prepare for his defence, and *Marsus*, by seeming resolved to end his life by abstinence, outlived *Tiberius*, and escaped the present danger. As for *Albucilla*, she attempted to lay violent hands on herself; but the blow proving ineffectual, she was by order of the senate dragged to prison, and there executed. Against the accomplices of her debaucheries, it was decreed, that *Grafidius Sacerdos*, formerly prætor, should be banished to an island; and that *Pontius Fregallanus* and *Lælius Balbus*, both senators, should be degraded. About the same time, *Sextus Papinius*, of a consular family, probably the son of *Sextus Papinius*, who was consul the foregoing year, ended his life, by throwing himself headlong from a high place, to avoid the impure sollicitations of his own mother, who was thereupon accused, but only banished *Rome* for ten years, till her younger son had passed the dangers of youthⁱ.

d In the mean time, *Tiberius*, having read in the journal of the senate, that some prisoners had been discharged, because he had only writ that informations were lodged against them without mentioning witnesses, transported with rage, resolved to return at all adventures to *Caprea*, and there, as in a place of safety, revenge the affront offered him; but the bad weather and his distemper kept him against his will at *Misenum*^k. However, he still hoped to overcome his present indisposition, depending *His indisposition prevents his return to Caprea* upon the predictions of *Thrasyllus*, which he esteemed as so many oracles (D), that famous astrologer having assured him, that he was to live ten years longer, either deceived himself, or with a design to deceive *Tiberius*, that he might not hasten the execution of those who were in prison. However that be, many were indebted to *Thrasyllus*'s prediction for their lives^l. *Tiberius*, relying upon this, pursued his former course of life, without so much as relinquishing his shameful debaucheries, or mentioning his distemper to any physician. However, *Charicles*, an eminent man in that profession, who always attended him, as if he were departing upon some private affair, under the appearance of kissing his hand as he went out of the room, touched his pulse. *Tiberius*, suspecting the artifice, instantly ordered the entertainment *Endeavours to hide his distemper*.

^h Idem, c. 48.ⁱ Idem, c. 49.^k Suet. in Tib. c. 73.^l Dio. l. lviii. p. 638.

(D) *Tiberius*, during his retirement at *Rhodes*, applied himself chiefly to the study of judicial astrology under the direction of *Thrasyllus*, whose skill in that art he proved by the following trial. He led him to a house built on the top of a steep rock by the sea-side, and there minutely consulted him about various events. *Thrasyllus* gave satisfactory answers to all his questions, assured him, that he should be soon raised to the empire, and foretold many revolutions, which afterwards happened as they had been predicted. *Tiberius*, struck with amazement, asked him, whether he had calculated his own nativity, and could thence foresee what was to befall him the same year, nay, that very day? The reader is to know, that the way to the abovementioned house lay cross solitary rocks and dreadful precipices; and that *Tiberius*, if he suspected the predictions of the astrologer, whose art he meant to try, to be vain, used on his return to cast him headlong into the sea. This had been the fate of several, who,

unskilled in the art they professed, had attempted to impose upon him with false predictions. *Thrasyllus* therefore, when the abovementioned question was put to him, surveying the position of the stars and calculating their aspects, began at first to hesitate, then to tremble, and the more he meditated, the more he appeared dismayed with wonder and dread; at last he cried out, that just then he was threatened with a danger very near fatal. At these words *Tiberius* embracing him, congratulated him upon his foresight of dangers and his security from them; and thenceforth, esteeming his predictions as so many oracles, held him in the rank of his most intimate friends (67). *Tiberius* himself is said to have been skilled in astrology, but nevertheless died, if *Dion Cassius* is to be credited (68), ten years sooner than he expected; which discovers, to use the expression of *Tacitus*, the short bounds between the art and the falshood of the art.

(67) *Tacit. annal.* 6. c. 20.(68) *Dio*, l. lviii. f. 635.

to be served up, persuaded *Charicles* to sit down again, and continued himself at table longer than usual, as if he meant that honour only for a farewell to his friend, but in reality to feign health and hide his weakness. When the entertainment was over, he did not forget his old custom; but standing in the middle of the room with an officer by him, he called them all by their names, and took his leave of each of the guests in particular, as if he had been in perfect health. But for all this, *Charicles* assured *Macro*, that the emperor declined apace, and that he could not last two days longer. Hence the whole court was filled with close consultations, and expresses were sent to the generals and armies^m.

Is puzzled
about settling
the succession.

Tiberius had no surviving children of his own; he had indeed a grandson, the son of *Drusus*, named *Tiberius Nero*, and surnamed *Gemellus*, or the *Twin*, because born at a birth with another, who died in his infancy. *Caius*, surnamed *Caligula*, was his grandson too, but only by adoption, he being the son of his nephew *Germanicus*, whom he had adopted by order of *Augustus*. Hence he was at a loss to which of the two he should bequeath the empire. The son of *Drusus* was nearer in blood, and far more dear to him, but too young to govern such a mighty empire; being at this time but in the seventeenth year of his age. *Caius* was in the flower and vigor of youth, but greatly beloved by the people, which was a sufficient motive for his grandfather to hate him. In this perplexity the emperor thought even of *Claudius*, who was his nephew and brother to *Germanicus*; but the weakness of his understanding prevented the choice: for he had been hitherto reckoned incapable of any public employment. To seek a successor out of his own family was disgracing, and in a manner insulting, the name of the *Cæsars* and the memory of *Augustus*. For he had more at heart the grandeur of his race, than the welfare and security of the *Roman* state. So that, his mind still wavering and his strength decaying, he left to the decision of fate a deliberation, to which he was now unequalⁿ. Thus *Tacitus*. But *Dion*

Various opinions
of writers
about his last
will.

Cassius tell us, that he bequeathed the empire to *Caius*, whom he knew to be naturally cruel, arrogant, and tyrannical, hoping that his vices would efface the memory of his own wickedness, and that he would complete the destruction of the *Roman* nobility, being often heard to say, that *Priam* was a happy prince, who had the pleasure to outlive all his subjects, and see his kingdom with his whole race perish with him; and that in *Caligula* he had brought up a serpent for the people of *Rome*, and a *Phæton* for the rest of the world^o. But with *Dion Cassius*'s leave, we cannot persuade ourselves, that such horrible thoughts should have ever entered into the mind even of *Tiberius*; and if they had, we may boldly affirm, that he was not so impolitic as ever to have uttered them. *Suetonius* assures us, that two years before his death he made his will, of which there were three copies, one under his own hand, the other written by one of his freedmen, but both to the same purpose, and witnessed by persons of no rank or distinction. By that will he left coheirs, *Caius* his grandson by *Germanicus* and *Tiberius* by *Drusus*, both in equal portions, and substituting them successively^p. This, in the opinion of a modern critic of no mean character^q, did not so much regard the emperor's private estate, as the empire; for *Dion Cassius* tells us in express terms, that the prince left the empire by his last will to young *Tiberius* too, that he took care to make this his last disposition well known, and even caused it to be read by *Macro* in the senate^r. *Suetonius* likewise in his life of *Caligula* writes, that the senate and people unanimously declared *Caligula* sole emperor, contrary to the express will of *Tiberius*, who had left him but his coheir with another of his grandchildren, who was then under age, and still in his *prætexta*^s. *Philo* likewise the *Jew* assures us, that young *Tiberius* was left coheir of *Caius*, and his colleague in the sovereignty; and adds, that *Tiberius*, if he had lived a little longer, would have cut off *Caius*, and left the empire to his grandson without either a partner or a rival^t. *Agrippa*, who was afterwards king of *Judeæ*, being come to wait on *Tiberius*, while he still resided in his island, the emperor recommended to him his grandson *Tiberius*, and highly resented his paying more court to *Caius* than to him; nay, he caused him six months after to be dragged to prison, though he had received him on his arrival with the greatest marks of friendship and affection, because in a private conversation with *Caius* he had wished young *Tiberius* might soon die, and surrender the empire to him^u. *Caius* therefore, doubting of the inclination of *Tiberius*, left no stone

According to
some Caius
and young Ti-
berius left
partners in
the empire

^m TACIT. c. 50. SUT. in Tib. c. 72, 73. DIO, l. lviii. p. 638. ⁿ TACIT. c. 46. ^o DIO, ibid. p. 636. ^p SUT. ibid. c. 76. ^q CASAUBON. p. 433. ^r DIO, l. lix. p. 640. ^s SUT. in Calig. c. 14. ^t PHIL. legat. p. 1002, 1004. ^u JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.

^a stone unturned to secure the empire by other means. He even debased himself so far as to court the favour of *Ennia Nevia*, the wife of *Macro*, with the promise of marriage, as soon as he attained the sovereign power. His view in this was to engage in his interest her husband, whose credit with the emperor was known to be great^w. *Tacitus* and *Dion Cassius* tell us, that after the death of *Claudia*, who had been espoused to *Caligula*, *Macro* himself, to make his court to him, obliged his wife to sacrifice her honour to his ambitious views, and to secure the young prince by a promise of marriage^x. But *Philo* says, that *Macro* was altogether a stranger to the infamy of his wife, and suspected nothing dishonourable in the affection she shewed for *Caius*. The same writer adds, that *Tiberius*, whom no prince ever surpassed in sagacity and penetration, looking upon *Caius* as incapable of the government of such a vast empire, and at the same time suspecting him an enemy in his heart to the whole race of the *Claudii*, that is, to all his relations on the father's side, and consequently to young *Tiberius*, would have cut him off, instead of naming him for his successor, had not *Macro* diverted him from this design, by excusing the faults of the young prince, by ascribing to modesty his seeming want of parts, and assuring the emperor, that he had a great respect and affection for his grandson *Tiberius*^y. *Macro*'s partiality for *Caius* was not unknown to *Tiberius*, who upbraided his minister with it, telling him, that he neglected the setting sun, and courted the rising. On several other occasions he dropt certain words, which plainly shewed, that he foresaw what would happen after his death (E). As one day *Caius* ridiculed *Sylla* upon some occasional discourse, *Tiberius* told him, that he would have all the vices of *Sylla*, and none of his virtues. At another time, a debate arising between the two young princes, the emperor embraced with many tears his little grandson; and addressing himself to *Caius*, who at this demonstration of kindness betrayed great sternness in his countenance, Thou, said he, wilt one day murder him, and another wilt murder thee^z. This he foretold, not from his skill in astrology, as *Dion* imagines^a, but from his sagacity and thorough knowledge of mankind. Caius saved by Macro.

In the mean time, the emperor's strength failing him more and more, on the sixteenth of *March* so deep a swoon seized him, that he was believed to have finished his course. Hereupon *Caius*, quitting in haste the palace to take possession of the empire, shewed himself abroad in the midst of a great throng of persons of all ranks, paying him their congratulations upon his accession to the throne. But in the height of his joy, sudden notice was brought him, that *Tiberius* had recovered his sight and voice, and had called for some refreshment to strengthen his fainting spirits. This unexpected news struck all with dread and horror; the croud about *Caligula* dispersed in a trice, every one resuming false sorrow, or pretending ignorance, and the young prince himself, trembling, speechless, and not able to stir from his place, expected there immediate death instead of the empire. *Macro* alone continued undisturbed, and, ordering the apartment to be cleared, caused the weak old man to be smothered with a weight of coverings under colour of keeping him warm^b. *Seneca*, as quoted by His death foretold by Tiberius.

^w Suet. in Calig. c. 12. ^x Tacit. c. 45. ^y Philo legat. c. 4. p. 997, 998. ^z Tacit. c. 46. ^a Dio, l. lviii. p. 636. ^b Tacit. c. 50. Dio, l. lviii. p. 639.

(E) *Josephus* writes, that *Tiberius*, desirous to know by some prognostic to which of his grandchildren the gods reserved the empire, told *Evodus*, one of his freedmen, that he had a mind to see *Caius* and young *Tiberius* early next morning. As he was persuaded no doubt from his skill in astrology, that he, who came first, should succeed him, he charged *Tiberius*'s governor to bring his grandson to him next morning by break of day, ordering at the same time *Evodus* to introduce to him immediately the young prince, who should arrive first. Accordingly, as soon as day appeared, the freedman, pursuant to his orders, went to wait at the door of the emperor's chamber the arrival of the princes, not doubting, but *Tiberius*, upon the warning he had had, would get the start of *Caius*. But it happened quite otherwise; *Caius* was already there, and immediately introduced by *Evodus* to the emperor, who in seeing him burst into tears, but soon restrained them, to

acquaint *Caius* that the gods reserved the empire for him, and to recommend to him his grandson, whom they debarred from the power and authority which was due to him by right of succession. *Caius* made many fine promises, though he meant nothing less than to perform them; and the emperor, having named him for his successor, died a few days after (69). According to this account, which in our opinion favours of the fable, *Tiberius* left the empire to *Caius* alone; according to *Dion Cassius* and *Suetonius*, to *Caius* and *Tiberius* jointly; and according to *Tacitus*, to neither, but to the decision of fate, that is, to the person for whom fate or destiny reserved it. The authority of *Tacitus* is of great weight with us, especially in what he relates here, since all authors agree in describing *Tiberius* as a fatalist, or one who was persuaded that all things were governed by fate.

The death of
Tiberius.
Year after the
flood 3036.
Of Christ 37.
Of Rome 785

by *Suetonius*, tells us, that *Tiberius*, finding his end approached, pulled off his ring, and held it a considerable time in his hand, as if he designed to give it to some body; that he put it upon his finger again, and that after having continued a long time motionless with his left hand shut close, all of a sudden he called one of his attendants, and no one answering, he rose up; but his strength failing him, he fell down by the bed-side, and died^e. Others write, that *Caius* not only gave him a slow working poison, which consumed him by degrees, but that having commanded his ring to be taken off of his finger, and observing *Tiberius* to make some resistance, he immediately smothered him with a pillow; they add, that this action seemed so cruel to one of his freedmen, that he could not forbear crying out; which so provoked *Caius*, that he caused him to be immediately apprehended and crucified. This does not at all seem incredible, says *Suetonius*, since there are authors, who affirm, that he bragged of having attempted to dispatch the old emperor on another occasion, publicly owning, that, to revenge the death of his mother and brothers, he went with a dagger in his hand into *Tiberius's* chamber, while he was asleep; but being touched with compassion, he threw away the weapon, and retired; that *Tiberius* saw him, but thought it adviseable to take no notice of what he had observed. This circumstance inclines us to believe the whole account fabulous, and invented either by *Caius* himself, or by those who relate it. He did not indeed want cruelty for such an attempt, but courage and resolution, if we may depend upon the character which *Tacitus* and most writers give him. *Tiberius* died, according to *Tacitus*^f and *Suetonius*^g, on the sixteenth, according to *Dion Cassius*^h, on the twenty-sixth of *March*; so that he reigned from the death of *Augustus*, twenty-two years, six months, and twenty-six days, or ten days more, as *Dion* will have it. He was at his death in the seventy-eighth year of his age, which he had entered four months, and nine, or at most nineteen, days beforeⁱ. Though he had the preceding year highly obliged the city by a generous bounty on occasion of a fire, yet the news of his death was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, the populace running up and down the streets in great crouds, and crying, *Throw the tyrant into the Tiber*, or beseeching their mother *earth* and the infernal gods to vouchsafe him no place but among the impious: some threatened to drag his vile carcase to the *Gemoniæ*, and there expose it to the rage and fury of the multitude, provoked not only by his past cruelties, but by a new piece of inhumanity, even after his death. For whereas, by the decree we have spoken of above, it was provided, that no criminal whatsoever should be executed till the tenth day after sentence pronounced, that term happening to expire with respect to several persons on the same day the news of *Tiberius's* death reached *Rome*, they earnestly begged for a farther reprieve, not doubting, but *Caius* would grant them their lives and liberty. But as he was absent, and no one else at *Rome*, to whom any petition in their behalf could be addressed, the keepers of the prison strangled them of their own accord, and exposed their bodies to public view; which cruel action increased the hatred of the people against *Tiberius*, as if his cruelty had outlived him^k. Several others, however, were saved; for the emperor dying before the term of their reprieve expired, they had time to apply to his successor, who set them at liberty^l. The body of the deceased emperor was by the soldiers, without doubt of the prætorian guards, carried from *Misenum* to *Rome*, where it was burnt with the usual solemnity, *Caius*, who had never abandoned the body, pronouncing the funeral oration, in which he spoke little of *Tiberius*, but greatly extolled *Augustus* and *Germanicus*, without forgetting himself. He had written to the senate before, acquainting them with the death of the emperor, and his accession to the empire, and requiring them at the same time to decree those honours to *Tiberius* which they had formerly bestowed on *Augustus*. But the senate, not yet acquainted with the humour of the new emperor, postponed the affair till his arrival, when he took no farther notice of what he had written; but causing the body to be brought into the city in the night-time, exposed it the next day, and then ordered it to be burnt without any extraordinary pomp or honours^m. As for his character, every reader may draw it to himself after the detail we have given of the most remarkable actions of his life. However, to what we have already said, we shall subjoin the words with which *Tacitus* closes the history of his reign. *Tiberius*, says he, was deservedly esteemed by all while he was a private man, or commanded under *Augustus*: with great cunning and address he feigned virtue, while *Germanicus* and *Drusus* lived: he bore

The joy of the
Roman people
at the news of
his death.

His body con-
veyed to
Rome, and
there burnt.

^e Suet. ibid. c. 73. ^f Tacit. c. 50. ^g Suet. c. 73. ^h Dio, l. lviii. p. 639. ⁱ Tacit. c. 51. ^j Dio, ibid. p. 630. ^k Suet. ibid. c. 75. ^l Dio, l. lviii. p. 633. ^m Idem, l. lix. p. 642.

a bore a mixt character of good and evil till the death of his mother; he did not disguise his execrable cruelty, but concealed his lewdness, while he loved and feared *Sejanus*: at last he abandoned himself at once to all wickedness, being no longer restrained either by shame or fear; but following the bent of his own disposition and nature^m (F). Many eminent writers flourished in his reign, of whom we shall give a succinct account, not to interrupt the thread of our history, in our notes (G), to which we refer our readers.

As

^m Tacit. c. 51.

(F) We shall subjoin here some observations on *Tiberius*, which we have found in the ancients; but for brevity's sake avoided inserting in our text. He was, as *Suetonius* informs us, a great lover of the liberal arts: he was an eloquent and ready speaker, and in his writings imitated *Messala Corvinus*, a famous orator; but his too great niceness, or rather affectation, rendered his style perplexed and obscure; whence he was esteemed a better speaker without, than upon, premeditation and study. He wrote a lyric poem, intitled, *A complaint on the death of Lucius Cæsar*, which was greatly esteemed; and several Greek pieces in imitation of *Euphorion*, *Rhianus* and *Parthenius*, poets whom he admired above the rest, and whose statues he caused to be dedicated in the public libraries amongst those of the most celebrated writers. He took great delight in the fables of the poets, with which he was thoroughly acquainted, and used to puzzle the grammarians with the following and such-like questions; Who was *Hecuba's* mother? What was the name of *Achilles* amongst the maids at the court of *Lycomedes*? What songs the *Sirens* were said to sing? &c. The Greek tongue he spoke with great readiness and ease, but used it very seldom. In his speeches to the senate he took care to avoid Greek words; insomuch, that the Latin tongue supplying him with no word to express *monopoly*, he begged leave to use a foreign one. Having read in a decree of the senate the word *emblema*, he desired the senators to alter it, and either put a Latin word in its room, or express the meaning of it by circumlocution (70). He betrayed even from his infancy manifest tokens of a cruel, savage, and untractable temper; whence *Theodorus Gadareus*, who taught him the first rudiments of learning, used to call him, *A mass of clay tempered with blood* (71). Most of the ancients, who speak of him, observe, that though he could brook no opposition, yet he abhorred flattery, as suiting only with the spirit of slaves, and was even ashamed of the mean and slavish submissions of the senate. He never forgave free speakers, never could endure men of a bold spirit, whom first or last he pursued to destruction: but at the same time he abominated flattery, when he knew it to be so; whence it was dangerous, says *Tacitus*, to practice no flattery, and dangerous to practise too much, *adulatione, quæ preinde anteps si nulla, & ubi nimia est*: and elsewhere; *libertatem metuebat, adulationem moderat*. As he was a man of great penetration, and endowed with extraordinary talents both for civil and military employments, he would have made a great figure in the times of the republic, well supported the dignity of a senator, discharged with credit the first offices of state, and in all likelihood died in renown, and left behind him a high reputation. But being, unhappily for himself and his country, invested with an uncontrouled power, he let loose all his passions; so that he, who might have proved an excellent and useful member of a free state, became a prince altogether merciless, nay a destructive and insupportable tyrant. What is not to be apprehended from power

without controul? and who is to be trusted with it, when a man of such great parts and so long experience, as *Tiberius*, was so intirely mastered and intoxicated with it?

(G) These were, *Velleius Paterculus*, of whose history the far greater part is lost; what still remains of it comprehends the ancient history of the *Greeks* and that of the *Romans*, from the defeat of *Perfes* to the seventeenth year of *Tiberius's* reign. He is thought to have written with candor and impartiality till the times of the *Cæsars*, in whose favour he miserably perverts truth, or utterly suppresses it. What he writes of *Tiberius* ought rather to be styled a fulsome panegyric, than a history. *Semper magna fortuna comes est adulatio*, says he; *Flattery is a constant attendant upon greatness*: and indeed he is himself a remarkable instance of the truth of this saying, as must evidently appear to every impartial reader in the perusal of the account he has left us of *Tiberius's* reign. He accuses *Germanicus* of cowardice, while he represents others as consummate heroes, who were no ways to compare with that brave prince, either in courage or conduct. His chief hero, after *Tiberius*, was the favourite minister *Sejanus*, on whom he bestows the highest encomiums, not foreseeing the doom that hung over his head, and soon after overtook him. Some writers think, that *Velleius* himself fell with *Sejanus*, as a friend, if not an accomplice, of the traitor whom he so undeservedly commended. He put the last hand to his work in the consulship of *M. Vinicius*, to whom he inscribed it; that is, in the seventeenth year of *Tiberius's* reign, as he himself informs us (72), and twenty-seven after he had been adopted by *Augustus*. He was of an equestrian family, come originally from *Campania*, and descended by the mother from the celebrated *Decius Magius*, who, being condemned by the senate of *Capua* to be delivered up to *Hannibal*, for his steady adherence to the *Roman* interest, was sent away for *Carthage*, but driven by a storm to the dominions of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, who took him under his protection. His paternal grandfather was likewise a native of *Campania*, but raised to great preferments, first by *Pompey the great*, and afterwards by *Brutus*, under whom he served. He himself served nine years under *Tiberius*, first as military tribune in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, and afterwards in quality of commander of the legionary horse in *Germany*. As to his civil employments, he was honoured with the quæstorship, the prætorship, and, as some writers conjecture, with the consulate; which is not improbable, since he was in great favour both with *Tiberius* and *Sejanus* (73).

Valerius Maximus, who left behind him a collection of the memorable actions and sayings of the ancients, wrote about the latter end of *Tiberius's* reign, after the fall of *Sejanus*, as is manifest from his own words, and from those of the ancients who quote him. His style, which has nothing of the purity of the age he is supposed to have lived in, has prompted some to imagine, that his writings are of a much later date. These take it for granted, that all those

who

(70) *Suet. ibid. c. 70.*
hist. Lat. l. i. c. 24.

(71) *Idem, c. 57.*

(72) *Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 126.*

(73) *Vide Voss,*

who wrote in the golden age, wrote well, which others deny. *Vossius* takes the work, which passes under the name of *Valerius Maximus*, to be only an abridgment of what he wrote, done by one *Julius Paris*. In what age the supposed author of this epitome lived, we are no-where told; but to him is generally ascribed the treatise of *Roman names*, which is subjoined to the nine books of *Valerius Maximus* (74).

Strabo, whose seventeen books of geography are so much and so deservedly admired by the learned, observes in his sixteenth book, that the kingdom of *Comagene* had been but very lately reduced to a *Roman* province. This happened, according to the opinion of the best chronologers, the eighteenth year of the christian æra and the fifth of *Tiberius's* reign; so that we reasonably suppose *Strabo*, who was then very old, to have ended both his work and his life before the death of *Tiberius*. He wrote other books, but none of them have reached us.

Dionysius the geographer, who wrote a description of the earth in *Greek* verse, died, according to *Vossius*, in the reign of *Tiberius*. For that writer takes this to be the *Dionysius* who was sent into the east by *Augustus*, as we read in *Pliny* (75), to survey those countries, and make an exact description of them for the use of *Caius Cæsar*, who was to be sent thither. The *Dionysius*, whom *Augustus* employed, was a native of *Corax*, called also *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and situated between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. He was the last, says *Pliny*, who wrote a description of the whole earth. *Scaliger* will not allow the description of the earth, which has reached us, to be the work of that *Dionysius*, but of another, who flourished under the emperor *Severus*. *Salmasius* on the other hand ascribes it to one of the same name, who wrote in the reign of *M. Aurelius*; and in his notes on the *Augustean* historians (76), promises to support this opinion with unanswerable arguments in a new edition, which he then designed, of *Dionysius*. This promise he made in 1620. But in his notes upon *Solinus* published in 1629, speaking occasionally of *Dionysius* the geographer, he says, that he lived under the emperor *Severus*, without taking the least notice of his invincible arguments, or so much as deigning to acquaint us with the reasons which prompted him to change his opinion (77). He speaks of him in another place (78); but there endeavours only to prove, that he did not flourish in the reign of *Augustus*. *Suidas* mentions three geographers, all bearing the name of *Dionysius*; one a native of *Corinth*, another of *Miletus*, and the third either of *Rhodes* or *Samos* (79). In such variety of opinions, we will not take upon us to ascertain the time, in which flourished the author of the description of the earth that has reached us: all we can say is, that *Eustathius*, *Vossius*, father *Pagi*, and cardinal *Noris* were certainly mistaken in supposing him to have lived in the time of *Augustus*, since he mentions some events, as *Salmasius* rightly observes (80), which happened in the reign of *Domitian*.

Phædrus, who translated into *Latin* verse the fables of *Æsop*, was, according to *Vossius* (81), a native of *Thrace*, and one of *Augustus's* freedmen, and died in the reign of *Tiberius*.

Thrasyllus the astrologer, of whom we have spoken above, was well versed in several other sciences, especially in *Plato's* philosophy. *Jonssius* takes him to be the author of a work quoted by some of the ancients, on the genealogy of *Plato* (82). To him are likewise ascribed some books of physics quoted by

Pliny. The emperor *Julian* assures us, that *Thrasyllus* acquired more fame by the books he left behind him, than by his mighty credit with *Tiberius* (83). *Jonssius* tells us, that he was put to death by *Tiberius* in the sixteenth year of the christian æra, that is, in the second year of *Tiberius's* reign (84). But it is manifest from *Dion Cassius*, that *Thrasyllus* died by the course of nature in the thirty sixth year of the christian æra, that is, a year before *Tiberius* (85).

L. Feneftella, the poet and historian, died towards the latter end of *Tiberius's* reign. He seems to have been greatly esteemed by the ancients (86); but some are of opinion, that none of his works have reached our times. The treatise of the *Roman* magistrates, which goes under his name, is of a later date, and generally ascribed to *Andrea Domenico Flocco*, a native of *Florence*.

Verrius Flaccus, a celebrated grammarian and preceptor to *Caius* and *Lucius Cæsars*, died in the reign of *Tiberius*, extremely old (87). He wrote, according to *Aulus Gellius* (88), several books of memorable things, and a book of the signification of words, which that writer sometimes quotes (89). We have still some fragments of several of his works, quoted sometimes by *Macrobius*, and frequently by *Pliny*. He wrote a book of *Fasti*, and a catalogue of all the *Roman* consuls to his time, which was engraved on marble, and set up in the forum of *Prænestæ* (90). Most writers take the fragments of the *Fasti*, which are still to be seen in the capitol at *Rome*, to be the same that were set up at *Prænestæ*; but they can alledge nothing in proof of their opinion, except mere conjectures, since others, as well as *Verrius*, might have undertaken a work of the same nature. The *Fasti Capitolini*, besides the names of the consuls, mark the triumphs, several incidents relating to history, and also the years of *Rome*; but are always a year behind *Varro*, whom most authors follow. To these we might add many other writers, who flourished under *Tiberius*, according to *Vossius* and *Jonssius*; but, as their works are long since lost, we shall not detain our readers with a detail, from which they can reap no profit.

As the reverend fathers, *Catrcu* and *Rouillè*, have not yet carried their *Roman* history beyond this period, the death of *Tiberius*, we think ourselves bound both in justice and gratitude to acknowledge in this place the assistance we have received from their labours. The copious materials, which they have collected with incredible pains from almost innumerable authors, have been we must own, a great help to us, though we have never made use of them without consulting the originals, a caution, we are sorry to say it, which we have found too often necessary. But of their most material and remarkable mistakes notice has been occasionally taken in the course of the present history; and in this place we are only to return them thanks, which we do accordingly, for the assistance they have lent us. We might justly be taxed with ingratitude, if we did not at the same time discharge another obligation, and own ourselves greatly indebted to a writer of our own nation; we mean the ingenious Mr. *Hooke*, whose excellent performance has proved more serviceable to us, than the numerous volumes of the jesuits. As we are obliged, both by the nature of our undertaking and our engagement with the public, to have immediate recourse to the ancient writers, it is our constant custom to compare with them such of the moderns of any repute as have handled the same subjects with us. Upon this collation, we must do Mr. *Hooke* the justice to own, that he has with a scrupulous

- (74) *Idem* *ibid.* c. 24. (75) *Plin.* l. vi. c. 27. (76) *Spart.* p. 138. (77) *Salmas.* in *Solin.* p. 628.
 (78) *Ibid.* p. 411. (79) *Suid.* p. 747. (80) *Salmas.* *ubi supra.* (81) *Voss.* poet. *Latin.* c. 2.
 (82) *Joann. Jonss.* de scriptor. *historiæ philosophicæ*, l. xviii. *Genevæ*, anno 1634. (83) *Julian.* *August.*
ad Themist. (84) *Jonss.* *ibid.* l. iii. c. 3. (85) *Dio.* l. lviii. p. 638. (86) *Plin.* l. xxxiii.
 c. 11. *Hier.* in *chron.* (87) *Suet.* *gramm.* c. 17. (88) *Aul. Gell.* l. iv. c. 5. (89) *Idem.*
 l. v. c. 17, 18. & l. xvi. c. 14. (90) *Suet.* *ibid.*

As *Caius*, surnamed *Caligula* (H), was greatly beloved both by the senate and people, on account of the extraordinary merit of his father *Germanicus*; and the injuries done to him and his family, news was no sooner brought that he was advancing from *Misenum* with the corps of the deceased emperor, than persons of all ranks and ages crowded out to meet him. At his entrance into the city he was received with new names of honour and all possible demonstrations of real affection. The senate immediately

Caius Caligula Cæsar declared emperor with full power.

a scrupulous exactness adhered all along to his authors; which is more than we can say of the Jesuits, of monsieur *Vertot*, or monsieur *Rollin*, who, like most writers of their nation, seem to take delight in embellishing their narrations with circumstances unknown to the ancients, which, in other words, is adulterating truth with romance, and passing fables upon the readers for history; since there are but few who have either the leisure or convenience of undeceiving themselves by recurring to the originals. Thus much we have thought ourselves obliged to say in commendation of a writer, who deserves so well of the public and of us in particular, tho' the favourable reception, which his undertaking has already met with, may seem to have rendered our testimony in some degree useless.

(H) *Caius*, says *Tacitus*, was born in the camp; nursed in the arms of the legions, and by them named *Caligula*, a military name from the boots, which, of the same fashion with their own, in compliment to them and to win their affections, he frequently wore (20). The surname of *Caligula*, says *Suetonius* (21), was given him in the camp by the legions, because he was brought up amongst them in the habit of a common soldier; in virtue of which education, he was to such a degree beloved by them, that upon a mutiny after the death of *Augustus*, his presence appeased them, when in the height of their fury. Thus *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* agree as to the origin of the surname of *Caligula*; but they differ as to the place of his birth. *Caius Cæsar*, says *Suetonius* (22), was born the last day of *August*, his father and *C. Fonteius Capito* being consuls, that is, the twelfth year of the common christian æra. As to the place of his birth, continues the same writer, the diversity of reports hath rendered it uncertain: *Cn. Lentulus Getulicus* writes, that he was born at *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*; *Pliny* in the country of the *Treviri* in a town called *Ambitarinum*, at the confluence of the *Rhine* and the *Moselle*; and, to confirm his opinion, he adds, that there are still altars to be seen there with this inscription; *OB AGRIPPINÆ PUERPERIUM, for the delivery of Agrippina*: the following verses likewise enforce the common opinion, that he was born in the place where the legions were at that time in their winter-quarters:

*In castris natus, patriis nutritus in armis,
Jam designati principis omen erat.*

But I find amongst the public records, that he was born at *Antium*. *Pliny* refutes *Getulicus* as one who did not scruple to depart from truth; that he might flatter a young and ambitious prince by assigning him for his birth-place, a town which was consecrated to *Hercules*. This he could do the more boldly, as *Agrippina* had been delivered of a son at *Tibur* but a year before, whose name was likewise *Caius Cæsar*. As for *Pliny*, he is sufficiently confuted by the computation of times: for those who have written the history of *Augustus* assure us, that *Caius* was born before his father *Germanicus* was sent into *Gaul*, after his consulship was expired. Neither is the inscription upon the altars of any weight, seeing *Agrippina* was delivered of two daughters in that country; and the word *Puerperium* may be under-

stood of either sex. Besides, in former times, girls were called *Pueræ*, and boys *Puelli*. There is also still extant an epistle from *Augustus* to his granddaughter *Agrippina*, written not many months before his death concerning this *Caius*, for there was no other child then of this name, in these words: *Yesterday I ordered Talarus and Afellus to bring little Caius hither, if it pleased the gods, on the seventeenth of May. I send with him one of my physicians, whom, as I have written to Germanicus, he may keep with him, if he thinks good. Farewel, my dear Agrippina; take care of your health; that you may be well when you meet your husband.* From this letter it is evident, that *Caius* was at this time in *Italy*; and he could not be born in a country, into which he was conveyed from *Rome*, when he was near two years old. This evidence confutes also the verses, the more because the author was never known. It therefore remains, that we acquiesce in the testimony of the public records; the rather because *Caius* preferred *Antium* to all other places, nay, being weary of *Rome*, he is said to have resolved to remove his imperial seat thither. Thus far *Suetonius* (23), whose arguments, in the opinion of *Lipsius*, carry no great weight with them. Were *Tacitus* and *Pliny* ignorant of what was contained in the public acts? Can we suppose, that such an accurate writer as *Tacitus* would have positively affirmed, without consulting the public records, that *Caius* was born in the camp? *Germanicus*, as it is agreed on all hands, was sent into *Germany* immediately after the slaughter of *Varus* and his legions, and continued there till his consulship; when he left *Germany* and returned to *Rome*; but we are no-where told, that his wife *Agrippina* accompanied him in that journey. She was perhaps then big with *Caius*, remained on that account in *Germany*, and was there delivered of him, during her husband's consulship. There appears at least in this no incongruity no improbability. As to the public registers, perhaps another son, bearing the same name, was born to them at *Antium*; for they had in all nine children, of whom three died infants. The surname of *Caligula*, which was given to this *Caius* by the legions some time after his birth, was not, we imagine, added to his name in the registers: *Suetonius* therefore might have mistaken another *Caius* for this. But he could not be born in a country, into which he was conveyed from *Rome*, when he was two years old. Why not? Might not *Agrippina* have been delivered of *Caius* in *Germany*, then come to *Rome*, and afterwards return to *Germany*? We are surpris'd that *Suetonius* should lay any stress on so weak an argument. *Caius*, 'tis true, preferred *Antium* to all other places, as *Tiberius* did *Capræ*, and *Augustus* *Tibur* and *Lanuvium*; but no one ever pretended to infer from thence, that they were born in either of these places. Whoever was the author of the above-mentioned verses, they were published upon *Caius's* accession to the empire; and we can hardly persuade ourselves, that the place of his nativity was not then known at least to every *Roman*. Upon the whole, we cannot help preferring to the authority of *Suetonius* that of *Tacitus*, supported by the testimonies of *Pliny*, *Athenæus*, and *Sextus Victor* (24).

(20) *Tacit. annal. l. i. c. 41.*

(21) *Suet. c. 9.*

(22) *Idem, c. 8.*

(23) *Idem, c. 8.*

(24) *Vide Lip. in excus. in lib. i. annal.*

Honours the
memory of his
mother and
brothers.

His love to his
grandmother
and sisters.

Sets at liberty
Agrippa, and
all state-pri-
soners.

Discourages
informers.

diately assembled, and, the people thronging into the hall with the senators, he was by universal consent declared emperor with full power, contrary to the express will of *Tiberius*, who had left him coheir with his grandson *Tiberius*, then under age and in his pretexta. The joy for his accession to the imperial throne was not confined to the narrow bounds of *Rome* and *Italy*, but reached the most distant provinces; in-
somuch, that in the space of three months a hundred and sixty thousand victims were slain on that occasion within the limits of the empire^a. He had no sooner paid his last duty to the remains of his grandfather, than he hastened into the islands of *Pandataria* and *Pontia*, where he gathered with great reverence the bones and ashes of his mother and brother *Nero*, brought them to *Rome*, and caused them to be deposited with extraordinary pomp in the mausoleum of *Augustus*^b. The inscriptions which he placed over them are still to be seen^c; and from the medals of *Agrippina*, which have reached us^d, it appears, that he distinguished her with the title of *Augusta*. All the decrees of the senate enacted against them, and against *Drusus*, who died at *Rome*, were annulled^e; nay, a stately villa, on the sea-side, where *Agrippina* had for some time been kept under confinement, was levelled with the ground, that no monuments might remain of her misfortunes^f. Public sacrifices were at his motion appointed by the senate to be yearly offered to perpetuate their memory; solemn games in the circus, and chariot-races, were instituted in honour of his mother, in which her image was to be carried amongst those of the gods; and the month of *September* was by a decree of the senate to be thenceforth called by the name of his father *Germanicus*. Having thus signalized his piety towards his father, his mother, and his brothers, he honoured his grandmother *Antonia* with the name of *Augusta*, appointed her priestess of *Augustus*, granted her all the privileges enjoyed by the vestals, and all the marks of distinction which had ever been conferred upon *Livia*, either by *Augustus* or *Tiberius*^g. The privileges of the vestals he likewise granted to his sisters, *Agrippina*, *Drusilla*, and *Livilla* or *Julia* (I), and ordained that their names should be added to his in all solemn oaths, with this clause; *Neither am I dearer to myself, nor are my children dearer to me, than Caius Cæsar and his sisters*; and to all the public acts the following form was ordered to be prefixed; *May it prove fortunate and happy to Caius Cæsar and his sisters*^h. All the papers, registers, and records, which *Tiberius* had left relating to the proceedings against his mother and brothers, he caused to be brought publicly into the forum, and there to be committed to the flames in his presence, after having solemnly called the gods to witness, that he had never read, nor even opened, them. This he did, as he then declared, that no room might be left for fear or apprehensions in those who had been the occasion of the misfortunes which befel themⁱ. However, as they were all afterwards to a man cut off under the imputation of various crimes, it was commonly believed, that he had burnt only the copies, and preserved the originals^j. The very day he made his entry into *Rome*, he was for setting at liberty *Agrippa*, the grandson of king *Herod*, whom *Tiberius* had confined six months before. But his grandmother *Antonia*, though a great friend to *Agrippa*, advised him to suspend for some time the effects of his good-nature, lest he should seem to insult the memory of his grandfather^k. However, he was released a few days after, as were likewise all the other state prisoners, and among the rest *L. Pomponius Secundus*, of whom we have spoken above, after seven years close confinement. Such as had been banished by *Tiberius* were all recalled home, which occasioned an universal joy in the city. But nothing gave greater satisfaction both to the nobility and people, than his solemnly declaring, that he would not suffer any one to be accused of treason, since under the appearance of that crime so many illustrious citizens, so many ancient and noble families, had been involved in endless calamities. Of this his resolution he gave soon after a remarkable instance; for a note being offered him tending to the discovery of a conspiracy against his life, he rejected it,

^a Dio, l. lix. p. 640—644. Suet. in Calig. c. 14. p. 237. ^b Spanh. l. vii. p. 612. ^c Dio, ibid. 646. Suet. c. 15. ^d Suet. c. 15. Dio, ibid. ^e Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 8.

^f Dio, p. 642. Suet. c. 14. ^g Gruter. Senec. de ira, l. iv. c. 21. ^h Dio, p. 641. ⁱ Idem ibid. ^j Dio, ibid. p. 641, 642.

(I) *Caius* had, according to *Suetonius*, but three sisters, *Agrippina*, *Drusilla*, and *Livilla*; so that *Livilla* and *Julia* must be one and the same person. *Julia* was the youngest of *Germanicus*'s daughters, born in the seventeenth year of the christian æra, and in the thirty-third married to *Marcus Vinicius* (25).

(25) Tacit. annal. l. ii. c. 54. & l. vi. c. 15.

^a it, saying, *I am not conscious to myself of any action that can deserve the hatred of any man, and therefore have no ears for informers*². Though the will of *Tiberius* had been declared null by the senate, yet he executed every article of it with great punctuality, except that which related to the deceased emperor's grandson; the same regard he paid to the testament of *Livia*, which had been suppressed by *Tiberius*, causing their legacies to be discharged forthwith, and adding to them large sums of his own to be divided among the *Roman* people and the soldiery³. In his first speech to the senate he promised to govern with justice and moderation, to do nothing without their advice, and to follow their directions, as their child and pupil. Pursuant to his protestations, he caused the famous institutions of *Augustus* to be revived and published, though they had been long neglected and disused by *Tiberius*; he gave free jurisdiction to the magistrates, without reserving any appeal to himself, and even attempted to restore the antient method of elections by the suffrages of the people. The senate were for declaring him consul, as soon as the funeral ceremonies, performed in honour of his grandfather, were over; but he could not be prevailed upon to accept that dignity, till *Proculus* and *Nigrinus* had ended their year, which expired in the month of *July*^b. In the mean time, he applied himself with the consuls and senate to the reformation of many abuses, which had crept into the state. He reviewed the *Roman* knights, and publicly took away the rings and horses of such as he found guilty of any notorious crime; smaller offences he thought sufficiently punished by passing over the names of the offenders, as he read the roll. He was for casting the *spintriae*, or inventors of abominable lewdness, into the sea; but being dissuaded from that severity, he banished them from *Rome*. He allowed every one to keep and peruse the books of *Titus Labienus*, *Cremutius Cordus*, and *Cassius Severus*, which, in the reign of *Tiberius*, had been by order of the senate prohibited and suppressed, saying, it nearly concerned him, that all the actions of *Tiberius* should be transmitted to posterity. He likewise remitted several impositions, which had been exacted with great severity during the whole reign of his predecessor^c. Thus did *Caligula* happily begin his reign; and of him it may be truly said, that no prince came ever to a throne with greater advantages, or more to the satisfaction of his people.

His seeming moderation.

^d IN the month of *July*, *Caius* entered upon his first consulship, and chose for his colleague his uncle *Claudius*, then in the forty-sixth year of his age; who till that time had continued in the equestrian order, being judged unequal to any public employment, on account of the weakness both of his body and mind^d. We are told, that when he first entered the forum with the fasces, an eagle perched upon his shoulder, which was looked upon as a prognostic of his future grandeur^e. The same day, *Caius*, in a speech which he made to the senate, spoke with great vehemence against the disorders of the late administration, promised to avoid them as much as lay in his power, and solemnly protested, that he had nothing so much at heart, as to render the people happy, whom the gods had committed to his care. The senate decreed, that his speech should be publicly read every year, without all doubt to remind him of the promises he had made them, and lay him under some obligation of performing them^f. On the last day of *August*, which was his birth-day, he entertained the people with the most magnificent shews that had ever been seen in *Rome*; and on this occasion cushions were first laid on the seats of the senators, who till that time had sat both in the senate and theatre on bare benches^g. Thenceforth no day passed without some shew or other, the emperor taking great pleasure in such diversions, and expending on such occasions immense sums. During his consulship, he restored the kingdom of *Comagene*, which had been reduced to a *Roman* province eighteen years before, to *Antiochus*, the son of that *Antiochus* who had been driven out by *Tiberius*, ordering at the same time a hundred millions of sesterces, that is, about a million of our money, to be paid to him by way of restitution for the revenues of his kingdom, which *Rome* had so long enjoyed without any just title^h. *Antiochus*, out of gratitude to so generous a benefactor, gave two of his names to a town of *Comagene*, calling it, *Cesarea Germanica*, which were afterwards changed into that of *Germanicia*ⁱ. Of his generosity to *Agrippa* we spoke in the history of the *Jews*; and therefore shall only observe here, that he bestowed on him the tetrarchy of his uncle *Philip*, with the title of king; but reserved for

Caius takes upon him the consulship.

His speech to the senate.

His generosity to Antiochus king of Comagene.

² Dio, p. 642—644. Suet. c. 15.

^a Idem, c. 16, Dio, p. 640.

^b Dio, ibid. p. 644.

^c Suet. ibid. c. 16.

^d Dio, ibid. p. 644. & Suet. in Claud. c. 7.

^e Suet. ibid. ^f Dio,

ibid. ^g Idem, p. 645.

^h Dio, ibid. Suet. ibid. c. 16.

ⁱ Noris de epochis Mace,

donum, p. 476.

for himself the rest of *Judæa*, whither he dispatched this year *Marcellus* in quality of a governor in the room of *Pontius Pilate*, whom *Lucius Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, had sent to *Rome*, to answer the many grievous complaints of the *Jewish* people, whom *And to others.* he had oppressed in a most tyrannical manner ^k. His generosity to several private persons was no less remarkable; for a fire happening in the first months of his reign, he made good the losses which every particular had sustained. To a freedwoman, who had endured most exquisite torments, without discovering the crime of a patron, he gave eighty thousand sesterces. For these and other bounties a shield of gold with his image was decreed to him, which by order of the senate was to be carried annually on a certain day, by the colleges of priests, to the capitol; the senators following it, and the noblemens children of both sexes singing hymns in praise of his virtues. ^b Besides, it was ordained, that the day of his accession to the empire should be called *Palilia*, as if *Rome* had been founded anew on that day ^l. *Caius* having held the consulate two months and twelve days, that is, to the twelfth of *September*, resigned the fasces to those who had been appointed by *Tiberius* for the rest of the year ^m; but their names we find no-where recorded.

It was probably about this time, that *Caius* wrote to *Lucius Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, to conclude a peace with *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians*. *Suetonius* tells us in one place, that *Vitellius* used all manner of artifice to draw *Artabanus* to a conference ⁿ; and in another, that the *Parthian* king, who had always shewn the utmost contempt and an irreconcilable hatred to *Tiberius*, sought of his own accord the friendship of *Caius* ^o. According to *Dion Cassius*, that prince had already passed the *Euphrates*, and was upon the point of invading *Syria*, when *Vitellius*, coming unexpectedly upon him, obliged him to agree to a treaty ^p. Be that as it will, *Artabanus* and *Vitellius* came to an interview on a bridge which they caused to be laid over the *Euphrates*, each attended by a certain number of guards; and concluded a treaty, the conditions of which were very advantageous to the *Romans* ^q. The *Parthian* even condescended to give by way of hostage one of his own sons ^r, or at least a noble youth of great distinction, named *Darius* ^s, probably of the race of the *Arscidae*, whom he sent some time after to *Rome*, with a *Jew*, by name *Eleazar*, seven cubits high ^t. When the treaty was concluded, *Herod Antipas*, tetrarch of *Galilee*, gave a magnificent entertainment to *Artabanus* and *Vitellius*, under a rich pavilion raised upon boats in the middle of the river ^u. *Suetonius* ^w and *Dion Cassius* ^x tell us, that *Artabanus* passed the *Euphrates*, adored the eagles and ensigns of the legions, and kissed the images of *Augustus* and *Caius Cæsar*. *Herod* immediately dispatched messengers to *Rome* with a minute account of what had passed, who arriving before the messengers of *Vitellius*, the emperor received the latter coldly, telling them, that *Herod* had already transmitted to him a detail of all that had been transacted on the *Euphrates*; which occasioned a misunderstanding between the tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Vitellius* ^y.

He is taken ill. AFTER *Caius* had thus happily reigned about eight months, he was seized with a violent fit of illness, occasioned by his intemperance and debaucheries; for while *Tiberius* lived, he was mighty temperate in his diet; but upon his death he forsook his antient way of living, and gave himself intirely up to all manner of disorders; which so affected his constitution, that towards the end of *October* he fell dangerously ill. As that was the time of the year, in which those who traded to foreign countries returned home, news of the emperor's indisposition was immediately carried to all the provinces of the empire, and every-where received with the greatest tokens of sorrow ^a. At *Rome* his palace was constantly crouded with multitudes of people of all ranks inquiring about his health; many passed whole nights at his gate, and some, devoting their lives for his, promised to fight amongst the gladiators for his safety, and set up bills of this their resolution in the streets. At length he recovered, and with his recovery restored happiness to the whole empire: innumerable victims were slain, and sacrifices offered in the most distant provinces subject to *Rome*, by way of thanksgiving to the gods for so signal a favour. But how blind is man in his imagination! how vain in his hope, and ignorant of what is most to his advantage! ^b This

The grief of the people on this occasion, and joy for his recovery.

^k JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 5. ^l SUET. ibid. c. 16. ^m DIO, l. lix. p. 645. ⁿ SUET. in Vitell. c. 2. ^o SUET. in Calig. c. 14. ^p DIO, l. lix. p. 661. ^q JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. ^r DIO, ibid. ^s JOSEPH. ibid. ^t Idem ibid. ^u Idem ibid. ^w SUET. in Calig. c. 14. ^x DIO, ibid. p. 661. ^y JOSEPH. l. xviii. c. 6. ^z PHILO legat. ad Caium, p. 994—995.

This prince so much beloved, and universally looked upon as the author of all public and private happiness, either changed all on a sudden his nature, or discovered that which he had some time artfully disguised. Some writers think, that this distemper affected his brain; for ever after he was much troubled for want of sleep, never resting above three hours in a night, and that never quietly, but constantly frightened with strange dreams and dreadful imaginations; so that he passed great part of the night, either sitting up in his bed, or wandering about the galleries of his palace, longing for day. He was himself, says *Suetonius*^a, so sensible of the infirmity of his mind, that he once resolved to retire in order to purge his brain. He was subject, when a child, to the falling sickness; and in his youth, though patient of labour and hardships, subject to fainting fits. Others ascribe this odd and unaccountable conduct to a philtre, or love-potion, which was afterwards given him by his wife *Cæsonia*, and impaired his understanding. But, whatever was the cause of this change, it is certain, that from the time of his malady to the hour of his death he acted more like a madman than a prince; so that for the rest of his reign the reader is to expect nothing but an uninterrupted train of execrable vices, monstrous extravagancies, and such ridiculous inconsistencies, as cannot well be related with that gravity and decency which becomes an historian. On his accession to the throne, he would admit of no titles of honour; but soon after his recovery he assumed them all in one day, though *Augustus* had taken them separately, and *Tiberius* had to the last declined several of them^b. These were probably the titles of *Augustus*, of emperor, of high pontiff, of perpetual tribune. From several medals which have reached our times^c, it appears, that he bore all these titles before his second consulate; but that of father of his country he did not assume, till the third year of his tribunitial power^d. To the above-mentioned titles he added the following surnames, styling himself, *the most pious, the son of the camp, the father of the armies, the most gracious, the most mighty, Cæsar*^e. This year, *Tiberius* the son of *Drusus*, being eighteen complete, took the manly robe; on which occasion *Caius*, after many protestations of kindness and sincere affection for the young prince, first adopted him, and then declared him prince of the Roman youth. But these honours the unfortunate *Tiberius* enjoyed a very short time, *Caius* not being ashamed to put him to death a few days after he had solemnly declared, that his life was as dear to him as his own, and that he would ever cherish him as his own child. *Philo* tells us, that he adopted him with no other view, but to acquire that absolute power over him, which the Roman laws gave to every parent over his children^f. Be that as it will, he had no sooner adopted him, than he charged some tribunes and centurions of his guards to acquaint the young prince, that he must with his own hand put an end to his life, thinking it unlawful for any inferior person to imbrue his hands in the blood of one of the imperial family. The innocent youth expected nothing less, and therefore was, as we may well imagine, struck with surprise and amazement, when the officers denounced to him the emperor's orders. As he was of a mild temper, and had ever avoided assisting at executions, and even at the combats of gladiators, he presented his throat first to the officer who stood next to him, and then to all the rest, begging them with many tears to execute the cruel order they had brought him. But as they all declined that office, pursuant to the emperor's orders, strictly forbidding them to be any ways aiding and assisting to his death, the young prince drew at length his sword; but not knowing where to strike, he begged they would at least shew him where the wound might prove mortal, and soon put an end to his life and misery. So far they complied with his request, and then the unfortunate youth stabbed himself in their presence^g. *Caius*, to excuse this first act of cruelty, which was soon followed by many others, pretended, that *Tiberius* had, during his illness, wished him dead^h; and that, through fear of being poisoned, he had taken an antidote, which when he discovered, he cried out, *What! an antidote against Cæsar?* But this pretended antidote was only a remedy he had taken for a cough, with which he had been long troubledⁱ. Thus he rid himself of the only prince, to whom those could apply, who might in process of time be dissatisfied with his government. As for his uncle *Claudius*, he looked upon him as a person utterly unfit for any office in the empire, or in private life, as he really was; and therefore saved him, as he openly declared, for a laughing-stock. Being thus by the death of

He is strangely altered.

Assumes several titles of honour.

He orders young Tiberius to put himself to death.

^a Suet. ibid. c. 50.

^b Dio, p. 641.

^c Goltz. p. 38.

^d Idem, p. 39.

^e Suet.

c. 22.

^f Philo legat. p. 995.

^g Idem ibid. p. 996. Suet. c. 23. Dio, l. lix. p. 645.

^h Dio, ibid. p. 646.

ⁱ Suet. c. 23.

He abandons
himself to all
wickedness.

The death of
his grandmo-
ther Antonia.

of *Tiberius* delivered from all restraint and controul, he gave a full loose to his furious passions, and commenced an open enemy to mankind, a complete tyrant, or rather, as *Suetonius* styles him^k, an outrageous monster. Soon after his recovery, he obliged all those, who, during his malady, had devoted their lives for his, and promised to fight amongst the gladiators, to fulfil their promise; and because one was somewhat backward in the accomplishment of his vow, he caused him to be adorned like a victim, and delivered to a company of rude and merciless boys, who, after abusing him in a most cruel and inhuman manner, dragged him through the streets, requiring the accomplishment of his vow, and at last threw him down a precipice, and put an end to his life^l. His grandmother *Antonia*, venerable for her age and no less illustrious for quality, for she was the daughter of *Marc Antony*, the niece of *Augustus*, sister-in-law of *Tiberius*, and mother of *Drusus*, having taken upon her to admonish him, he resented that freedom to such a degree, that he reduced her to the necessity of laying violent hands on herself^m; whether by an express order, or only by the unbecoming manner with which he treated her, we are not told. That illustrious princess having one day begged to speak with him in private, he refused her that favour, and ordered *Macro* to be present the whole time she continued with him. On another occasion, as she offered to advise him, he immediately interrupted her in a violent rage, bidding her remember, that *he could do what he pleased, with whom he pleased*. With these indignities and affronts, 'tis most probable, he hastened her death. Some indeed have written, that he caused her to be poisonedⁿ, which, if true, *Philo* would never have passed over in silence. He bestowed no honours upon her after her death, and from one of the windows of his palace beheld the funeral pomp quite unconcerned^o. *Dion Cassius* fixes the death of *Silanus*, the emperor's father-in-law, to this year; but, according to *Philo*, it happened after that of *Macro*, of which we shall speak, the following year. In this or the foregoing year, was born on the fifteenth of December the emperor *Nero*, and much about the same time *Josephus* the historian.

Impending ca-
lamities fore-
told by a slave.

Various in-
stances of
Caius's cru-
elty.

THE next consuls were *M. Aquilius Julianus* and *P. Nonius Asprenas*^p, appointed by *Tiberius*, whose appointment *Caius* did not think fit to alter^q. In the beginning of the year the senate and consuls bound themselves by a solemn oath to observe all the laws and constitutions of *Augustus* and *Caius*, without mentioning those of *Tiberius*; and this omission passed into a custom, which ever after obtained. At the same time, vows were made for the safety of *Caius* and his sisters. *Dion Cassius* observes, that on the same day, a slave, named *Macaon*, placing himself upon the bed of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, foretold many dreadful calamities; and when he had done, killed first a small dog, which he had brought with him, and then himself. This year, *Caius* appointed *Soemus* prince of the *Iturean Arabs*; gave *Armenia Minor*, and soon after part of *Arabia*, to *Cotys* king of *Thrace*; and to his cousin *Rhemetalces* that part of *Thrace* which *Cotys* had held; to *Polemon* he gave the territories of *Pontus*, which his father *Polemon* had possessed^r. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Caius*, having advanced this year *Flavius Vespasianus* to the ædileship, and being one day angry with him for his remissness in seeing the streets kept clean, which was part of his province, he commanded his guards to take some of the dirt, and besmear with it the ædile's embroidered robe. This some interpreted as a presage of *Vespasian's* future grandeur^s; no doubt when they saw him already possessed of the empire. *Dion Cassius* and *Suetonius* give us dismal accounts of the many cruelties practised by this bloody idiot, in the second year of his reign. Among the rest he tells us, that one day, finding there were no criminals condemned to fight with the wild beasts, according to the barbarous custom which obtained at *Rome*, he commanded such of the people as were already come to see the shews, to be thrown to them, having first ordered their tongues to be cut out, that they might not disturb with their cries and complaints his inhuman diversion. Finding it very chargeable to maintain the wild beasts, which were kept for such entertainments, he often visited the prisons in person; and, ordering all the prisoners to be ranged in a gallery before him, sentenced many of them to be thrown to the wild beasts, without examining whether they were guilty or innocent. Once in particular, as they stood drawn up before him, he commanded all to be taken away to feed his beasts, *a calvo ad calvum*, that is, from such a bald head, whom he pointed out, to another. Great numbers of old men, of infirm persons, and of such as were reduced to poverty, met with the same cruel fate, the inhuman tyrant pretending, that by such unheard-

^k Idem, c. 43.

^l Idem, c. 27. Dio, p. 645.

^m Dio, ibid.

ⁿ Suet. c. 23.

^o Idem ibid.

^p Dio, p. 646. NORIS ep. con.

^q NORIS ibid.

^r Dio, ibid. p. 649.

^s Suet. in Vesp. c. 5.

a unheard-of barbarities he consulted the public welfare, since he delivered the state from persons who were but so many burdens to it. A *Roman* knight whom he had caused to be cast to the wild beasts, crying out that he was innocent, he ordered him to be taken up, his tongue to be cut out, and then to be thrown in again. It was his constant custom to oblige parents, though free from all guilt, to assist at the execution of their children, and often ordered them to be assassinated the following night in their houses. To one of them, who pretended sickness and begged to be excused, he sent his own litter^c. Having caused the son of an illustrious *Roman* knight, named *Pastor*, to be dragged to prison, for no other reason, but because he was remarkable for his comeliness and the tallness of his stature, the unhappy father went
 b immediately to intercede for his child. But the cruel monster, instead of hearkening to his tears and intreaties, commanded the innocent youth to be executed without delay; and when the news of his death was brought, to insult nature itself, he invited the distressed parent to dine with him that very day, and forced him, by threatening to treat in the like manner his other son, if he betrayed any symptoms of grief, to drink to excess, and in the height of his affliction to shew such outward signs of joy, as would have been at any time altogether unbecoming a person of his rank and age^d. One *Caninius Iulus* having in a private conversation advised *Caius* with great liberty to alter his conduct, as he was withdrawing, *That you may not flatter yourself*, *Caninius*, with vain hopes, said the emperor, *I have already signed the warrant for your death*. At these words *Caninius*, without shewing the least concern, turning about,
 c *I return you thanks*, said he, *most gracious prince, for this favour*. As the decree of the senate, granting to condemned persons ten days respite, was in this instance observed by *Caius*, the undaunted *Caninius* during that interval never betrayed the least uneasiness; inasmuch, that the centurion, who came, when the ten days were expired, to see the sentence put in execution, found him playing, with his usual calmness, at chess. When the executioner appeared, he started up with a cheerful countenance, embraced his friends, and, taking his leave of them, told them, that he should soon know whether or no the soul was immortal; that in the very article of his death he would particularly mind in what manner it abandoned the body, and after his death return to acquaint his friends with the state of souls after their separation. He then offered his
 d neck to the executioner, with the intrepidity of a true hero^w. The emperor, if such an inhuman madman deserves that name, assisted in person at most executions; so great was the delight he took in cruelty and bloodshed; but always caused the mouths of those, who suffered in public, to be stopt, either with their cloaths or a sponge, lest they should upbraid him with his wickedness^x. He seldom suffered them to be dispatched at once, desiring they might *feel themselves dying*, which was his usual expression. While he was at table, he often caused criminals, and sometimes innocent persons, to be racked in his presence, nay, and their heads to be cut off by a soldier, who did it with great skill and dexterity. Being once mistaken
 e in the name of a person, and causing him to be executed instead of another, when he understood his error, *'Tis no matter*, said he, *he deserved it as well as the other*. Five of the gladiators, called *retiarii*, because they used in fighting certain nets, having yielded to the like number of *secutores*, who were their antagonists, he commanded them to be slain; but one of the five, snatching up his arms, killed all the conquerors. This action *Caligula* looked upon as cruel, lamented it in public, and loaded all those with curses who were so hard-hearted as to behold it. As he pretended to great skill in fencing, a famous gladiator, with whom he often fought in jest, pretending to be conquered, fell down at his feet, as the gladiators, who were overcome, used to do. But his flattery cost him dear; for *Caius*, taking advantage of
 f his fall, stabbed him with a dagger; then with a branch of palm-tree, the symbol of victory, in his hand, he ran up and down triumphing, as if he had fairly overcome him. As one night at supper he burst suddenly into a loud laughter, and the consuls, who sat near him, desired with great respect to know the cause of his mirth: *What makes me so merry*, said he, *is, that I can have both your throats cut with the least nod of my head*. A victim being brought to the altar and ready to be offered, he appeared unexpectedly among the rest in the habit of a priest, and, lifting up the ax, as if he designed to kill the victim, he knocked out the brains of the priest who stood by him. Having demanded of one, who had been banished by *Tiberius*,
 and

The constancy and intrepidity of *Caninius Iulus*.

^c Suet. c. 26, 27. Dio, p. 647. ibid. c. 19.

^w Senec. de ira, l. ii. c. 33.

^x Idem ibid. c. 14.

^y Idem

The death of
Macro and his
wife.

and recalled by him; how he employed himself in his exile; upon his answering, that he had constantly prayed for the death of *Tiberius*, that he might come to the empire, he immediately concluded, that those, whom he had banished, prayed likewise for his death; and upon that presumption dispatched officers to the islands, with orders to put them all to the sword without mercy¹. To these and innumerable other acts of cruelty, related at length by *Suetonius* and *Dion Cassius*, the latter adds the death of *Macro* and his wife, whom *Caius* with the utmost ingratitude caused to be put to death this year. To *Macro* he was indebted both for his life and empire, and had promised him the government of *Egypt*, the highest post to which a knight could aspire. But, instead of the promised reward, he ordered both him and his wife, as some historians have written^k, to dispatch themselves with their own hands. With them were put to death all their children, nay, and their slaves, so that not one of the whole family was left alive. *Macro* indeed, according to the character *Tacitus* gives us of him, deserved so tragical an end, but not at *Caius*'s hands. The true cause of his death was, if *Philo* is to be credited, his using with more liberty, than the tyrant could endure, the authority which his eminent services gave him; but *Caius* charged him with other crimes, and pretended, that, unmindful of his condition, he had even challenged an equal share in the sovereign power¹. The next person he sacrificed to his cruelty was *M. Silanus*, whose daughter he had married in *Tiberius*'s reign, a man of a most illustrious descent, and highly esteemed by all on account of his great experience in affairs, his prudence, and eminent probity. He took upon him to disapprove *Caius*'s wild measures, and suggest others to him, by which, if followed, he would have answered the expectation the public had entertained of him. But the jealous idiot, having a mighty opinion of his own abilities, and looking upon those as his enemies who found fault with his measures, resolved to lay hold of the first opportunity to rid himself of so troublesome a counsellor; which he did accordingly on the following occasion. One day all on a sudden he took it into his head to divert himself on the sea, *Silanus*, who could not endure the agitation of the ship, begged to be excused from attending him: this *Caius* imputed to him as a great crime, pretending, that he remained ashore with a design to seize on the empire, in case any misfortune had happened to him; and upon this groundless pretext he obliged him to cut his own throat with a razor^m (K). The death of *Silanus* was followed by that of many other persons of great distinction, whom he condemned, under pretence that they had been accessory to the death of his mother or brothers; though his real motive was to seize on their estates; for he had already squandered away great part of the immense treasure left him by *Tiberius*. This year about the month of *July* died his sister *Drusilla*. She had been given by *Tiberius* five years before to *L. Cassius Longinus*, and taken from him soon after by *Caius*, who lived publicly with her, as if she had been his own wife, and had, during his sickness, appointed her to succeed him in the empireⁿ. He had maintained with her, as well as with his other sisters, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, a criminal conversation, even before she was married. When she died, she was, according to *Dion Cassius*^o, the wife of *M. Lepidus*. That writer gives us a very particular account of the extraordinary honours conferred upon her by *Caius* after her death. She was immediately ranked amongst the gods, and thenceforth styled the goddess *Drusilla*, which impious title the prostitute bears on some Greek medals,

M. Silanus
put to death:

Drusilla dies,
and is honour-
ed as a goddess.

¹ Suet. c. 30—34. p. 646. Suet. c. 23.

^k Philo legat. p. 1000. ⁿ Suet. c. 24.

¹ Idem, 1001. Dio, p. 647. ^o Dio, p. 648.

(K) *Julius Grecinus*, father to the famous *Agri- cola*, had some time before been ordered by *Caius* to accuse *Silanus*, and put to death for declining that infamous office. *Grecinus* was a senator, no less famous for his eloquence, than his probity (26). *Seneca* often mentions him, and tells us, that not having wherewithal to defray the charges of the public shews, which he was obliged to exhibit in virtue of his office, one *Fabius Persicus*, a man of great wealth, but of an indifferent character, sent him a very considerable sum; which he refused, answering his friends, who found fault with his unseasonable generosity; *Would you have me to accept*

a favour of one with whom I should not care to eat a meal's meat? *Rubelius*, who had been consul, but was a man of the same stamp with *Persicus*, sent him a larger sum than the other, which he likewise rejected; but *Rubelius* pressing him, he begged to be excused, saying, *Neither have I accepted any thing of Persicus* (27). The same writer tells us elsewhere (28), that he was murdered by *Caius*'s orders, because he was a better man, than was expedient for any one to be under a tyrant. He wrote a book upon agriculture, which is quoted by *Columella* (29). *Pliny* likewise ranks him among writers (30).

(26) Tacit. vit. Agricol. c. 4. Columell. l. i. c. 1.

(27) Senec. de ben. l. ii. c. 21. (30) Plin. in hist. l. xiv, § xv.

(28) Idem epist. 29.

(29)

a medals, which have reached our times ^p. A senator, by name *Livius Geminus*, declared in full senate upon his oath, that he saw her carried up to heaven ^q. *Seneca* rallies him with a good deal of humour upon this vision, but nevertheless chose rather to adore the divinity of *Drusilla*, than incur the displeasure of the prince. The emperor's passion for his sister appeared no less foolish after her death, than it had been infamous during her life. He immediately left *Rome*, and, after having wandered some time up and down *Campania*, he passed over into *Sicily*, where he exhibited most magnificent shews, and repaired at a vast charge the walls of *Syracuse*, and some temples that were decayed with age. He ridiculed many things, which were looked upon by the *Sicilians* as miracles; but was so terrified with the smoke and noise of mount *Ætna*, that he fled from *Messena* in the night, not having courage enough to wait till day appeared ^r. Upon his return to *Rome*, he pursued the course of his cruelties with more barbarity than ever. If any one betrayed joy, it was on account of the death of *Drusilla*; if sorrow, it was on account of the divine honours that were paid her; and both were crimes against the state, and punished with death: insomuch, that they were all at a loss how to comport themselves, it being alike capital to mourn and to rejoice ^t.

Caius had continued a widow ever since the death of *Junia*, the daughter of *Si-* ^{His marriages and divorces.} *lanus*. But *C. Calpurnius Piso* marrying one *Livia Orestilla*, and inviting him to his wedding, when the solemnity was over, he commanded the bride to be carried to his own palace, and there married her; but divorced her a few days after, and in the term of two years, or two months as some will have it, banished both her and *Piso*, under pretence that they had lived together ^u. Not long after he married *Lollia Paulina*, the grand-daughter of *M. Lollius*, whom *Augustus*, as we have related elsewhere, had appointed governor of *Caius Cæsar*, when he sent him into the east. *Lollia* was already married to *C. Memmius Regulus*, governor of *Macedon* and *Achaia*; but *Caius* having heard in a private conversation, that her grandmother had been famous for her beauty, he immediately sent for her, forced her from her husband, and married her ^w (L); but in a short time not only put her away, but threatened her with death, if she either returned to her former husband, or married any other man ^x.

d We shall have occasion to speak of her in the following reign.

AND now the bloody monster, finding no one dared to oppose his sovereign will and pleasure, notwithstanding the many murders he daily committed, began to look upon himself as raised above the condition of a mortal man. To confirm himself in this ridiculous fancy, he is said to have used the following no less ridiculous argument: As those to whose care sheep, oxen, and other cattle are committed, are themselves neither sheep nor oxen, but of a nature infinitely superior to the condition of those animals; so those who are set over all men and creatures in the world, ought not to be regarded as men, but revered like gods ^y. He first betrayed this extravagant fancy at an entertainment with some foreign kings, who came to pay him homage. As some dispute arose amongst those princes about the nobility of their extraction, *Caius*, starting up, repeated a verse of *Homer* in the person of *Ulysses*; *Let there be but one king, one lord below*; and was for assuming immediately the diadem, and changing the government into a monarchy. But being told, that he was already above all the kings and monarchs of the earth, he began from that time to challenge the honours paid to the demi-gods, such as *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, *Tryphon*, &c. assuming the dress in which they were represented, and appearing sometimes with a lion's skin about his shoulders and a club in his hand, to personate *Hercules*; sometimes with wings at his feet, and a caduceus in his hand, like *Mercury*, &c. But he soon thought it beneath him to be honoured only as a demigod, and claimed the same worship that was paid to *Apollo*, *Mars*, and *Jupiter* himself; nay he caused the heads to be taken off their statues, and his own to be put in their room. He often placed himself in the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, between the statues of those brothers, to be adored by all ^{Claims divine honours.}

^pVide GOLTZ. c. 39. ^qDIO, ibid. ^rSENEC, ibid. Suet. c. 51. ^sSENEC. ad Polyb. c. 36. Suet. c. 24. ^tSuet. c. 25. DIO, p. 646. ^uSuet, ibid. DIO, p. 648. EUSEB. chron. ^xSuet. & DIO, ibid. ^yPHILO ibid. p. 1002.

(L) *Lollia Paulina* was herself very remarkable for her beauty. *Pliny* tells us, that he saw her adorned with a prodigious quantity of pearls and emeralds, which had formerly belonged to her grand-father *M. Lollius* (31).

His Impiety.

Institutes
priests in ho-
nour of his
own deity.Temples built,
and sacrifices
offered to him.

all who came to offer their vows to them. He enlarged his palace, and brought one wing of it close to the temple of those two fabulous deities, which he altered to the form of a portico, that the gods themselves, as he used to say, might serve him in quality of porters. He frequently changed his godhead, being one day a male deity, and another a female; sometimes *Jupiter*, at other times *Mars*; sometimes *Neptune* or *Apollo*, and sometimes *Venus*, &c. But above all, he liked to be called *Jupiter*, the head and chief of the *Pagan* deities; and that he might be esteemed a true *Jupiter*, he had inventions to imitate thunder and lightning; and when the thunder was supposed to fall, he used to throw a stone against heaven, with the impious defiance in *Homer*; *Do you take me from hence, or I'll take you*. He often went to the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and, placing himself by his statue, sometimes whispered to it, then laid his ear close to it, as it were to receive an answer. Sometimes he seemed to be very angry with *Jupiter*, and was once heard to tell him in a threatening style, that *he would send him back into Greece* (M). At length being overcome by the importunity of the gods, as he foolishly gave out, who desired his company, he joined his palace to the capitol by an arch built over the temple of *Augustus*; and some time after, that he might yet be nearer, he laid the foundations of a new house in the court of the capitol. At length his pride, folly, and impiety carried him so far, that he would have a temple for himself, which he built at a vast charge, and dedicated to his own divinity, placing in it his statue in gold, done to the life, and every day cloathed in the same robes which he himself wore. He likewise instituted priests and priestesses to officiate in his new temple, the greatest and richest men in *Rome*, so great was their debasement at this time, purchasing the infamous priesthood with vast sums; for *Caius* sold it at such an extravagant price, that his uncle *Claudius*, not having wherewithal to discharge the debt, eight millions of sesterces, says *Suetonius*, which he contracted on that occasion, was obliged to surrender all his effects to his creditors, who publicly sold them by auction. The sacrifices, which his priests daily offered him, were peacocks, pheasants, *Numidian* hens, &c. And as though his other follies were not sufficiently extravagant, he became at last priest to himself, and admitted to the same dignity his wife *Cæsonia*, whom he married the year following; and also his horse, the most proper priest of all for such a deity. Besides the temple which he built to himself in his palace, the senate decreed him another, which was begun in this, and ended in the following, year. He ordered a temple to be erected to his godhead at *Miletus*, which might serve for all *Asia*; and because it was not finished at the time he expected, he commanded a magnificent temple, which that community was building in honour of *Apollo*, to be consecrated to himself. All nations, people, and cities, erected temples and altars to this new divinity, sacrificed victims, and swore by his name. But none were more forward in paying him this impious worship, than the inhabitants of *Alexandria*. The *Jews* alone, who were very numerous in that city, refused to bend their knees to the new idol, which brought upon them that cruel persecution from the *Alexandrians*, which we have described in our history of that nation. The distressed *Jews* dispatched ambassadors to *Rome* to lay

^a Suet. c. 22. & 52. Dio. p. 660, 661. Philo. p. 1003. ^b Suet. in Claud. c. 9. ^c Idem in Calig. c. 22. Dio, p. 660. Senec. de ira, l. iv. c. 22. ^d Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 673. ^e Idem, ibid. p. 670, 671. ^f Joseph. bell. Judaic. l. ii. c. 17.

(M) *Dion Cassius* tells us, that a *Gaul*, seeing him one day sitting on a throne in the figure of *Jupiter*, could not help bursting into a loud laugh; which *Caius* hearing, called him to him, and asked him, *What do you take me for? For a great fool*, answered frankly the *Gaul*. This affront, which would have cost a senator or knight his life, *Caius* dissembled in the *Gaul*, thinking it perhaps below him to exert his vengeance on so contemptible a person; for he was by profession a shoe-maker (32). He caused all the temples of *Greece* to be stript of their statues, pictures, and other ornaments which he conveyed to *Rome*, crowding with them his own temple, his palace, his villas, and his gardens (33). He ordered the famous statue of *Jupiter Olympius*, done by *Phidias*, and had in great veneration by the *Greeks*,

to be transported to *Rome*. We are told, that the ship, which was building for that purpose, was burnt by lightning; and that as often as the workmen attempted to remove the statue, a great noise was heard, like that of persons deriding their attempt. *Memmius Regulus*, governor of *Greece*, who was charged to see the celebrated statue conveyed to *Rome*, wrote to *Caius*, acquainting him, that he could not obey his commands on account of some extraordinary prodigies, and because the workmen assured him, that if once removed, it would fall to pieces. Hereupon, in the transport of his rage, he abused and threatened *Jupiter* for daring to oppose his sovereign will, and would have put to death *Memmius*, had he not been first put to death himself (34).

(32) Dio, p. 660, 661. (33) Philo legat. 1004. Joseph. antiq. l. xix. c. 1. (34) Dio, p. 662. Joseph. ibid.

lay their sufferings before *Caius*, and beg his protection. At the head of this embassy was *Philo*, who gives us a very particular account of it, as we shall do from him.

THE following year, *Caius* resumed the fasces, having for his colleague *Lucius Apronius Cæfianus* (N), but held them only thirty days¹. When he entered upon his consulship, and also when he resigned it, he took the usual oaths, like a private citizen; but while he thus affected popularity, he filled the city with blood and slaughter, causing those very persons, who had been imprisoned by *Tiberius*, and by himself set at liberty, to be dragged to prison again, and executed for the pretended crimes with which they had been charged in the former reign². The people not assisting at the shews, which he exhibited almost every day, with the assiduity he expected, he com-

manded the public granaries to be shut up, with a design to starve them, and laid hold of all opportunities that offered to do them what mischief he could. Once in particular he caused them all to be driven by his guards out of the circus, on which occasion great numbers of the common people were crushed to death in the throng, and above

twenty knights, and as many women of distinction. At another time, because they did not declare for the gladiators whom he favoured, he caused the sails, which covered the amphitheatre, to be taken down; and having thus exposed them to the scorching heat of the sun, he threatened with present death such as should offer to stir³. Nay, the acclamations of the people in the theatre differing one day from

his, he uttered the inhuman wish, that *the whole Roman people had but one neck*, that he might dispatch them all at a blow. He often wished for some great calamity, as if the monster himself had not been curse and calamity enough. He envied *Augustus*

the happiness of an army massacred, and *Tiberius* the sad disaster at *Fidenæ*, where fifty thousand persons were maimed, or perished, by the fall of an amphitheatre. In short, declaring himself an open enemy to his people, he often made use of the expression of the old tragedian: *Oderint dum metuant; Let them hate me as much as they please, so they do but fear me*. On the other hand, the people considering him no longer as their lawful sovereign, but as their implacable enemy, one day, to be re-

vengeed on him, rising up, abandoned the shews, which he was exhibiting at an immense charge; which piqued him to such a degree, that he immediately left *Rome* and retired to *Campania*, whence he did not return to the city till the feast of his sister

Drusilla, which he solemnized with extraordinary magnificence⁴. Historians this year take notice of the foolish regard he paid to one of his horses, named *Incitatus*, whom he often invited to his table, fed with gilt oats, and presented with the most

delicious wines in cups of gold. His stable was all of marble, his manger of ivory, his collar of pearls, and his coverings of rich purple. He appointed him a great number of attendants, and supplied him with furniture no less magnificent than his own, that he might receive and entertain, in a manner suitable to his rank, such as came to wait upon him; for he was a member of the college of *Caius's* priests, and

colleague to *Claudius*, to *Cæsonia*, and to the chief nobility of *Rome*; nay the emperor designed to raise him to the consulship, and would have honoured him, as was commonly believed, with that dignity, if he had lived longer⁵.

Caius had hitherto disapproved of *Tiberius's* conduct, and seemed to be greatly pleased with the invectives that were uttered against him. But this year, coming one day to the senate, he told the conscript fathers, that he, who was emperor, might well censure the measures of his predecessor; but that it seemed very strange to him, that they should presume to find fault with one who had governed them as their lord

and sovereign. *You inveigh against him*, said he, *as a tyrant, for having put many worthy citizens to death, without reflecting that you yourselves are involved in the*

same

¹ Dio, p. 649. Suet. c. 17. Tacit. annal. 6. c. 4. Noris ep. con. p. 28.
² Suet. c. 26. ³ Dio, p. 650. Suet. c. 30. ⁴ Dio, p. 650. Suet. c. 55.

⁵ Dio, ibid.

(N) *Cæfianus* held the consulship till July, with *Sanvinus*, or rather *Sanquinius Maximus*, governor of *Rome*, who had been substituted to *Caius*. *Sanquinius* had been likewise consul under *Tiberius*, but in what year we find no-where recorded (58). *Cn. Domitius Corbulo* was also consul at this time, from the first of July, as is commonly believed (59), to the fourth or second of September, when *Caius* ignominiously deposed both consuls (60). *Corbulo's* colleague was so affected with the affront, that he laid violent hands on himself, and *Caius* named in his room *Domitius Afer*, a celebrated orator (61).

(58) Dio, l. lix. p. 651.
(61) Goltz. ibid.

(59) Goltz. fast. p. 238.

(60) Dio, ibid. p. 665. Suet. c. 25.

same guilt, since he caused none to be executed, who had not been first convicted by your ^a evidence, and condemned by your decrees. Since you honoured him so much during his life, it ill becomes you thus to insult his memory after his death. Your conduct shews me what I may expect from you when I am gone. Having said many things to this purpose, in the end he upbraided the senate as the creatures and dependents of *Sejanus*, as the betrayers of his mother and brothers, as a herd of mean-spirited slaves and flatterers, and concluded with introducing *Tiberius*, addressing him in the following terms: You have said nothing, O *Caius*, but what I have by long experience found to be true; despise them therefore as unworthy of your esteem and affection, and use them with all the severity they deserve. They all hate you in their hearts, wish for your death, and will assassinate you, if they can with impunity. ^b Lay aside therefore all hopes of winning their affections, despise their impotent rage, and employ all your thoughts about your own safety: whatever most conduces to that, is most just and equitable. By this means you will have nothing to fear, you will enjoy your pleasures in safety, and at the same time be honoured by them; for they have not the courage to oppose you. If you study to gain their affections, you may perhaps acquire an empty reputation, which will die with you; but must resign your power, which will offer them an opportunity of attempting upon your life, and destroying you; for the yoke of sovereignty is ever grating; a prince is honoured so long as he is dreaded; when he is not feared, he is despised; and woe to that prince, whose subjects are more powerful than he¹. *Caius* having thus spoke, revived the ^c law of treason, and withdrawing from the senate, retired forthwith into the country. The senators, thunder-struck with such an unexpected speech, and in the utmost consternation on account of the dangers that threatened them; for who had not exclaimed against *Tiberius*? were not capable of coming to any resolution that day; but the following long speeches were made in commendation of so merciful, so gracious a prince, who after such just and well deserved reproaches, had been so generous as not to exert his vengeance: they enacted a decree, ordering the day, on which he made this memorable speech, to be yearly solemnized with victims and sacrifices as a festival; and heaped innumerable other honours upon a prince, who had given such glaring instances of his clemency and good-nature. One would think that such praises must have passed for ^d satire and mockery. But ambition is a credulous passion: *Caius* was highly pleased with such honours and praises; but nevertheless put afterwards many of those to death, who had spoken ill of *Tiberius*, though he hated all who spoke well of him^m.

^e *Caius* builds a bridge upon the sea. THIS year is also remarkable for the famous work which *Caius* undertook at *Puteoli*: it is difficult to determine which was greater, the folly or the extravagancy of the attempt. To shew his power and greatness, and that he was able to walk upon the sea as well as the land, he caused an infinite number of ships to be gathered together in all parts, and a great many new ones to be built, which were all brought into the bay of *Baiæ* and *Puteoli* in *Campania*. There from the point of *Baiæ* to the opposite shore of *Puteoli* they were placed in two rows in the form of a crescent, being fastened and moored together with anchors, chains, and cables. So many ships were employed in this foolish undertaking, that none being left to convey corn to *Rome*, the city was greatly distressed by famine, which continued to the reign of *Claudius*ⁿ, and, to the great satisfaction of *Caius*, swept off daily great numbers of the people. *Seneca* tells us, that when *Caius* was killed, there was not sufficient corn in the public granaries to maintain the people eight days longerⁿ. When the ships were well fastened and secured, vast quantities of large planks and boards were laid over them, and covered with earth. Then to make this stupendous work the more magnificent and surprizing, he sent for an infinite number of artificers and workmen, who, at an immense charge and with incredible expedition, *Caius* punishing the least remissness with present death, built houses and convenient inns on the bridge for the reception of the emperor and his numerous retinue. Into these public houses was conveyed fresh water in pipes from the land, *Caius* taking delight in such things only, as to others seemed impossible. When this wonderful work was completed, *Caius* repaired to it with all the great lords of *Rome*, being attended by immense crouds of people, who flocked from every quarter to behold this mighty pomp. Upon his arrival at *Baiæ* he offered solemn sacrifices to the gods, especially to *Envy*, lest the other deities should be touched with jealousy in seeing their glory eclipsed by his. ^f Then

¹ DIO. *ibid.* p. 652. SUE. c. 30. ^m DIO. *ibid.* ⁿ *Idem*, p. 652. SUE. c. 37. JOSEPH antiq. l. xix. c. 1. ^o SENECA. de brev. vit. c. 18.

Then proudly adorned with magnificent robes of gold; and armed with the breast-plate of *Alexander the Great*, having a civic crown on his head, accompanied with the great officers of his army and all the nobility of *Rome*, he mounted on horseback, and entering upon the bridge at *Baiæ*, rid with an awful majesty to *Puteoli*. There he resided the remaining part of the day, and the following night, when with an infinite number of torches, lanthorns, and other lights placed in different parts of the work, the sea, the neighbouring mountains, and the shore, were illuminated to a vast distance, *Caligula* boasting, that he had turned the night into day, as well as the sea into land. The next day he appeared in the habit peculiar to the charioteers in the circus, and in a chariot drawn by two stately horses, being attended by young *Darius*, the *Parthian* hostage, a squadron of his guards, in bright armour, and a great train of his friends, magnificently attired; and likewise in their chariots; he set out on his return to *Baiæ*, but halted about the middle of the bridge; and there, ascending a magnificent throne, made a solemn oration in praise of his own exploit in riding so many miles upon the sea, and of the pains and care taken by his soldiers and workmen, among whom he distributed large rewards. He spent all the day and the next night in this place, revelling and banquetting with his friends; and when he began to be heated with wine, that he might perform some memorable action before he left his bridge, he all on a sudden caused great numbers of people to be thrown into the sea without distinction of friend or foe, noble or ignoble; and when they attempted to climb up into the vessels, he ordered them to be thrust off; so that many perished, tho' the far greater part saved themselves, however drunk, by swimming, the sea proving extremely calm and smooth the whole time, which *Caius* foolishly ascribed to the respect *Neptune* had for him as a more powerful deity^p. After this *Caius* returned to *Rome*, and entered the city in triumph, for having overcome, as he boasted, nature itself. Upon his departure, the bridge, as *Dion Cassius* seems to insinuate^q, was immediately broke down, and the ships employed in it restored to the owners. In such wild and useless attempts did *Caius* squander away in the space of two years, besides his ordinary revenues, the immense treasure left by *Tiberius*, amounting to eighteen millions of our money. As to the motive, which prompted him to such an extravagant undertaking, authors are not agreed (O).

Causes many persons to be thrown into the sea.

Caius having by this and many other extravagancies exhausted and drained his exchequer, he betook himself to all manner of rapine, inventing such kinds of penalties, confiscations, and imposts, as had never before been heard of. He would not allow any one to be legally a citizen of *Rome*, whose grant ran in the following terms; *To him and his posterity*, unless he was his son, pretending that the word *posterity* did not extend beyond that degree; so that most of the *Roman* citizens were obliged to purchase their freedom anew. He declared the wills void of all, from the beginning of *Tiberius's* reign, who had not named either that prince or himself amongst their heirs. Hereupon several persons named him in their wills amongst their friends and children, which he knowing, caused them under several pretences to be put to death, that he might receive his share the sooner; nay, he was heard once to say, that it was a great presumption in them to live, and keep him out of his inheritance. No commodity whatever, not even the necessaries of life, were exempt from some tax or other. For all actions at law, in what place soever commenced, he exacted the fortieth part of the thing in controversy, and laid heavy fines on such as were convicted either of compounding, or dropping the suit. He enacted a law, injoining all artificers, labourers, porters, carriers, &c. to pay into the exchequer the eighth part of their daily gains. Every prostitute was obliged to pay a certain portion of what she

His avarice and enormous actions.

^p Dio, p. 653. Suet. c. 37, 19. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 6. & l. xix. c. 1. SENECA, brev. vit. c. 18.
^q Dio, ibid.

(O) Some write, that he built this bridge in imitation of *Xerxes*, who laid a wonderful one over the *Hellepont*, as we have related in our history of *Persia*. Others say, that being then upon the point of invading *Germany* and *Britain*, he designed to terrify them with the report of some extraordinary work. But *Suetonius* tells us, that when he was but a boy, he was informed by his grandfather, that *Caius* had been put upon this undertaking by certain

astrological predictions of the celebrated *Thrasyllus*, who, finding *Tiberius* unresolved as to his successor, yet more inclined to his own grandson, than to *Caius*, told him, *It was as hard a matter for Caius to be emperor, as it was for him to ride over the gulph of Baiæ*. *Suetonius's* grandfather lived under *Caius*, and had this intelligence from persons who were in high favour with him (62).

Turns his
palace into a
brothel and a
gaming-house.

he earned; nay, he was not ashamed to turn his own palace into a brothel-house, maintaining there great numbers of prostitutes, and sending his officers to invite people of all ranks to his diversions. He received the money himself of such as came, and ordered his officers to enter their names in his books, as of persons well affected to *Cæsar*. He likewise encouraged gaming-houses, frequenting them himself; nay, at last he appointed an apartment in his own palace for gamesters, and there spent great part of his time. We are told, that one day, in the midst of his game, observing two *Roman* knights of great estates accidentally passing by, he immediately went down, caused both to be apprehended, and their estates to be confiscated; and then returning with joy to his game, boasted, that he had never had a better throw. Another time wanting money for his stake, he went down, and caused several noble-men to be put to death; then returning told the company, that while they sat playing for small sums, he had won six hundred thousand sesterces. He used frequently to expose to sale the effects of the condemned persons, and oblige the rich citizens to buy them at the price he was pleased to set upon them; which was so high, that many noble families were by that means reduced to poverty. He forced, not to mention others, a wealthy citizen, by name *Apollonius Saturninus*, to pay nine millions of sesterces for thirteen gladiators, whom he exposed to sale with all the furniture of the amphitheatre. A daughter being born to him about this time, he complained publicly of his poverty, not only as an emperor, but as a father; but applied to his own use all the presents and contributions made by the people for the education and portion of the child. The law of majesty, which he revived, proved an inexhaustible fund for the increasing of his revenues. *Dion Cassius* enumerates a great many worthy citizens, who were put to death, for no other crime but their great wealth; and tells us, that one *Junius Priscus*, prætor, who had been condemned and executed under colour of some other crime, being found after his death possessed but of a small estate, the emperor cried out, *I have been imposed upon; Junius was not guilty* (P). *Lucius Vitellius*, governor of *Syria*, had acquired great wealth in that province, and besides, his great power, and the reputation he had gained amongst the soldiery, gave *Caius* no small uneasiness, who thereupon recalled him with a design to put him to death, under pretence, that through his negligence the *Parthians* had driven *Tiridates* from

Desires to de-
stroy *Lucius*
Vitellius go-
vernor of
Syria.

^r Suet. c. 38—43.

(P) *Dion Cassius* tells us in this place how *Domitius Afer* escaped condemnation. He was, says *Tacitus* (63), more famous for his eloquence than his integrity. He had been under *Tiberius* a zealous accuser, and acted that part against *Claudia Pulchra*, an intimate friend and cousin to *Agrippina*, as we have related above. It was not, however, this that provoked *Caius* against him, but his being esteemed the most eloquent orator of his age, which glory *Caius* thought due to himself; and therefore resolved to rid himself of the only person who disputed it with him. *Domitius* erected this year a statue to the emperor with an inscription, importing, that he was consul the second time in the twenty-seventh year of his age. This he meant as a compliment; but *Caius*, who wanted a pretence to destroy him, pretended, that he thereby reproached him with his youth, and a violation of the laws, forbidding any one to be raised to the consular dignity at that age. He therefore took upon him to accuse him himself, and delivered in the senate a long speech, which he had composed against him. *Domitius*, instead of answering it, which, without all doubt, would have cost him his life, extolled the eloquence of the speaker, admired the propriety of his expressions, repeated the most remarkable passages, giving them their due weight, and pointing out their beauties, &c. When he was ordered to make his defence, instead of answering the emperor's oration, he threw himself at his feet, acknowledged him for his master in eloquence, and declared, that he despised life after he was thus bereaved of the glory on which he piqued

himself, of being esteemed the best orator of his age. *Caius* was so well pleased with this pretended submission, that he not only forgave him, but raised him that very year to the consulate. *Calixtus*, one of *Caius's* freedmen, whom *Domitius* had gained, and who had proved very serviceable to him on this occasion, having one day made use of the liberty which *Caius* allowed him to complain of the bitter invectives, which he had uttered against one, whom he knew to be free from all guilt, the emperor returned him this answer; *Would you have had me to lose so fine a discourse* (64)? *Philo* places in this year the massacre of the exiles, and tells us, that *Caius*, not being able one night to take any rest, being haunted, as it frequently happened, with inward horrors, he began to think, that the banished persons were too happy, that they lived in ease and tranquillity, and wanted neither the necessaries nor conveniences of life. Hereupon concluding with himself, that it was not reasonable criminals should enjoy any happiness, as soon as day appeared, he made a list of the most eminent persons amongst them, and dispatched officers with orders to put them all to death, which occasioned an universal mourning among the most illustrious families of *Rome*. At the head of this black list was *Flaccus*, who had been governor of *Egypt*, and confined a few months before to the island of *Andros* (65). *Eusebius* fixes this cruel execution to the last year of *Caius's* reign (66); but *Philo* places it before the disgrace of *Lepidus*, which happened this year (67).

(63) *Tacit. annal.* vi. c. 52. (64) *Dio*, p. 644, 645. (65) *Philo in Flacc.* p. 990, 991. (66) *Euseb. in chron.* (67) *Idem ibid.*

from the kingdom of *Armenia*, which had been given him by *Tiberius*. *Vitellius* was a man of good talents and qualifications, had eminently distinguished himself in the army, and in the government of provinces, says *Tacitus* ^f, exercised the integrity of a primitive *Roman*. But his dread of *Caligula* changed him into a contemptible slave, and he is handed down to posterity as a pattern of the most infamous flattery. For the first time *Caius* deigned to admit him to his presence, he appeared before him in a modest dress, and accosted him with the same ceremonies that were practised by the *Romans*, when they approached their gods, that is, having his head covered with a veil, turning himself round, and then falling down prostrate before him ^g. *Caius* was so taken with this unexpected behaviour, that he not only forgave him, but thenceforth numbered him amongst his most intimate friends. For he was the first who introduced amongst the *Romans* the custom of approaching the emperors, as the *Parthians* and other eastern nations did their monarchs ^h. We shall have occasion to relate in the course of this history other instances of his slavish spirit, and servile submission. He was succeeded in the government of *Syria* by *P. Petronius*, of whom hereafter. We are told, that *Seneca* was about this time in imminent danger of losing his life for no other crime, but having pleaded a cause in the senate with great eloquence, and universal applause. This *Caius*, who was present, and pretended to be the best orator of his age, could not bear, and would therefore have dispatched him, had he not been assured by one of his courtesans, that *Seneca* was infected with a distemper, which would soon corrupt his body, and put an end to his life (Q) ^w.

THE last of *August*, being his birth-day, the consuls forgot to warn the people to observe it as a festival; which incensed *Caius* to such a degree, that on the second of *September* he deposed them, and caused their rods to be broken. This proved so sensible a mortification to them, that one of them, not able to brook it, laid violent hands on himself. The pretence, which *Caius* took for thus stripping them ignominiously of their dignity, was, their observing the second of *September*, the anniversary of the battle of *Actium*, as a festival. This indeed was customary; but the emperor, who was descended from *Augustus* by his mother *Agrippina*, and from *Antony* by his grandmother *Antonia*, told his friends beforehand, that the consuls could not avoid giving him on that day a favourable pretence to revenge the late affront, either by omitting to celebrate the victory of *Augustus*, or by solemnizing the defeat of *Antony* ^x. Accordingly, the consuls having, according to custom, celebrated with the usual ceremonies the anniversary of the *Actiac* victory, they were the same day deposed by *Caius*'s orders, under pretence that they had solemnized not so much the victory of *Augustus*, as the defeat of his great grandfather *Antony*. The city was then three days without consuls, that is, the third, fourth and fifth of *September* ^y; but on the sixth, *Domitius Afer* and another, whose name has not been transmitted to us, were nominated to that dignity. After this *Caius* forbade the boasted victories gained by *Augustus* in *Sicily* and at *Actium* to be solemnized for the future, saying, that they had proved tragical and calamitous to the *Roman* people, though at the same time he gave out, that his mother *Agrippina* was not the daughter of *Agrippa*, but of *Augustus* by his own daughter *Julia*. Thus he chose rather to asperse the memory of his great grandfather, and owe his birth to an abominable incest, than derive his pedigree from *Agrippa*, who was not of an illustrious descent (R) ^z. *Dion Cassius*

^f TACIT. annal. l. vi. c. 32.

SÜET. ibid.

^g SÜET. in vit. c. 2.^h Dio, ibid.^w Dio, p. 661. PHILOLEGAT. p. 1008.^y SÜET. c. 26.^z SÜET. c. 23.

(Q) *Caius* despised the eloquence of *Seneca*, tho' then in great vogue, calling his writings *Sand without lime*. *Caius* himself was no mean orator, had a great fluency and command of words, especially when he declaimed against any one; and such a clear voice and distinct pronouncation, that he was heard at a great distance. He took great delight in writing answers to such orators as had performed with applause. He often pleaded in the senate for or against such persons of distinction as were accused, not being governed therein by friendship or enmity, but by the subject; for he was ready to accuse a friend, or defend an enemy, according as he thought the subject most proper to display his eloquence. When he declaimed, he constantly invited, by a public

proclamation, the knights to hear him, who never failed to applaud him; and indeed he well deserved their applause, for though he undervalued the other liberal arts, he studied eloquence with great application, and spoke very pertinently, especially in accusing (68).

(R) He used to speak very contemptuously, not only of *Agrippa*, but of his great grandmother *Livia Augusta*, calling her *Ulysses stolatum*, that is, in our language, an *Ulysses in petticoats*. In a letter to the senate, he reflected on her pedigree, pretending that *Aufidius Lingo*, her grandfather by the mother, was but a common decurio at *Fundi*, though it appeared from the public records, that he had discharged very considerable offices at *Rome* (69).

(68) Suet. c. 53.

(69) Idem, c. 23.

The origin of
the counts of
Africa.

Prepares for
war against
the Germans.

His march.

His fright and
consternation.

His exploits.

Cassius observes in this place, that *Caius* being jealous of the power and courage of *L. Piso*, proconsul of *Africa*, and probably the son of that *Piso*, who was supposed to have poisoned *Germanicus*, took from him and his successors the command of the legion quartered there, and the *Numidian* auxiliaries, and gave it to a lieutenant. These lieutenants, by degrees, became more powerful than the proconsuls, and were in after-ages styled *Counts of Africa*^a. This regulation was introduced, according to *Tacitus*^b, one or two years before, while *M. Silanus* was proconsul of *Africa*. It is not easy, nor indeed of any importance, to decide, which of these two writers may be in the right.

TOWARDS the end of the year, *Caius* undertook an expedition into *Gaul*, under colour of opposing the *Germans*, who were said to have committed some hostilities; but his real motive was to plunder that wealthy province, and likewise *Spain*, after he had with extravagant tributes and taxes quite drained *Italy*. He never mentioned this design, till going one day to *Mevania*, at a small distance from *Rome*, to see the celebrated river and forest of *Clitumnus*, he was advised to complete the number of the *Batavians*, who were then his guards. Upon this he took a fancy to make war upon the *Germans*, and, without farther deliberation, ordered a great number of legions and auxiliaries to be drawn together, new levies to be made with great diligence, and a prodigious quantity of provisions to be got ready. His orders being executed with surprising expedition, he immediately began his march, moving sometimes with such haste, that the prætorian cohorts were obliged, which had never before been practised, to have their standards brought after them on their sumpter-horses; at other times so slowly, that he seemed to walk only for his diversion. He was carried the best part of the way in a litter on eight mens shoulders, having sent before messengers, commanding the neighbouring cities to have their high-ways well swept and watered, that he might not be troubled with dust. He was attended in this mock expedition by *Herod* king of *Batanea* and *Trachonitis*, and by *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, and followed by a long train of gladiators, comedians, buffoons, loose women, &c. with whom he spent his whole time^c. When he arrived at the place, where the legions were encamped that guarded the banks of the *Rhine*, he reviewed his forces, which amounted to two hundred, or two hundred and fifty thousand men. To acquire the reputation of a severe and strict observer of military discipline, he dismissed with ignominy and disgrace several old officers, who had served their time, pretending that they were unfit for the service, but in reality to exempt himself from the obligation of paying them the rewards due to veterans^d. He passed the *Rhine*, but after advancing a few miles into the country, he returned without having killed or even seen a single enemy, though one would have judged from his mighty preparations, that he would have over-run the whole country, *Tacitus* tells us, that one *Brinio* or *Brenno*, prince of the *Caninefates*, ridiculed with impunity this foolish expedition of *Caius*^e. And indeed, well he might; for while he, who had threatened the barbarians with utter destruction, was passing in his chariot through a narrow lane, and his troops were forced to break their ranks on account of the narrowness of the place, one happening to say, that great would be their confusion, if the enemy should appear, he immediately threw himself out of his chariot, mounted on horseback, and flew back to the bridges with a design to repass the river; but finding them crowded with the servants and baggage of the army, he made them hand him from one to another, and convey him over their heads, thinking he could not too soon get out of the enemy's country^f. Being afterwards recovered from his fright, and well assured that there was nothing to fear, he caused some of his *German* guards to cross the *Rhine*, and after having concealed themselves for some time in a neighbouring forest, to rise out of their ambuscade in a great tumult and hurry; that upon the alarm, which this would occasion, word might be brought him, that the enemy was at hand; which being done accordingly, the mock hero, starting up from his dinner, and putting himself at the head of a party of the prætorian horse, hastened to oppose the enemy, and advancing to the forest, there spent the remaining part of the day in cutting down trees to erect trophies for so signal a victory. Upon his return he reproached with cowardice those who had not followed him, but rewarded such as had borne with him the brunt of the day with a new sort of crowns, which, to distinguish them from all others, he called *exploratorie*. But this expedition, how-

^a DIO, p. 656.

^b TACIT. hist. l. iv. c. 48.

^c DIO, p. 656. SUT. c. 43.

^d SUT. c. 44.

DIO, p. 657, 658.

^e TACIT. hist. l. iv. c. 15.

^f SUT. c. 44. & 51.

ever glorious and successful, not satisfying his martial ardor, he resolved to signalize himself by some other still more noble achievement. With this view he ordered some children whom he kept as hostages, to be privately conveyed away, and word to be brought him that they had made their escape; upon which he immediately mounted on horseback, pursued the supposed fugitives with a detachment of cavalry, and brought them back loaded with chains. After these noble achievements, he wrote a letter to the senate, complaining of them and the people, for indulging themselves in banquets, pleasures, and diversions, while *Cæsar* was fighting, and exposed for their safety to so many perils and hazards. But the most glorious of all his exploits was his receiving under his protection *Adminius*, who being banished by his father *Cynobelinus*, one of the kings of *Britain*, fled to him with a small retinue. This seemed to him so memorable an action, that he immediately wrote boasting letters to the senate, as if he had subdued the whole island, strictly injoining the messengers to ride directly through the forum to the palace, and not to deliver his letters to the consuls, but in the presence of the senate assembled in the temple of *Mars*. In the mean time he caused himself to be seven times proclaimed emperor by his victorious troops on the banks of the *Rhine*.

THE *Gauls* would have reckoned themselves happy, had he done them no more harm, than he did the enemy. But his avarice, equal to his prodigality, prompted him to harass and oppress that unhappy nation with such extortions, as reduced even the most wealthy to beggary. Not satisfied with the great presents, which he obliged both the cities and particular persons to make him, he caused the most wealthy men in the province, though free from all guilt, to be accused of treason, that he might seize their estates, which he sold in person, obliging others to purchase them at the price he thought fit to put upon them. Having one day lost at dice an immense sum, he caused the registers, which served for the census, to be brought to him; and writing a list of those who possessed the greatest estates in the province, ordered them to be immediately put to death, and seized all their effects.

ABOUT this time, was discovered a conspiracy against *Caius*; but whether it was real, or only supposed, is still uncertain (S). *Lentulus* and *Lepidus* were said to be at the head of it. *Cneius Lentulus Getulicus* had commanded the legions in *Higher Germany* for the space, of ten years, *Tiberius* not daring to remove him, as we have related in the history of that prince's reign. But he was doomed to death by *Caius*, says *Dion*, for no other crime, but because he was greatly beloved by the soldiery on account of his clemency and good-nature. Some monuments have reached our times of the sacrifices which were offered on the twenty-seventh of *October*, by way of thanksgiving for the happy discovery, says the inscription, of the wicked designs of *Cn. Lentulus Getulicus*. His employment was given to *Sulpicius Galba*, afterwards emperor, who, the next day after his arrival in the camp, gave signal instances of his zeal for military discipline, of which more in his reign. *M. Æmilius Lepidus* is supposed to have been the son of *Julia*, *Augustus*'s granddaughter, and sister to *Agrippina* the mother of *Caius*, who nevertheless condemned him as guilty of treason, and charged a tribune, by name *Decimus*, to cut off his head (T). At the same time, he condemned his two sisters, *Agrippina* and *Livilla*, or *Julia*, as guilty of adultery with *Lepidus*, and privy to the conspiracy; and confined them to the island of *Pontia*, adding with threats, That he had swords as well as islands. After this he wrote a letter to the senate, acquainting them that he had escaped a dangerous conspiracy, and inveighing with great bitterness against his sisters, whom he was not ashamed to charge with most infamous crimes. He sent three

* Idem, c. 44—46. *Dio*, p. 657.
annal. vi. c. 30.

^b *Dio*, ibid.
^m *Dio*, p. 648. *SENEC.* ep. 4.

^l Idem ibid. * *GRUT.* p. 117. ^l *TACIT.*
ⁿ *SUET.* c. 29. *Dio*, p. 657

(S) *Dion Cassius* speaks of it as an imaginary conspiracy (24); but *Suetonius* supposes it to have been a real one (25). *Lipsius* takes it to be that plot which *Tacitus* mentions to have been discovered to *Caius* by *Anicius Cerealis* (26).

(T) *M. Lepidus* was greatly, nay too much beloved by *Caius*, if *Dion* does not confound him with *M. Lepidus Mneſter*, the mimick, with whom *Caius* maintained a scandalous commerce (27). *Æmilius*

was admitted by the emperor to the great employments five years before the age prescribed by the laws; nay, we are told, that *Caius* promised to name him for his successor. But *Lepidus*, notwithstanding the kindness shewn him by the emperor, debauched his two sisters *Agrippina* and *Livilla*, or *Julia*, hoping, as was supposed, by his familiarity with them, to raise himself to the empire.

(24) *Dio*, p. 657.

(25) *Suet. in Claud.* c. 9.

(26) *Tacit. annal* xxvi. c. 17.

(27) *Suet.* c. 36.

By what wile
means he rais-
ed money in
Gaul.

three daggers to *Rome* to be consecrated there to *Mars the avenger*, with an inscription, importing, that they had been designed for his destruction; and obliged *Agrippina* to carry from *Gaul* to *Rome* the urn with the bones of *Lepidus*. He sold all the furniture, jewels, slaves, and even the freedmen of his sisters, after their condemnation. As he degraded himself to sell them in person, he put his own price upon them, and obliged the *Gauls* to purchase them. This kind of traffick proving very advantageous, he ordered the rich furniture of the imperial palace, with the robes of *Marc Antony*, of *Augustus*, of his mother *Agrippina*, and others of the imperial family, to be sent him from *Rome*, and sold them in the same manner. So many carriages and beasts of burden were employed in conveying the furniture of the imperial palace from *Italy* to *Gaul*, that no horses being found to turn the mills, according to the custom of those times, the city was reduced to great straits for want of bread^b. But, notwithstanding the immense and almost incredible sums, he raised by these sales, he still wanted money, being no less boundless in his prodigality (U), than iniquitous in his extortions.

New honours
decreed him by
the senate.

WHEN the death of *Lepidus* and *Getulicus* was known at *Rome*, *Flavius Vespasianus*, then prætor, and afterwards emperor, who studied to insinuate himself by any means into the emperor's favour, was for throwing the bodies of the conspirators into the *Tiber*, and depriving them of the honour of sepulture. Neither did the senate omit so favourable an opportunity of heaping new honours upon the prince; amongst others they decreed him an ovation, and deputed his uncle *Claudius*, with several other persons of the first rank drawn by lot, to go into *Gaul*, and congratulate him in their name upon the discovery of so dangerous a conspiracy, and the deserved vengeance he had taken on the conspirators. But *Caius*, not satisfied with the honours decreed him, especially with an ovation, and complaining of the small number of the deputies, ordered some of them to return even before they entered *Gaul*, as if they had been spies, and received the others with great coldness. He chiefly resented their sending his uncle, as if he were a child, and wanted a governor. He did not, however, send him back, but treated him in a most ignominious manner^p; nay, we are told, that he caused him to be thrown into a river the moment he arrived^q. After this the senate decreed him greater honours, and sent him a more numerous deputation; which he received with great marks of satisfaction, and even went out to meet the deputies

^o Suet. ibid.

^p Dio, p. 658.

^q Suet. in Claud. c. 9.

(U) In luxury, says *Suetonius* (28), and extravagance, he far outdid all the prodigals of his age. He used baths of sweet oils with the most costly perfumes that could be purchased. At his entertainments he often caused the largest pearls to be dissolved in vinegar, to display his grandeur and magnificence. Sometimes to divert himself with his guests, he caused empty dishes of pure gold to be served up, which he distributed among them, saying, that at *Cæsar's* table their bread and meat must be nothing but gold. For several days together he took delight in throwing down from the top of a tower considerable sums among the people. He built certain galleys of cedar, having the sterns, which were of ivory, adorned with precious stones. the sails of various silks, the cabins and galleries spacious and convenient, with great variety of vines and fruit-trees, under the shade of which he often dined, coasting along the shore of *Campania*, with great pomp and splendor, being entertained by the mixed melody of voices, and all sorts of instruments. In all his buildings he considered nothing but his own particular fancy, and thought nothing answerable to his grandeur, but what to others seemed impossible. He raised pillars and towers in the sea, cut his way through rocks of the most impenetrable flint, levelled mountains, raised plains and vallies, &c. (29). *Josephus* observes, that he never undertook any thing worthy of a prince, that is, useful to

the public, except an harbour, which he began in the neighbourhood of *Rhegium* for the convenience and safety of the ships, which conveyed corn from *Alexandria* to *Italy*; but this he left unfinished (30). *Suetonius* (31) enumerates several works, which he undertook, but none of any use to the public, except a fine aqueduct, which *Claudius* finished fourteen years after. *Frontinus* mentions another aqueduct amongst the works of *Caius*, but upon what authority we know not. He caused an obelisk to be brought out of *Egypt*, which *Suetonius* (32) calls the great obelisk, and placed it in the circus on mount *Vatican*. The ship, in which it was conveyed to *Rome*, was the finest and largest that had ever appeared on the sea till *Pliny's* time, who tells us, that four men could scarce fathom the mast of this extraordinary vessel (33). He designed to rebuild the palace of *Polycrates* at *Samos*, to finish the temple of *Apollo Didymæus* at *Miletus*, and to found a new city on the top of the *Alps*; but his favourite project was to cut the isthmus of *Corinth*, and open a communication between those two seas; in which undertaking he was attended with no better success than those who attempted it after him (34). *Seneca* mentions an immense sum expended by him in one banquet (35); and *Pliny* speaks of a splendid and costly entertainment, which he gave to fifteen guests in the hollow of a plane-tree, framed in the form of a room (36).

(28) Suet. c. 37. (29) Idem, c. 29. (30) Joseph. antiq. l. xix. c. 2. (31) Suet. c. 21.
(32) Suet. in Claud. c. 20. (33) Plin. l. xxvi. c. 40. (34) Plin. l. iv. c. 4. Suet. c. 21. (35) Senec.
ad Hely. c. 9. (36) Plin. l. xii. c. 1.

^a deputies. In the mean time, prosecutions were carried on at *Rome* against the friends of *Caius's* sisters, and of those who had been executed for the late conspiracy. Several ædiles and prætors were obliged to lay down their employments, and appear before the senate in the habit of criminals. Among the rest *Sophronius Tigellinus*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reign of *Nero*, was banished for a criminal correspondence with *Agrippina*. These proceedings terrified the senate, who apprehended still greater evils from a prince, who was cruel by nature, and gave ear, as was supposed, to the pernicious counsels of the kings *Agrippa* and *Antiochus*.

Caius, after the condemnation of his sisters, divorced his wife *Lollia Paulina* to ^{He marries} marry *Milonia Cæsonia*, who was neither beautiful nor young, being already the mother ^{Cæsonia.} of three children by another husband, who was still alive. She had, however, a particular talent and address in gaining the affections of all with whom she conversed; insomuch, that *Caius* loved her intirely, and lived longer with her than any other (W)^f. He married her, according to *Suetonius*, the same day that she was delivered of a daughter, declaring himself her husband, and the father of the child^e. But *Dion* says, that he married her about a month before her delivery^u. To the child he gave the name of *Julia Drusilla*, carried her to the temples of all the goddesses in *Rome*, and put her into the arms of *Minerva*, as if to that powerful goddess he committed the care of her education^w. He laid her likewise at the feet of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, saying, that she was common to him and *Jupiter*, and leaving all men to judge which of her parents was the greatest, from which she derived the more noble origin^x. But nothing more assured *Caius*, that she was his daughter, for her mother was not renowned for her chastity, than her natural fierceness, of which she soon gave sufficient indications, by scratching and tearing the faces of the little children who played with her^y. Upon her birth *Caius* complained of his poverty, as we have hinted ^{His meanness.} above, and obliged the people to contribute large sums for the educating and marrying her suitable to her rank, which he applied to his own use. He likewise declared by an edict, that on the first of *January* he intended to receive new-year's gifts, which he did accordingly, standing in the porch of his palace, while the people and nobility with full hands and laps poured out their presents before him^z. *Augustus* had formerly received new-year's gifts, according to the *Roman* custom, but not out of covetousness, as *Caius*, who is said to have had such a passion for money, that his chief delight was to walk bare-foot, and even roll himself upon heaps of gold, which he had accumulated by all manner of rapine^a.

THIS year, the *Germans*, having no doubt drawn together their forces to oppose *Galba* ^{Galba defeats} *Caius*, made upon his departure an inroad into *Gaul*; but were repulsed by *Galba* with ^{the Germans.} such vigor and expedition, that *Caligula* could not forbear commending and rewarding both him and his troops, though he generally used out of jealousy and envy, to discountenance such of his officers as had gained any considerable advantage over the enemy. *Caius*, who was then in *Gaul*, assumed the whole glory of this action to himself, and acquainted the senate with it by a letter, which he sent wrapt up in the branch of a laurel, the symbol of victory, boasting, that he had utterly defeated the enemy's numerous forces, and put them out of a condition of disturbing for the future the tranquillity of *Gaul*^b. *Vespasian*, then prætor, begged he might be allowed to exhibit extraordinary sports on occasion of so signal a victory^c (X). This year, *Hered Antipas*

^f *Dio*, *ibid.* ^e *Dio*, p. 658. *Suet.* c. 25. ^u *Dio*, *ibid.* ^w *Dio*, in excerpt. Val. p. 673. *Suet.* *ibid.* ^x *JOSEPH.* antiq. l. xix. c. 1. ^y *Suet.* *ibid.* ^z *Idem* *ibid.* ^a *Idem*, c. 42. ^b *PERSIUS*, satyr. 6. ^c *Suet.* in *Vesp.* c. 2.

(W) *Cæsonia* was daughter to *Vestilia*, who, if *Pliny* is to be credited (37), was delivered of two children in seven months time, of one in eleven, and of *Cæsonia* in eight. All these children lived, as the same writer observes, to a competent age, and enjoyed good health. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Cæsonia* gained and maintained the affections of *Caius* by her monstrous lewdness (38). After her husband's death, she was charged with having fixed his affection to her with an amorous potion, which affecting his brain, had disordered his understanding, and occa-

fioned that fury and madness which had brought so many calamities upon the state. Whether she administered to him any such potion, is uncertain; but this served as a pretence for the conspirators to dispatch both her and her daughter after the murder of *Caius* (39). *Suetonius* tells us, that the emperor often shewed her to his soldiers habited like them, and to his friends without any garments (40).

(X) On this occasion probably happened what we read in *Suetonius*, viz. that *Caius*, upon the news of the motions of the *Germans*, seized on all the ships he

(37) *Plin.* l. vii. c. 5. (38) *Suet.* c. 25. (39) *Joseph.* *ibid.* c. 2. *Juvenal.* satyr. 6. v. 515.
(40) *Suet.* c. 25.

Herod Antip-
pas banished.

Antipas was by *Caius* deprived of his tetrarchy of *Galilee*, which was given to king *Agrippa*, and banished to *Lions*, as *Josephus* writes in one place ^a, or sent into *Spain*, as he tells us in another ^c. Perhaps *Caius*, who came this year with *Agrippa* into *Gaul*, ordered him to remove from *Lions* to *Spain*, where he died. He had enjoyed his tetrarchy forty-eight years, during which time he built a new city in the most delightful spot of *Galilee*, which from *Tiberius* he named *Tiberias*. But of his actions and cause of his disgrace, we have spoken in our history of the *Jews*.

Sports exhi-
bited by *Caius*
at *Lions*.

THE following year, *Caius* was consul without a colleague for the first twelve days, not designedly, but because he was not acquainted sooner with the death of the person who had been named for his colleague, and died at *Rome* a few days before he was to enter upon his office ^f. *Caius* began his third consulship at *Lions*, and it was ^b probably on that occasion, that he exhibited the magnificent sports described by *Dion Cassius* and *Suetonius*. At the same time, he ordained a solemn contention of eloquence, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, obliging those who were overcome to give rewards to their competitors, and to make some composition or other in their commendation. Those who gave no satisfaction at all were condemned to blot out with a sponge, and even with their tongues, what they had wrote, unless they chose rather to be whipt like school-boys, or to be thrown into the *Rhone* ^g. Hence an ancient poet, speaking of one who was in fear, says, that he trembled like an orator, ready to declaim at *Lions* before the altar of *Augustus* ^h. Of this altar at *Lions*, and the sports yearly exhibited there in honour of the deified *Augustus*, we have spoken in the history of his reign.

The murder of
Ptolemy king
of *Mauritania*.

Caius held the consulship only twelve days; and when news of his resignation was brought to *Rome*, two new consuls, probably *Publicola* and *Nerva* (Y), were nominated. The first decree they made was, that the anniversary of the death of *Tiberius* and *Drusilla* should be solemnized in the same manner, as that of *Augustus*. This distinction *Caius* had required in a letter to the new consuls ⁱ. As for *Caius*, he began the year with the murder of *Ptolemy*, king of *Mauritania*, and cousin-german to his father *Germanicus* (Z). He had invited him to his court, and received him at his arrival with great demonstrations of kindness; but observing one day, as he entered the theatre to behold the sports, that the lustre of his purple drew upon him the eyes ^d of the whole company, he caused him, no doubt out of jealousy, to be immediately arrested, condemned him to banishment, and privately ordered him to be massacred on his journey ^k. *Dion Cassius* ascribes his death to the great riches he possessed ^l. Be that as it will, the *Mauritanians*, upon the news of his death, revolted, being stirred up by *Edemon*, one of the deceased prince's freedmen, desirous to revenge the death of his master. The inhuman and imperious tyrant caused likewise *Mitbridates* king of *Armenia* to be arrested, but only condemned him to banishment. We shall have occasion to speak of this prince in the following reign.

Caius's me-
morable expe-
dition against
Britain.

Caius, before he left *Gaul*, gave out, that he designed to invade *Britain*, and accordingly ordered his troops from all quarters to march to the *Gaulish* shore opposite to that island. He soon came to the place of the rendezvous himself, and upon his arrival drew up his men along the coast, imbarqued on a magnificent galley, and having advanced a small way from the shore, returned suddenly, and, ascending his tribunal, ordered the warlike engines to be disposed in order and to the best advantage,

^a JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. ^c Idem, bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 16. ^f DIO, p. 653. SUET. c. 17
^g SUET. c. 20. ^h JUVEN. satyr. i. ⁱ DIO, p. 659 ^k SUET. c. 35. ^l DIO, p. 659.

he could get, in order to convey himself into the *Levant*, comforting himself with this thought, that he should keep his transmarine provinces, though the enemy possessed themselves of *Italy* and *Rome* itself, as the *Senones* had formerly done (41).

(Y) *Onuphrius* takes these two to be the consuls of this year, because *S. Prosper* marks them as the consuls of the foregoing year, when, according to the general opinion of the chronologers, that office was discharged by *Caius Caesar* and *L. Apronius æsianus*. The same writer pretends, that *Sex. Nonius Celer* and *Junius Quintilianus*, set down by *Frontinus* (42) as consuls between the years thirty-eight

and forty-nine of the christian æra, bore that dignity from the first of *July* to the end of this year (43).

(Z) He was the son of *Cleopatra Selene*, daughter of *Antony* and the celebrated *Cleopatra*, as *Germanicus* was the son of *Antonia*, daughter to the same *Antony*. *Juba*, the father of *Ptolemy*, was first king of *Mauritania*, which *Augustus* made him exchange for part of *Getulia*, and the countries formerly possessed by *Bocchus*, that is, the two *Mauritanias*, the *Tingitana* and *Cæsariana* (44).

(41) Suet. c. 51. (42) Front. de aquad. p. 119. (43) Onuph. in fast. p. 298. (44) Dio, l. lv. p. 567. Tacit. annal. l. xi. c. 5. & 23.

age, the trumpets to sound, and the signal of battle to be given. Neither soldiers nor officers could conceive what he had in view, till at length, all on a sudden he ordered them to gather the cockle-shells on the shore, and to fill with them their laps and head-pieces, saying, *These are spoils of the conquered ocean, due to the palace, due to the capitol.* Then, to reward his fellow-soldiers for so glorious a victory, he distributed among them a very considerable sum, bidding them be merry, and enjoy in safety the rewards of their valour; and that so glorious a conquest might never be forgot, he caused a high tower to be erected, according to the model of the *Pharos* at *Alexandria*, for setting up lights to direct ships at sea in the night^m. A modern writerⁿ will have the tower built on this occasion to be that which stands at the entry of the port of *Boulogne*, and is called by the natives *la tour d'ordre*.

AND now *Caius* thought of nothing but the preparations for a triumph due to his noble achievements. Accordingly he wrote to his officers at *Rome*, injoining them to get every thing ready for the most magnificent triumph that had ever been seen; but at the same time warning them, not to put him to any extraordinary expence; *His folly and ambition.* since every man's estate was at their disposal. Before he left *Gaul*, he chose the tallest men of that province, without distinction of rank or condition, to grace his triumph, giving them *German* names, and obliging them to learn that language, to let their hair grow and colour it red, that they might pass for *Germans*. He likewise commanded the galleys, in which he and his chief officers had put to sea, to be conveyed to *Rome* for most part of the way of land^o. Before he left *Gaul*, he took it in his head to put those legions to the sword that had mutinied after the death of *Augustus*, and in a manner besieged his father *Germanicus* and himself, then an infant. His officers, with the utmost difficulty, dissuaded him from cutting them all off; but *His cruel design.* could not by any means divert him from decimating them for a crime, which had been so many years before committed and forgiven. Notwithstanding the warm remonstrances of his friends and chief officers, he ordered them to assemble without arms to receive his commands. The legionaries, not suspecting in the least his design, readily obeyed, and, in the mean time, the cavalry began to surround them. This gave them some umbrage, and many of them slipped away to take their arms, with a design to sell their lives dear, in case any violence was offered them; which the coward no sooner perceived, than he dismissed the assembly and fled, making what haste he could to reach *Rome*, that he might vent his rage upon the senate, for the wrong he pretended they had done him by not decreeing him a triumph, though he had declared the year before, that they had no right to decree him any honours, and that he would punish them with the utmost severity, if they pretended to assume it^p. They chiefly were at a loss how to behave with respect to his pretended conquest of *Britain*. To compliment him on his victory, looked like mockery; on the other hand, they were told, that he spoke seriously of it as a noble exploit. What resolution they took in the end, we find no-where recorded. *Suetonius* only tells us, that they dispatched an embassy to him, consisting of the most considerable men of their order, intreating him to hasten his return to the city. The deputies met him on his journey towards *Rome*, not yet recovered from his late fright, and with the utmost submission presented their request to him in the name of their whole body. *I will come,* answered *Caius*, *I will come, and bring this along with me;* laying his hand on the hilt of his sword. He even declared by an edict, which he caused to be set up in the city, that he would return; but it should be only for the knights and people; as for the senate, he would for the future be to them neither a prince nor a citizen. As he drew near *Rome*, he forbid any of the senators to meet him. He would not, however, enter the city in triumph, but contented himself with an ovation, making his entry on the last of *August*, which was his birth-day, four months and some days before his death^q. From this time he resolved utterly to extirpate the senate, and would have put his wicked design in execution, had he not been prevented by death. In the four months he lived, he caused several senators of distinction to be inhumanly murdered, one in particular for no other crime, but because he begged leave to shut his eyes being commanded by him, though nothing was laid to his charge, to assist at the execution of his son^r. For the bloody and inhuman monster took great delight, as we have hinted above, in thus tormenting the most innocent parents. It was commonly reported, that he designed to cut off the most considerable men of the senatorial and equestrian *Various instances of his cruelty.*

^m Suet. c. 46. Dio, p. 659.
c. 48.

ⁿ Suet. c. 49.

^o BUCH. de Belg. l. iv. c. 12.
^r Suet. c. 27. Dio, p. 660.

^p Suet. c. 47.

^q Suet.

equestrian order, and then remove the seat of the empire to *Antium*, and from thence to *Alexandria*. This report gained great credit after his death, when two books were found in his cabinet, one with the title of *gladius, the sword*, the other of *pugio, the dagger*, both containing the names of many eminent persons, whom he designed to destroy^f. These books were committed to the custody of *Protogenes*, one of the ministers of his cruelty^g. Besides these books was found a great chest filled with various sorts of poisons, which being by *Claudius*'s orders thrown into the sea, infected the waters, and destroyed a vast quantity of fish^h. However, he was somewhat reconciled to the senate before his death on the following occasion: *Protogenes*, his chief favourite, coming one day unexpectedly into the senate under colour of delivering some message from the prince, and all the senators crouding round him to pay their court to him, he fixed his eyes on *Scribonius Proculus*, and with an angry tone; *How dare you*, said he, *presume to appear before me, you who are an enemy to Cæsar?* There wanted no more; the other senators instantly fell upon him with their daggers, stabbed him in several places, and then delivered him over, as a public enemy, to the mob, who tore him to pieces, and dragged his mangled members about the streets, *Caius* beholding with great pleasure so dismal a spectacle^w. *Suetonius* tells us, that this worthy senator was thus inhumanly butchered, merely to satisfy *Caius*, who, taking a fancy to see a senator thus mangled, had without the least provocation pitched upon him. Neither was his cruelty satiated, till the limbs and bowels of the innocent victim were brought before him. Being highly pleased with so dismal a sight, and the readiness the senate had shewn to take vengeance on his supposed enemy, he declared himself by a public edict reconciled with that body^x; and the senate on their side, to acknowledge so great a favour, honoured him sometimes with the title of *hero*, and sometimes of *god*; which scandalous flattery puffed him up to such a degree, that thenceforth he shewed himself more ambitious than ever of divine honours, punishing with death, or dooming to the mines, or to the drudgery of mending the public roads, persons of great merit and distinction, for neglecting to invoke his celestial genius: nay, some, for pretended offences against his godhead, were first torn and mangled with stripes, and then sawed asunder (A).

The inconstancy and fickleness of *Caius*'s temper.

Dion Cassius, after a long detail of his cruelties, and the dismal effects of his pride, avarice, lewdness, prodigality, &c. observes in this place, that he was chiefly remarkable for the inconstancy and fickleness of his humour, which often hurried him in a moment from one extreme to another; and concludes his observations with the following words: Sometimes he liked to see his palace crowded, and sometimes would see no company, not his most intimate friends: he was out of humour when any petition was presented to him; and more so, when no-body appeared to ask him any favour: sometimes he dispatched business with great expedition; at other times he was slow and tedious, putting off from day to day matters which required the greatest dispatch: he squandered away immense treasures with a prodigality which knew no bounds, and amassed new sums with the most sordid avarice: sometimes he was pleased with liberty of speech and abhorred flattery; but all on a sudden punished the least liberty, and took delight in being flattered: he often pardoned those who were guilty of most enormous crimes, and condemned such as were not charged with any: upon some of his favourites he heaped honours and riches, while he treated others, no-body knew why, with the utmost contempt: in short, so changeable was his humour, so various and inconsistent was his conduct, that his most intimate

^f Idem, c. 49.

^g Dio, ibid.

^h Suet. ibid.

^w Idem, c. 28. Dio, ibid.

^x Suet. ibid.

^y Dio, p. 661.

(A) What *Pliny* relates (45), if true, might have sufficiently convinced him both of his folly and weakness. For that writer tells us, that the last time he left *Rome*, as he went by sea from *Aslura* to *Antium*, his galley, which was attended by many others, stopt all on a sudden; and while the other vessels pursued their course, continued immoveable in spite of the utmost efforts of four hundred rowers. The whole company were greatly surprised, as we may well imagine, at such an extraordinary accident, and many of the mariners threw themselves

into the sea to find out the cause of it; when they discovered a fish about half a foot in length, which seemed to be of the snail kind, fastened to the keel of the royal galley. This is the fish, to which the *Greeks* have given the name of *echeneis*, and the *Latins* that of *remora*. It was brought to *Caius*, who, instead of acknowledging his folly, in pretending to be equal in power to the gods, foamed with rage upon his reflecting, that so small a creature had thus bid defiance to so mighty a prince, to the lord of the universe.

mate friends were at a loss what they should do, what they should say to please him, seeing he was often affronted with what he had taken delight in a few hours before ² (B)

THE following year, *Caius* entered upon his fourth consulship, having *Cn. Sextius Saturninus* for his colleague, but held it only to the seventh of *January*, when he resigned the fasces to *Quintus Pomponius Secundus*. Rome had now for the space of near four years groaned under the oppressions of the most cruel and inhuman tyrant, that had ever been invested with power; when at length a bloody doom overtook the author of so much blood-shed and slaughter. The conspiracy, which for the present put an end to the public evils, was chiefly formed, carried on, and executed by *Cassius Chærea*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, who had signalized himself in a very eminent manner, as we have already observed, in the beginning of *Tiberius's* reign, when the legions in *Germany* revolted. As he was a man of no less probity than bravery, the hatred he bore *Caius*, on account of his cruelties and extortions, first inspired him with the design of ridding the world of so great a plague. He was already resolved to resign his employment, and spend the remaining part of his life in retirement, when he received a commission from *Caius* to gather the taxes; for no commodity escaped without paying some tax or other, and the emperor levied them not by the publicans, as was usual, but by the centurions and tribunes of the prætorian cohorts, that they might reap the advantages thence accruing. In this commission *Chærea*, who was naturally compassionate, acquitted himself more to the satisfaction of the oppressed people, than of the emperor, who thereupon reproached him with want of spirit; and, conceiving an aversion to him, took pleasure in exposing him to the derisions of the soldiery. For though he was a man of great courage and resolution, yet, from his manner of speaking and the tone of his voice, no one would have taken him, says *Seneca*², for a person of that extraordinary bravery, which he shewed on all occasions, without betraying the least concern in the greatest dangers. *Caius*, now incensed against him, laid hold of his outward appearance to reproach him with effeminacy and cowardice, and rally him as one more fit to converse with women, than command men. When it was his turn to come for the parole, the emperor, by way of raillery, gave him always either some obscene word, or the name of some famous prostitute; insomuch, that the soldiers could not forbear laughing when he brought them the parole, and often diverted themselves with guessing what word *Chærea* would bring. But, as he was a man of too great spirit to put up such gross affronts, he resolved to convince the emperor how undeservedly he was taxed by him with effeminacy and want of courage. Having therefore determined to be revenged at all adventures on the tyrant, for thus attempting to blacken, with his unseasonable sarcasms, the reputation he had deservedly acquired by his gallant behaviour, he imparted his design to some of his intimate friends, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of putting it in execution. In the mean time, a senator of great distinction, named *Propedius*, was accused by one *Timidius* of having uttered injurious speeches against *Caius*. The only evidence produced against him was *Quintilia*, a celebrated comedian; but she, when summoned to appear before the judges, declared, that she had heard no such speeches. Hereupon *Timidius* requiring that she might be examined by torture, *Caius* ordered *Chærea* to see her immediately put upon the rack. *Josephus* tells us, that the tyrant commonly charged *Chærea* with commissions of this nature, being persuaded, that to avoid the imputation of faint-heartedness, that is,

A conspiracy formed against him.

Cassius Chærea at the head of the conspiracy.

What provoked him against *Caius*.

of

² Idem, p. 641.—644.

² SENECA. ad Ser. c. 18.

(B) This is intirely agreeable to what we read in *Philo*, who was well acquainted with *Caius's* strange and variable humour. There was no depending, says that writer, upon the kindness and good-will he shewed you, however great and in appearance sincere. When he had granted a favour, he soon repented and recalled it; nay his benefits were often the fore-runners of greater evils. Thus he frequently set at liberty such as were confined for crimes real or supposed, and soon after ordered them to be dragged back to the place of their confinement without any new guilt, telling them, to increase their former miseries, that now they were to expect no mercy.

Many he condemned only to banishment, when they expected nothing but a cruel death; then, repenting of his clemency, he caused them to be executed in the place of their exile. His bounties he often revoked, obliging those, who had received them, to refund them with usury. Several of his chief favourites he reduced to beggary, that they might not be tempted to retire, and enjoy the wealth which they acquired. Thus the very favours he bestowed were in the end attended with the ruin of those who received them, and therefore no less dreaded than his resentment (46).

(46) *Philo legat.* p. 1039.

The constancy
of Quintilia.

He gains se-
veral persons
of distinction.

of good-nature, he would take care to execute them with extraordinary severity^b. But he was never so much at a loss how to behave as on this occasion; for *Quintilia* was privy to the conspiracy; whence he was afraid she might discover it upon the rack, if tortured without compassion; on the other hand, to shew any mercy to her, might cost him his life. But *Quintilia* herself delivered him from his uneasiness; for meeting, as she was led to the torture, one of the conspirators, she trod upon his foot, giving thereby to understand, that no torments should extort from her a discovery of the plot. And truly she bore the rack with unparalleled constancy, without suffering a single word to escape her, in prejudice either of *Propedius* or the conspirators, tho' she was reduced to so deplorable a condition, that *Caius* himself, when she was brought back to him, being moved with pity and admiring her resolution, ordered her a sum of money, and dismissed *Propedius* untouched. As for *Chærea*, he was so affected with the constancy of *Quintilia* and the torments she had suffered, of which he had himself been the minister, that he immediately imparted his design to *Papinius* and *Clemens*, the former a tribune, as he was himself, of one of the prætorian cohorts, and the latter the commander of the whole body, encouraging them to exert their bravery, and deliver *Rome* and the world from so bloody a tyrant, who employed them, not as the officers of his guards, but as his executioners. They both approved of the design; but *Clemens*, desiring to be excused from bearing any share in the execution of it on account of his age, promised to assist them with his advice; and taking his leave, left them under no small anxiety and apprehension of his betraying the secret (C). *Chærea* therefore, without loss of time, had recourse to *Cornelius Sabinus*, tribune likewise of a prætorian cohort, whom he knew to be a man of great courage, a lover of liberty, and consequently highly dissatisfied with the administration of *Caius*. *Sabinus* had formed the same design, but had not yet made any one privy to it for fear of being discovered. He therefore readily joined *Chærea*, and with him went immediately to sound *Annius Minucianus*, or, as others call him, *Vinicianus*, a senator of great distinction and merit, and mortally hated by *Caius*, who suspected him ever since the conspiracy of *Lepidus*, with whom *Minucianus* had lived in close confidence. After the usual ceremonies were over, *Minucianus* asked *Chærea*, *What was the parole for that day?* which he taking for a sufficient declaration of his intention, *Do you*, said he, without any further preamble, *but give me the word liberty, and under your conduct I'll revenge my private injuries and the public calamities: do you but give me the word of command, and Rome shall no longer groan under the oppressions of an insulting tyrant.* At these words, which *Chærea* uttered with great vehemence and ardor, *Minucianus* embracing him, commended his resolution, exhorted him to pursue his design, and promised to assist, to the utmost of his power, both with his sword and counsel (D).

THE number of the conspirators increased daily, which retarded the execution of the design, some of them being over-cautious, lest they should miscarry in an enterprise, on the success of which depended their safety, and the welfare of their country. If the attempt, said they, should not succeed, we should soon see every house in the city floating in blood. Not our lives only, but those of our wives, children, friends, relations,

^b JOSEPH. I. xix. c. 1.

(C) *Clemens* seems to have had no share in the execution of the design; since *Mucianus*, in conferring after his death the command of the prætorian cohorts upon his son *Clemens Arretinus*, told him, that his father had with honour and reputation discharged that office under *Caius* (47). And yet *Dion Cassius* names amongst the conspirators, *Calinius*, one of *Caius's* freedmen, and the commander of the prætorian guards (48); and *Suetonius* tells us, that the conspiracy was not executed without the concurrence of the most considerable amongst the emperor's freedmen and of the officers of his guards, who joined the other conspirators the more readily, because they found themselves suspected and hated by *Caius*, ever since the conspiracy of *Lepidus* (49). As for the emperor's freedmen, *Josephus* assures us,

that *Calixtus*, the most wealthy amongst them, favoured the conspiracy, being well apprised, that he could by no other means escape the cruelty of *Caius*, and enjoy the immense wealth he had unjustly acquired (50).

(D) *Josephus* tells us, that as *Chærea* was about this time entering the senate, no doubt to attend *Caius*, for he was no senator, he heard a voice, which seemed to come from some one in the croud, encouraging him to dispatch what he designed, and assuring him, that heaven favoured his design. He was at first afraid, lest some of his associates had betrayed the secret; but afterwards concluded, that either one of his friends, or some divinity, pushed him forward to the speedy execution of his purpose (51).

(47) *Tacit. hist. l. iv. c. 68.*
(51) *Idem ibid.*

(48) *Dio, l. lix. p. 662.*

(49) *Suet. c. 56.*

(50) *Joseph. ibid.*

relations, and acquaintance are at stake. We must expect no mercy from so cruel and inhuman a tyrant, who will take care to guard himself well for the future against any attempts of the like nature. Let us not therefore be over-hasty, but patiently wait for such an opportunity, as may promise certain success to our undertaking. *Chærea* did not relish this speech; to him every opportunity seemed favourable: as he was not in the least suspected by *Caius*, he offered to dispatch him, when he went up to the capitol to offer sacrifices for his daughter, or when in his palace he assisted at certain religious ceremonies, which he himself had instituted. He was for throwing him down headlong from the top of the *Julian* basilic, whence he used to scatter money among the populace; but the rest of the conspirators, thinking they could not use too much caution, did not judge any of these opportunities sufficiently safe and proper for the execution of their design. However, they all agreed at last to make the attempt during the sports, which were to be exhibited in honour of *Augustus* in the palace on the twenty-first of *January* and the three following days; for after these sports, *Caius* was to leave *Rome* and repair to *Alexandria*, probably to plunder the wealthy kingdom of *Egypt*, as he had done the other provinces of the empire (E). But notwithstanding their agreement and the resolution they had all shewed at their last meeting, they were still for putting off the attempt; but *Chærea*, having called them together on the third day of the sports, exhorted them not to let slip the present opportunity, represented the dangers to which their irresolution exposed them, and, by a speech full of noble and generous sentiments, inspired them with such courage, that they unanimously agreed at all adventures to make the attempt the next day, when *Chærea* was by good luck to be upon guard, and consequently to receive of the emperor, according to custom, the parole with the sword by his side (F). *Caius* came that day, the twenty-fourth of *January*, more early than usual, to the theatre, and appeared, contrary to his custom, gay, affable, and good-humoured; so much, that the spectators were greatly surprised at his obliging behaviour, and the complaisance he shewed to all who approached him. After he had sacrificed to *Augustus*, in whose honour the sports were exhibited, he took his place, having his friends and favourites about him, and *Chærea* with the other officers that day upon guard at some distance behind him. When the sports began, one *Bathybius*, who had been prætor, happening to sit by a consular of his acquaintance, named *Cluvitus*, for at these shews there was no distinction of places, he asked him softly, *Whether he had heard any news? None at all*, answered *Cluvitus*: *But I can tell you something*, replied *Bathybius*, *to which you are perhaps a stranger; in the piece, which is to be acted to day, will be represented the death of a tyrant.* *Cluvitus* answered with a verse out of *Homer*, which he whispered in his friend's ear; *Silence, lest some of the Greeks should over-hear us*. Historians observe, that this was the day, on which *Philip*, king of *Macedon*, was slain by *Pausanias*, as he was entering the theatre to behold the same tragedy that was acted before *Caius* (G). Another piece was to be exhibited in the night, representing some fabulous accounts of the infernal regions; for *Caius*, who took great delight in such representations, declared, that as this was the last day, the sports should continue all night, with a design, as was believed, to appear on the stage himself, and there display his skill and address in dancing, in which he took great pride (G). About noon,

His intrepidity and resolution.

A day fixed upon for putting Caius to death.

^b JOSEPH. antiq. l. xix. c. i.
^c DIO, p. 663.

^c Idem ibid.

^d Idem ibid. & SUET. c. 57.

^e SUET. ibid.

(E) It was perhaps at these sports, that *Caius*, transported with rage against *Jupiter*, because the noise of thunder prevented him from hearing the actors, threw out most dreadful blasphemies against heaven, and impiously defied *Jupiter* himself, with these words; *Dispatch me, or I'll dispatch you* (75); for he foolishly persuaded himself to be upon a level with, and equal in power to, the greatest of the gods. This monstrous impiety, says *Seneca*, probably animated the conspirators with new courage.

(F) *Dion Cassius* tells us, that on the twenty-fourth of *January*, the day on which *Caius* was killed, an *Egyptian*, by name *Apollones*, was brought to him, having been sent out of *Egypt* to *Rome* for pretending to foretel the emperor's death. *Caius* not being

then at leisure to examine him, ordered him to be kept under close confinement till the sports were over. But he being killed in the mean time, the *Egyptian* was after one day's confinement set at liberty (76). *Suetonius* mentions many prodigies, to warn the emperor of his approaching end; amongst the others he tells us, that *Caius* being admonished by the oracle at *Antium* to be upon his guard against *Cassius*, he immediately sent assassines to murder *Cassius Longinus*, at that time proconsul of *Asia*, not remembering that *Chærea* was likewise named *Cassius* (77).

(G) He was, says *Suetonius*, an excellent fencer, dancer, and charioteer; he sometimes danced on the stage, and frequently before his friends in the palace.

One

(75) *Senec. de ira*, l. i. c. 16.

(76) *Dio*, p. 663.

(77) *Suet. c. 57.*

noon, when the emperor used to withdraw for a short time to bathe and refresh himself with some nourishment, *Chærea* stole out with a design to fall upon him as he passed from the theatre to his apartment. But *Caius*, contrary to his custom, shewed no inclination to leave the sports, telling those who sat by him, that since it was the last day of the shews he had a mind not to bathe till they were over. At the same time, he called for some refreshment, which he shared with those who were about him, amongst the rest with *Pomponius Secundus*, then consul, who sat at his feet and often kissed them. *Minucianus*, who was next to him, and had seen *Chærea* go out, rose up with a design to go out and acquaint the tribune with the emperor's resolution. But *Caius* taking hold of his robe, *Sit still, my friend*, said he, in a very obliging manner; *you shall go out with me*. *Minucianus*, as it were, out of respect, sat down again, but soon after rose up and went out; neither did *Caius* offer to detain him, thinking he went away upon some necessary occasion, and would soon return. He found *Chærea* waiting in the entry, which led to the theatre, and acquainted him with the emperor's resolution. Hereupon the resolute tribune thought it adviseable to fall upon him in the theatre, rather than let slip the present opportunity, and offered to go in immediately and stab him in his seat. *Minucianus*, and such of the conspirators as were with him, for some of them were in the theatre, expecting the signal, approved of *Chærea's* bold proposal, who was thereupon entering the theatre, when word was brought him, that the emperor, at the persuasion of *Ampronas*, and some others who were privy to the conspiracy, had changed his mind and was coming out. The conspirators immediately drew together, and, under pretence of clearing the way for the emperor, removed such as they imagined would lend him any assistance. *Caius* at length came out, his uncle *Claudius* and *M. Vinicius*, who had married his sister *Julia*, walking before him, with some persons of great distinction. When he entered the palace, instead of going straight to his apartment, as he usually did, and following his officers and attendants, he turned unexpectedly into a gallery, which led to a private apartment, to see there certain youths, who had been sent him out of *Asia*, to act and dance upon the stage, and were just then arrived. He was so pleased with them, that he would have immediately returned with them to the theatre, being impatient to see them perform, had not the chief of them complained, that he was cold, and begged leave to warm himself first^f. While he was entertaining himself with the *Asiatic* youths, *Chærea* came for the parole, and *Caius* gave him one, as usual, reflecting on his effeminacy and want of courage. *Chærea* returned him a smart answer; and at the same time drawing his sword, discharged a great blow at him, and wounded him in the neck. Though the wound did not prove mortal, yet we cannot give credit to those, who would make us believe, that *Chærea* did not, as he might, dispatch him at one blow, lest he should be too soon out of pain^g. *Caius*, struck with amazement at the boldness of the tribune, had not presence of mind enough to call for assistance; however, he attempted to fly; but *Cornelius Sabinus*, having pushed him down upon his knees, *Chærea* with another blow broke his jaw-bone; then the rest of the conspirators rushing in, dispatched him with thirty wounds, he for some time crying out, *I am still alive*; and the conspirators, *Repeat, repeat the blow*; which was the signal agreed on. We are told, that *Aquila* was the person who gave him the wound that put an end to his life. Some of the conspirators took delight in mangling his body even after his death; nay, they are said to have carried their rage to such a height, as to cut off and eat pieces of his flesh^h (H).

Caius assassinated.
Year after the flood 2040
Of Christ 40.
Of Rome 789.

SUCH

^f JOSEPH. *ibid.* SUET. c. 58. DIO, p. 663.

^g Vide JOSEPH. *ibid.*

^h DIO, p. 663.

One night, while he was in that humour, he sent for three grave consulars, caused them to be awaked out of their sleep, and by his guards hurried away to his palace, where, while they were waiting in a great hall, and trembling in apprehension of immediate death, they suddenly heard a great noise of musical instruments, and at the same time saw the emperor come leaping out in a long robe, to display before them his skill and address in dancing. When he was tired, he withdrew, and sent the three consulars word, that they might, when they pleased, return home. He took such pleasure in seeing *Mneſter*, the famous mimic, dance, that he punished,

with great severity, such as gave him the least disturbance: a *Roman* knight making some noise while he was dancing, the emperor immediately sent him word by a centurion to depart that instant for *Oſſia*, and there wait for a letter, which he should soon send after him for *Ptolemy* king of *Mauritania*. The knight obeyed, crossed over to *Africa*, and presented the letter to *Ptolemy*, who could not forbear laughing in reading it; for it contained only the following words; *To the bearer do neither good nor evil* (78).

(H) Some writers, quoted by *Suetonius* (79), say, that while he was speaking with the *Asiatic* youths, *Chærea* came behind him, and gave him a mortal wound

(78) *Idem* c. 54.

(79) *Idem*, c. 58.

^a SUCH was the end of *Caius Caesar Caligula*, the fourth emperor of *Rome*, a prince so monstrously wicked, that nature, says *Seneca*, seemed to have brought him forth, to shew what mischief could be effected by the greatest vices, supported by the greatest authority^h. His death happened on the twenty-fourth of *January*; so that he reigned but three years, nine months, and twenty-eight days, according to those who fix the death of *Tiberius* on the twenty-sixth of *March*; or three years, ten months, and eight days, if we suppose him, as some do, to have begun his reign on the sixteenth day of the said month. He had lived, according to *Suetonius*ⁱ, twenty-nine years; according to others, twenty-eight years, four months, and twenty-four days^k. Of the confusion and disorders attending his death we shall speak in the following reign. His body remained in the place where he had been assassinated, till the night was far spent, when it was privately conveyed to the *Lamian* gardens, where, being half burnt upon a pile erected in haste, it was, without any solemnity, or even ceremonies, committed to the earth. This last duty was paid him, according to the *Roman* writers, by his wife *Cæsonia*; but, according to *Josephus*, by king *Agrippa*, who, mindful of the obligations he owed him, caused his body to be conveyed away, lest it should be insulted by the incensed populace. Some time after his sisters, being returned from banishment, took it up again, burnt it to ashes, and solemnly interred it. *Suetonius* affirms as a thing not to be doubted of, that those who had the care of the above-mentioned gardens were frightened with dreadful apparitions, so long as the body remained there; and that in the apartment where he was murdered, a frightful noise was heard every night, till it was burnt down to the ground^l. *Chærea*, to extirpate the whole race of the tyrant, sent the night after his death a centurion, or rather a tribune, by name *Julius Lupus*, to dispatch his wife *Cæsonia*, and with her his only daughter, an infant; the tribune stabbed without mercy the mother, and taking the innocent child out of the cradle, dashed her brains out against a wall^m. The senate, even after *Claudius* was raised to the empire, were for declaring *Caius* infamous. This *Claudius*, who was his uncle, would not allow; but nevertheless ordered all his statues to be pulled down and broken, disannulled most of his acts, and gave his assent to a decree of the senate, commanding his money to be melted down, that both his name and features might be unknown to future agesⁿ.

His body privately conveyed away, and buried.

As we have hitherto had no opportunity to speak of *Claudius*, who succeeded his nephew, but had led a retired life till he was raised to the empire, it may not be improper to premise to the history of his reign a succinct account of his birth and education, of his good and evil qualities, and also of his wives, children, and freedmen, whom we shall have frequently occasion to bring upon the stage. *Claudius* was born at *Lions* on the first of *August*, *Iulus Antonius* and *Fabius Africanus* being consuls, so that this year he was in the fiftieth of his age^o. He was named *Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus Germanicus*^p. Upon his accession to the empire, he assumed the names of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, as did likewise all his successors; by which means the name of *Cæsar*, which was peculiar to the *Julian* family, became a title of dignity, and was given to the presumptive heirs of the empire; whereas that of *Augustus* was a mark of the sovereign power. As for the name of *Julius*, it was quite laid aside, and never after assumed by any of the emperors^q. *Claudius* was, by his mother *Antonia*, the grandson of *Marc Antony* and *Octavia*, sister to *Augustus*, and by his father *Drusus*, who died in *Germany*, the grandson of *Livia Augusta*, and consequently nephew to *Tiberius*, brother to *Germanicus*, and uncle to *Caius*. However, no one imagined he would ever have attained to the sovereign power, till the very day he was invested with it, all men being rather destined to the empire, to use the expression of *Tacitus*, than he, for whom fortune, or rather providence, reserved it in the dark^r. For being

The birth, education, &c. of *Claudius*.

^h SENEC. de ira. ⁱ SUET. c. 59. ^k CLEM. Strom. l. i. p. 539. EUTROP. in vit. Claud. ^l SUET. c. 59. ^m Idem ibid. DIO, p. 663. JOSEPH. ibid, c. 2. ⁿ JOSEPH. ibid. DIO. p. 667. ^o SUET. in Claud. c. 2. ^p SUET. ibid. DIO, p. 665. ^q Vide GOLTZ. p. 140. ^r TACIT. annal. l. iii. c. 18.

wound on the head, saying, *Mind this*; after which *Cornelius Sabinus* ran him through the body. Others, cited by the same writer, tell us, that *Sabinus* coming for the parole, and *Caligula* giving him the word *Jupiter*, *Chærea* cried out, *Be sure to remember* it: hereupon *Caius* turning about, *Chærea* cut off his jaw at one blow, and struck him to the ground. The other conspirators then rushed in, and dispatched him (80).

(80) Idem ibid.

Despised by all
his relations

being very sickly during the whole time of his childhood and minority, he was thereby so weakened both in his body and mind, that he was looked upon as incapable of any public employment, and long after he was of age kept under a governor, of whom he complained in a book, which he published, as of a barbarous and unmannerly person, who had been formerly a groom, and was set over him on purpose to plague and chastise him upon every trivial occasion. His mother *Antonia* used to call him *a human monster, just begun by nature, but never finished*; and when she upbraided any one with dulness and stupidity, her common expression was, *You are as stupid as my son Claudius*: his grandmother *Livia* could not bear the sight of him: his nephew *Caligula*, when he had butchered many of his kindred, saved him purely for a laughing-stock; he was held in the same contempt by his sister *Livilla*, by *Augustus*, and all his family (I): the kindest word *Augustus* gave him was that of *Misellus, poor wretch*^f. Being thus despised and utterly neglected by his own relations, he became the jest of the court (K), and was treated even by the freedmen of his uncle and nephew with the greatest disrespect imaginable (L). He was not only destitute

^f Suet. c. 2, & 3.

(I) *Suetonius*, to shew us what opinion *Augustus* entertained of *Claudius*, produces several of the letters to *Livia* concerning him: *I have*, says he, in one, *my dear Livia, advised with Tiberius according to your desire, about what is to be done with your nephew Tiberius; that is, Claudius, at the solemnity of Mars. We are both of opinion; that we must resolve, without further delay, what course to take with him; if his weakness is not very remarkable, we ought, without all doubt, to advance him by the same steps and degrees by which his brother was raised. But if we find any weakness or incapacity in his body or mind, we must not give occasion to the world to mock and deride both him and us: it is now time to deliberate and conclude, whether he is capable of public employments or not. I think it would not be amiss to charge him, at the approaching solemnity of Mars, with the care of entertaining the priests, upon condition, that he suffers himself to be directed by the son of Silanus his kinsman, who will instruct him, and prevent his doing any thing notoriously ridiculous. But I am utterly against his seeing the Circensian games from so conspicuous a place as the pulvinar, because he will be there exposed to the eyes of the whole theatre. Neither would I have him to attend his brother on the feræ Latinæ to mount Albanus; and as to the government of the city, during his brother's absence, I do not think him at all qualified for such an employment. Thus my dear Livia, I have declared my opinion, which is, that we defer no longer, but come to a final resolution, whether we are to raise him or no. This part of my letter you may shew, if you please, to Antonia.* In another he writes thus: *During your absence, I shall constantly invite young Tiberius to my table, that he may not sup with his Sulpitius and Athenodorus: I wish the poor child would propose to himself the example of some well-bred person, and imitate him in his gesture, habit, and mein; for though he is not much esteemed by men of penetration, yet he is not without some noble sentiments.* And in a third; *may I die, my dear Livia, says he, if I am not amazed how your nephew Tiberius could give me so full satisfaction in his declamation; it is surprising, that a person who talks so ill, should write and declaim so well.* *Augustus*, well apprised of the weakness of his understanding, honoured him with no other dignity but that of augur, and in his last will mentioned him only amongst his third heirs, who were no-ways related to him, and left him but a legacy of eight hundred sesterces. His uncle *Tiberius* honoured him with the consular ornaments, but never allowed him to discharge the office of consul; and when the young prince importuned him for some real preferment, he wrote him word, that

he had sent him forty pieces of gold against the *Saturnalia*, or feasts of *Saturn*, for play-money, and to lay out, as he pleased, in the *Sigillaria*, which was a kind of fair after the *Saturnalia*, lasting seven days, and so called from the little images and puppets, in *Latin Sigilla*, which were then sold. Upon this answer, *Claudius*, laying aside all hopes of rising to any considerable employment in the state, betook himself to a retired life, spending his time with persons much below his rank, either in the gardens he had in the suburbs, or at his country-house in *Campania*, where he gave himself intirely up to gaming and drinking, diversions suitable to the low company he kept. However, the senate, in consideration of his high birth, passed a decree, enacting, that he should be added, above the limited number, to the college of the priests of *Augustus*, into which none had ever before been admitted but by lot; that a house belonging to him, which had been burnt down to the ground by accidental fire, should be rebuilt at the public charge; and that he should have a vote in the senate, and deliver his opinion amongst the consulars. But this decree did not take place, *Tiberius* alledging against his voting in the senate the weakness of his understanding, and promising to make good at his private expence the losses he had sustained by fire. Nevertheless, *Tiberius* in his last will named him amongst his heirs, and left him a legacy of about two millions of sesterces (81).

(K) *Suetonius* tells us, that if he happened to come to table, when the other guests had taken their places, no one shewed him the least civility, but diverted themselves with seeing him running about the table to find out a place; if he refreshed himself, as he usually did after meals, with a short repose, they took pleasure in throwing the stones of olives and dates at him; sometimes they awaked him with the blow of a rod, or whip; and sometimes, while he was asleep, they put his sandals upon his hands, that, when he waked, he might rub his face with them (82).

(L) He was, as *Dion Cassius* observes, so notoriously neglected, that, notwithstanding the prerogative of his birth, he did not rise above the rank of a knight, till the age of forty-six years, when his nephew *Caius* created him senator, in order to honour him with the consulate (83). Nevertheless to this contempt and neglect was owing the power he acquired; for *Caius* would never have spared him, had he imagined him capable of aspiring at it (84). besides, the base treatment he met with moved both the people and soldiery to compassion, and procured him their affections (85).

(81) *Idem* c. 2—7. *Dio*, p. 665. (82) *Suet.* c. 8. (83) *Dio*, p. 644. (84) *Idem*, p. 658.
(85) *Aurel. Vict.* c. 3.

destitute of parts, but moreover extremely timorous; inſomuch, that there was no accident ſo trivial, no man, woman, ſlave, or child, ſo contemptible, as not to frighten him, and when frightened, he was altogether incapable of reaſoning. This timorouſneſs was owing to his education; for he was brought up amongſt women and freedmen, and obliged from his infancy to depend intirely upon them, and ſubmit to their will and pleaſure, without having any paſſions, or even diſcernment, of his own^c. He gave out after he came to the throne, that in the reigns of *Tiberius* and *Caius* he had counterfeited folly to eſcape their cruelty; but his conduct too plainly ſhewed, that it was not aſſumed, but real^u. *Suetonius* taxes him with being naturally cruel^w, while others aſcribe to his wives and freedmen the many executions of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of his reign. Though he had many great faults; yet, when compared with *Tiberius* or *Caius*, he did not paſs for a bad emperor^x. From his childhood he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the liberal ſciences, and gave frequently public teſtimonies of his proficiency in them^z. He arrived at no ſmall perfection in oratory, and his diſcourſe was not without elegance, when it was the reſult of ſtudy. He was well ſkilled both in the *Latin* and *Greek* tongues, wrote ſeveral books (M), and added three letters to the ancient alphabet (N), which, however, continued in uſe no longer than his reign^b. *Seneca* commends his works, and ſpeaks of him as an encourager of learning^c. As to his perſon, he was tall and well-ſhaped; but had ſomething very diſagreeable in his mein, ſomething very unbecoming in his action, which, together with his low voice and inarticulate pronunciation, is the chief ſubject of *Seneca's* ralleries^d. Theſe defects, as well as his ſtammering and the trembling of his head, *Dion Caſſius* takes to be the effect of the infirmities, to which he was ſubject in his childhood and youth^e.

His wife, when he came to the empire, was *Valeria Meſſalina*, his couſin, whom we ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention. He had already by her a daughter, named *Oſtavia*, who was afterwards married to *Nero*. Not many days after his acceſſion to the empire, his wife *Meſſalina* was delivered of a ſon, named firſt *Claudius Tiberius Germanicus*, and afterwards *Britannicus Caſar*^f. By his ſecond wife, *Ælia Petina*, whom he divorced, he had a daughter called *Antonia*, whom he married firſt to *Pompeius Magnus*, and afterwards to *Fauſtus Sylla*, both deſcended from illuſtrious anceſtors.

^c DIO, *ibid.* ^u SUT. c. 38. ^w Idem, c. 34. ^x DIO, l. lx. p. 665. AUR. VICT. c. 4.
^z SUT. c. 3. ^a TACIT. *annal.* l. xiii. c. 3. ^b SENECA, c. 41. ^c SENECA, *lud. in Claud.* ^d Idem
ibid. ^e DIO, c. 60. p. 665. ^f SUT. c. 27. DIO, p. 548:

(M) At the perſuaſion of *Livy* the celebrated hiſtorian, and with the aſſiſtance of *Sulpicius Flavius*, *Livy* dying before he began his work, he wrote in forty-three books the hiſtory of *Rome* from the death of *Cæſar* the dictator to his own time. He is ſaid to have wrote with great liberty, and to have been on that account often rebuked by his mother *Antonia* and his grandmother *Livia*. He publiſhed alſo ſeven volumes of *his own life*, which were wrote with more elegance than judgment (86), and a *deſence of Cicero againſt the writings of Gallus*, which, in the opinion of *Suetonius* (87), was a learned performance. His hiſtory he recited in public, ſubmitting it to the judgment of his auditors. He had a particular value for the *Greek* tongue, ſpoke it fluently, and wrote in that language the hiſtory of the *Tyrrhenians* in twenty books, and that of the *Carthaginians* in eight. To make theſe hiſtories the more famous, he added a new ſchool to the old one at *Alexandria*, calling it by his own name, and ordering his two *Greek* hiſtories to be read in both ſchools (88).

(N) *Tacitus*, *Quintilian*, and *Varro* agree, that *Claudius* added three letters to the *Latin* alphabet, two of which are well known, *viz.* the *Æolic digamma*, and the *antiſigma*; the former was an F inverſed, thus J, and ſounded like the V; as *terminaſit ampliſſitque*, and *Diſi Auguſti*, &c. The *antiſigma* ſerved inſtead of the *Greek* Ψ, or inſtead of P S. and was wrote thus, ꝥ. The ſigma of the ancient *Greeks* reſembled our C; whence *Claudius*,

to his new letter, conſiſting of two ſigmas, having their backs turned to each other, thus, cc, gave the name of *antiſigma*. As to the third letter, we are quite in the dark. Some take it to have been the diphthong *ai*, which is found in moſt inſcriptions of *Claudius's* time, thus *Antoniai*, *Diſai*, &c. But it is manifeſt, that this diphthong was in uſe long before his reign. Others, from a corrupt paſſage in *Velius Longus*, conclude it to have been we know not what letter, invented to ſoften the harſh ſound of the letter R. There are not wanting ſome who pretend the letter X to have been firſt contrived by *Claudius*; but *Iſidorus* plainly ſhews, that it was invented and uſed in the reign of *Auguſtus* (89). The *Greek* ϕ had, as *Quintilian* obſerves, a different ſound from that of the *Latin* PH; whence ſome conjecture the third letter invented by *Claudius* to have answered the *Greek* ϕ, which is not altogether void of probability. But on this ſubject nothing has been, or can be, offered, except what is merely conjectural. *Claudius* publiſhed a book, when he was yet a private perſon, on the neceſſity of admitting theſe letters, and the uſe of them: when he was advanced to the empire, he obliged all to uſe them; but after his death they were diſuſed and quite laid aſide, though in the times of *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* they were ſtill to be ſeen in ſeveral records and journals, and in the tables of braſs, on which were publiſhed the decrees of the people (90).

(86) SUT. c. 41. (87) Idem *ibid.* (88) Idem, c. 42. (89) Vide *Iſidor. de orig.* (90) SUT. c. 41. *Tacit. annal.* l. xi. c. 14.

ancestors. His first wife, *Plautia Urgulanilla*, brought him *Drusus*, and a daughter, called *Claudia*. *Drusus* lost his life at *Pompeii* before he was fourteen, being choaked by an apple, which stuck in his throat, while, in play, he was throwing it up into the air, and catching it in his mouth. As for *Claudia*, though she was born five months before he divorced her mother; yet he would not acknowledge her for his daughter; but suspecting her to be the child of one of his freedmen, called *Boter*, he caused her to be stript naked, and to be laid, after the divorce, before her mother's door^s.

His freedmen. *Messalina*, and *Agrippina*, whom he married after her death, bore an absolute sway over *Claudius*, who acted under them more like a slave than a prince^b, disposing of honours, governments, employments, armies, &c. as they and his freedmen, whose power he raised as high as his own, thought fit to direct him. Amongst the latter his chief favourites were *Possides* the eunuch, *Felix*, *Harpocras*, *Polybius*, and above all *Narcissus* and *Pallas* (O). To these we may add *Callistus*; or, as others call him, *Calixtus*, a man of great craft and address (P). He was privy to the conspiracy against *Caius*, as we have related above; and gained the favour of *Claudius*, by persuading him, that he had been charged by *Caius* to poison him; but had, under various pretences, put off from day to day the execution of his orders^l. *Calixtus*'s office was to receive the requests, which were presented to the Emperor; *Narcissus* was his secretary; and *Pallas* had the whole management of the finances. These three divided the sovereign power amongst them^h. Each of them was, according to *Pliny*ⁱ, richer than *Crassus* had ever been; nay, they possessed greater wealth than the emperor himself, who was thereupon told, as he complained one day of his poverty, that he would be rich enough, if he could but prevail upon his freedmen to take him for their partner^m. Having premised thus much in general concerning *Claudius* and those who governed under him, we shall now resume the thread of our history.

THE

^s Suet. *ibid.* ^b Suet. c. 29. ⁱ Joseph. *antiq.* l. xix. c. 1- ^h Zonar. l. v. Suet. *ibid.*
^l Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 10. ^m Suet. *ibid.*

(O) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Possides* was rewarded by *Claudius* in his *British* triumph, and amongst the other brave officers presented with a spear; but whether the eunuch deserved that mark of distinction, we find no-where recorded. *Felix* was brother to *Pallas*, *Claudius*'s reigning favourite, and the most powerful person in the whole empire. He is by most writers named *Claudius Felix*, but by *Tacitus*, *Antonius Felix*, because he was first the slave of *Antonia*, the mother of *Claudius*, and afterwards of *Claudius* himself, whose name he likewise took upon his being manumitted. He was in high favour with *Claudius*, and by him raised to the first posts of the army, and afterwards to the government of *Judæa*, *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Perea*, that is, of the country beyond the *Jordan* (91). *Suetonius* observes, that from a slave he became so great and considerable, that he was the husband of three several queens, or rather princesses of royal blood. One of these was *Drusilla*, the daughter of king *Agrippa*, whom, by means of a magician, named *Simon*, he persuaded to abandon her husband *Azizus*, king of *Emesus*, and marry him (92). In marrying *Felix*, she renounced, according to *Josephus*, the *Jewish* religion, which *Azizus* had embraced out of complaisance to her. *S. Luke* nevertheless calls her a *Jew* (93). *Felix* married another *Drusilla*, grand-daughter to *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and daughter to *Juba*, king of *Mauritania* (94). Who was the third princess we find no-where recorded. To *Harpocras*, another of his favourite freedmen, he granted the privilege of being carried in a litter and of exhibiting plays, which was contrary to the decree passed in *Tiberius*'s reign, and by us mentioned there. *Polybius* was a man of learning, and had assisted *Claudius* in his studies, who

thereupon heaped extraordinary honours upon him, allowing him often to walk between the two consuls (95). Of *Narcissus* and *Pallas* we shall speak anon.

(P) *Callistus* had been slave to a private citizen, who sold him to *Caius*, but was afterwards obliged, as *Seneca* observes (96), to purchase his favour at a much higher price than that, at which he had sold him; nay, he was often seen waiting at his door, and courting even his porters, that he might be allowed to enter with the rest, and attend the levee of one, whom he had formerly kept in chains. *Scribonius Largus*, a celebrated physician of those times, inscribed to him a work, wherein he styles him *Gaius Julius Callistus* (97). *Suetonius*, in speaking of the freedmen of *Claudius*, makes no mention of *Callistus*, who, it is certain, bore a great sway in that reign; but names one *Harpocras*, who is scarce taken notice of by any other writer. This has prompted some to believe, that *Harpocras* and *Callistus* were one and the same person. But we can hardly persuade ourselves, that *Callistus* was also named *Harpocras*, since *Scribonius Largus* names him only *C. Julius Callistus*. Besides, *Seneca* speaks in one place of *Callistus* (98), and in another of *Harpocras* (99); and tells us, that the latter was executed by *Claudius*'s orders. Had this been the end of so famous and celebrated a person as *Callistus*, *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* would not, we conceive, have failed to mention it. *Suetonius* perhaps makes no mention of *Callistus* in speaking of *Claudius*'s freedmen, because he was not, properly speaking, one of his, but of *Caius*'s, freedmen, by whom he was first manumitted, and afterwards employed in quality of secretary (100). He was alive in the eighth year of *Claudius*'s reign, and died soon after (1.)

(91) Suet. c. 28. Joseph. *antiq.* l. ii. c. 5. (92) *Idem ibid.* (93) *Act.* c. xxiv. v. 24. (94) *Idem ibid.* (95) Suet. *ibid.* (96) *Senec. epist.* 47. (97) *Tacit. annal.* l. 11. (98) *Senec. epist.* 47. (99) *Idem lud. in Claud.* (100) Joseph. *antiq.* l. xix. c. 6. (1) *Tacit. annal.* l. 11. c. 27.

THE unexpected news of *Caius's* death, which was brought while the people were intent upon the shews, and in a trice spread all over the city, occasioned a general uproar. Upon the first alarm the deceased emperor's litter-men hastened with their poles to his rescue, and were immediately followed by his German guards, named the Celtic band, who, finding *Caius* lying dead on the ground and his body mangled, in the manner we have related, vented their rage on all they met, without examining whether they were privy to the conspiracy or not; and in this confusion were killed *L. Asprenas*, who had been consul three years before, *Norbanus*, descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome, *Anteius*, a senator of great distinction, and several others, who came merely out of curiosity to know whether the report was true or no. As for *Chærea*, he retired, before the emperor's death was publicly known, to the house of *Germanicus*, which was contiguous to the palace, and there with the chief of the conspirators lay concealed, till the Germans, by whom *Caius* was extremely beloved on account of his prodigality, had vented their first fury. The people, suspecting *Caius* had caused the report of his death to be spread abroad, on purpose to discover their sentiments, continued in the theatre, without taking any notice of what was rumoured about. But they were greatly alarmed, when word was brought them, that the emperor's guards had surrounded the theatre, and were ready to enter it sword in hand, to sacrifice the whole multitude to the manes of their massacred general. And this indeed they designed in the first transports of their rage; but a public herald appearing unexpectedly in the theatre, clad in deep mourning, after having proclaimed the emperor's death, commanded the people quietly to retire to their respective houses, and the soldiery to withdraw to their quarters without raising any further disturbance. They both obeyed, which was more than was expected, with great readiness, so that the tumult was soon appeased, and tranquillity restored to the city. Then the consuls, *Q. Pomponius Secundus* and *Cn. Sentius Saturninus*, having, at the head of the city-guards who were under their command, seized on the forum and the capitol, assembled the senate, in order to deliberate with them about the most proper measures in so critical a conjuncture. While they were assembled, both the populace and soldiery, whom *Caius* had gained with the immense sums he distributed amongst them, and the magnificent shews he exhibited almost every day, cried aloud for vengeance; which so terrified the senate, that they were ready to pass a decree, enacting, that the conspirators should be forthwith apprehended and executed as traitors and enemies to their country, when *Valerius Asiaticus*, a senator of great quality and reputation, rising up, spoke with great vehemence against the measures they were entering upon, commended the zeal of the brave patriots who had delivered their country from so cruel a tyrant, publicly wished he had had the glory of dispatching him with his own hand, and exhorted the fathers to despise the clamours of the multitude. Hereupon they took courage, and by an edict, which they caused to be read to the people, commanded them to return to their several employments, and the soldiery to their camp. Then the conspirators appeared publicly, and owned the fact; and *Sentius Saturninus*, one of the consuls, having in a speech, which he uttered with great zeal and ardor, displayed the benefits of liberty and miseries of tyranny, encouraged the fathers to resume their ancient authority, and to begin the exercise of that power to which they alone had a just claim, by conferring such honours and rewards on *Chærea*, as the eminent service he had rendered the republic well deserved. The senators, animated with his speech, agreed to restore Rome to her ancient liberty, and utterly to extinguish the name of the *Cæsars*. They spent all that day and the following night, in deliberating about the measures for bringing about so great a change, without kindling a civil war within the very walls of the city, but parted after long and warm debates without agreeing upon any. When the senate rose, *Chærea*, whom they had appointed commander of the city-guards, went to the consuls for the parole, who gave him the word *liberty*. No such honour had been paid to the consuls ever since the establishment of the monarchy.

In the mean time, the soldiers in the camp took such measures as utterly defeated those of the senate. *Claudius*, who had been with *Caius* a few minutes before he was murdered, and was retired to a room in the palace called *Hermaum*, upon the first alarm of his death, stole away in a great fright, and hid himself behind the hangings in a dark corner of the palace, whence he heard the noise of the soldiery, and saw

^a JOSEPH. antiq. l. xix. c. 1, & 2. Suet. in Calig. c. 59. Dio, l. lx. p. 664.

saw some of the *German* guards pass close by him with the head of *Asprenas*, which they carried, as it were, in triumph. This sight increased his fright to such a degree, that he continued motionless in the same place; scarce daring to breathe through fear of being discovered, till a common soldier, called by some *Gratus*, by others *Epirius*, but probably *Epirius Gratus*, running about the palace in quest of plunder, discovered his feet, and dragged him out of his hiding-place. *Claudius*, not doubting but the soldier designed to murder him, threw himself at his feet, and with many tears begged for mercy, which *Gratus*, finding who he was, not only granted, but saluted him emperor, and carried him to his comrades, who at his instigation honoured him with the same title. They then put him into a chair, and, as his servants were fled, carried him upon their shoulders by turns to the camp, the people, who imagined they were carrying him to execution, bemoaning his misfortune; for he had hitherto done nothing that could deserve any man's hatred. He was well received in the camp; but, as he was naturally timorous, he passed the night in no small apprehension^o. He was inclined not to accept the empire; but king *Agrippa*, who had just interred the body of *Caius*, arriving in the camp, and hearing the army designed to raise *Claudius* to the sovereign power, went immediately to him, encouraged him to lay hold of the present opportunity, and, leaving him in that resolution, returned home. On the other hand, the soldiery, being well apprised, that the state could not long subsist without an emperor, and reflecting that it would prove far more advantageous for them to give than to receive one, the very next day, the twenty-fifth of *January*, took an oath of allegiance to *Claudius*, who thereupon promised them fifteen great sesterces a man^p. He was the first emperor, as *Suetonius* observes, who gave money to the soldiers upon his accession to the empire; but his example was followed by most of his successors^q. The people, who had expressed great joy upon the hopes of recovering once more their ancient privileges, no sooner heard that *Claudius* was declared emperor by the army, than they changed their mind, approved with loud shouts what had been done in the camp, and openly declared, that they had rather obey one prince, than many tyrants. The senate, however, persisted in their former resolution of asserting the public liberty, and were even for making war upon *Claudius*; but afterwards growing cooler on account of the differences that arose amongst them, and not being able to come to an agreement, they sent for king *Agrippa* to advise with him. The king obeyed the summons with great readiness, and appearing in the senate, dressed and perfumed, as if he had not been out of his house that day, he asked what was become of *Claudius*, as if he suspected him to have been murdered together with his nephew. Hereupon the senate related to him what had passed, to which he pretended to be an utter stranger, and at the same time asked his advice (R). The traitor protested, that he was ready to sacrifice his life to the glory of the senate and to the public liberty; but at the same time starting innumerable difficulties and exaggerating the dangers and evils of a civil war, he craftily endeavoured to deter them, as solicitous about their safety, from having recourse to arms. He told them, that in his opinion they were no ways in a condition to make head against the prætorian guards; and that he therefore advised them, rather to send a deputation to *Claudius*, begging him not to accept of the empire. This embassy he offered to take upon himself; the senate returned him thanks for his zeal, accepted his offer, and dispatched him the same day to the camp with two tribunes of the people, *Veranius* and *Bruchus*. The tribunes conjured him to submit to the authority of the senate and people, put him in mind of the evils and calamities which the republic had suffered under the former tyrants, assured him, that the senate had resolved at all events to attempt the recovery of their ancient privileges, earnestly intreated him seriously to reflect on the calamities attending a civil war, and the unhappy end of *Caius*, &c. The speech of the tribunes made a deep impression on the mind of *Claudius*, who was

The people join
the soldiery.

The senate ad-
vises with
king Agrippa.

A deputation
sent to Clau-
dius.

^o Suet. in Claud. c. 10.

^p Joseph. ibid.

^q Suet. ibid.

(R) *Josephus* tells us in his history of the Jewish war, that king *Agrippa* was at the same time sent for both by the senate and by *Claudius*, and that he chose to go first to *Claudius*, who sent him in his name to the senate (2). This is not to be easily reconciled with what he writes in his *antiquities*,

viz. that *Agrippa* being sent for by the senate, immediately obeyed the summons, but pretended an intire ignorance of what had passed, either in the palace or camp, relating to *Claudius*. We have followed him in his *antiquities*, which he wrote the last.

(2) *Joseph. bell. l. ii. c. 28.*

CLAUDIUS.



NERO.



GALBA.



OTHO.



was naturally timorous; but *Agrippa* in a private audience encouraged him to lay hold of the present opportunity, acquainted him with the fears, perplexity, and irresolution of the senate, and exhorted him to assume forthwith the imperial power, and return an answer to the deputies becoming an emperor. *Claudius* followed the advice of *Agrippa*, which occasioned no small confusion in the city, the senate declaring, that they were determined rather to risque a civil war, than submit to the will of one man. This was in effect declaring war, and accordingly *Claudius*, being acquainted with their resolution, began to put himself in a condition to repel force with force. In the mean time, the people, surrounding the place where the senate was assembled, demanded with threats an emperor, declaring aloud, that they would never acknowledge the authority of the senate. This frightened the fathers to such a degree, that they immediately separated; but the consuls summoned them to meet again the next morning before break of day. Only a small number of them obeyed the summons, scarce a hundred persons, the rest being either retired into the country, or keeping close in their houses, through fear of being insulted by the populace. While those who met were deliberating how to thwart the designs of *Claudius*, the city guards, the only troops that obeyed the senate, joining the populace, began to cry aloud, that they would have an emperor; that the senate might chuse whom they pleased; but that they were resolved to yield obedience to none but an emperor. This put an end to the deliberations of the senate; all thoughts of liberty were laid aside, and *Claudius*, with the usual ceremonies, declared emperor (S). After this declaration the senators hastened to the camp, each of them striving to be the foremost in paying their court to the new prince. The soldiery received them with insults, wounded some of them, and would have killed the consul *Pomponius Secundus*, who had been the most sanguine of all in the cause of liberty, had they not been restrained by *Claudius*, who received him with the greatest tokens of respect, and placed him next to himself.

AND now *Claudius*, being declared and acknowledged emperor, left the camp, *Claudius* accompanied by the senate and prætorian guards, and, entering the city in a kind of triumph, offered a solemn sacrifice in the capitol by way of thanksgiving to the gods, who had thus raised him to the empire; and then withdrew to the palace, where he immediately summoned a council of his friends to deliberate with them about his conduct, with respect to those who had murdered *Caius*: in his heart he approved of the action; but as he thought it nearly concerned all princes, that the death of one should not pass unrevenge, with the advice of his friends, he caused the brave *Chærea* and *Lupus*, who had put to death *Cæsonia* with her daughter, and a few more to be condemned and executed; but pardoned the rest, and amongst them

* JOSEPH. *ibid.* DIO, p. 666. SUET. c. 10.

(S) The senate, being well apprised, that all their efforts towards the recovery of their liberty must, in the present disposition of the people and soldiery, necessarily prove ineffectual, resolved at first to name an emperor themselves, and not accept one from the soldiery. Accordingly, several persons were proposed, all better qualified than *Claudius* for that high station. *Josephus* names the three following senators, all men of extraordinary parts, and equal to the sovereignty; viz. *Annius Minucianus* or *Vinicianus*, *Valerius Asiaticus*, who had been both privy to the conspiracy against *Caius*, and *Camillus Scribonianus*, who revolted the following year. *Minucianus* had most votes; but the consuls, dreading the consequences of a civil war, which they thought unavoidable, if they named any but *Claudius* to the sovereign power, put off, under various pretences, the final decision of such an important affair. In the mean time, the gladiators, on whom the senate chiefly relied, and the city guards went over in crowds to *Claudius*; so that *Minucianus* and the others gave over soliciting for a dignity, which they were well apprised they could not long enjoy. *Chærea* did all that lay in his power to put a stop to the desertion of the soldiery, but to no purpose; for while he was encouraging the few who remained, to exert themselves in the defence of their liberties,

instead of listening to him, they took up their standards, and, marching sword in hand out of the city, joined their comrades in the camp of the prætorian guards. The senate, seeing themselves thus abandoned by all their forces, were at length forced to join the people and soldiery, and declare *Claudius* emperor; which they did accordingly, decreeing him at the same time all the titles annexed to the imperial dignity. However, *Chærea* and *Sabinus* continued protesting, that they would rather fall by their own hands, than submit to *Claudius* (3).

(T) *Chærea* died with the constancy of a true hero; but *Lupus* betrayed a great deal of fear, notwithstanding the great example he had before his eyes. As he was pulling off his garments at the place of execution, he complained of cold; which unseasonable complaint *Chærea* turning into ridicule, told him, that cold had never yet done harm to a wolf, alluding to his name *Lupus*, which in the Latin tongue signifies a wolf (4). They were both beheaded, and the Roman people, a few days after their execution, offering the usual sacrifices in the month of February, in honour of their deceased friends, did not on that occasion forget the brave *Chærea*, acknowledging their obligations to him, for having delivered the republic from so destructive a tyrant (5).

(3) *Joseph. antiq. c. 3.* DIO, p. 665.

(4) *Idem ibid.*

(5) DIO, p. 666.

Instances of
Claudius's
modesty, equi-
ty, &c.

Is beloved by
the people.

His timorous-
ness.

Renders him-
self contempt-
ible.

Cornelius Sabinus, though he had acted a chief part in the murder of *Caius*; but the brave tribune, grieved for the death of his friend *Chærea*, and scorning to outlive him, laid violent hands on himself^f. After this the emperor caused an act of oblivion to be passed with respect to all that had been transacted in the senate, from the death of *Caius* to the time of his accession to the empire, and observed it so strictly, that he even raised those to the first employments who had been the most sanguine in the cause of liberty. The senate immediately decreed him all the honours which they had conferred on other emperors; but he modestly declined the greater part of them, and caused a decree to be passed in the senate, forbidding any one to pay him divine worship, or style him a god. Having, a few days after he was declared emperor, married his daughter *Antonia* to *Cn. Pompeius*, he would not suffer the people to make any public rejoicings on that occasion, nor even on his own birth-day, or on the anniversary of his accession to the empire^g. He no sooner began to exercise the authority with which he was invested, than he suppressed the law of majesty, which under the two preceding emperors had proved so fatal to *Rome*. At the same time, he called home all the exiles; eased the people of the tributes with which *Caius* had loaded them; forbade such as had any relations of their own, however distant, to name him among their heirs; restored the estates, which had been unjustly seized by *Tiberius* and *Caius*, to the owners or their heirs: ordered all the statues, which *Caius* had caused to be brought to *Rome* from *Greece* and other countries to be carried back, and restored to the cities whence they had been taken, &c. With these and innumerable other instances of his clemency, justice, and good-nature, he won the hearts of the people to such a degree, that upon a groundless report of his being assassinated, they raised dreadful disturbances in the city, calling the soldiers traitors, the senate parricides, and loading with horrible curses and imprecations all whom they suspected to have been any ways accessory to his death. The tumult continued till the magistrates assured the people from the rostra, that *Claudius* was only gone to *Ostia*, whence he would return in a short time^h. But the zeal, which the people shewed on this and several other occasions for his safety, was not sufficient to cure his natural timorousness. His friends could not prevail upon him, during the first month of his reign, to appear once in the senate, because *Cæsar* the dictator had been murdered there. He caused all, whom he admitted to his presence, to be first narrowly searched, lest they should have some weapon concealed under their garments. It was a long time before he could be persuaded to excuse women, and even children, from being searched in a very rude and unbecoming manner. At public entertainments he was constantly surrounded by his guards, whom he also obliged to attend him at table, distrusting the domestics even of his most intimate friends. He never failed to visit in person such of the senators as were indisposed, but always sent his guards before to search every corner of the houseⁱ. However, these unnecessary and ridiculous precautions did not render him so contemptible in the eyes of the multitude, as the weakness and want of judgment, which he betrayed in the administration of justice. He was no ways qualified for that office; but nevertheless could not be prevented from hearing and deciding the most intricate causes, which served only to expose him to public derision, and often to insults, which he bore with incredible patience. *Suetonius* tells us, that a *Greek*, pleading one day before him, not only reproached him with ignorance, but called him to his face an *old fool*; and that a *Roman* knight, thinking himself wronged by him, had the boldness to throw his pen-knife at him, which wounded him in the cheek^k. We are not told, that he ever resented these gross affronts; which sufficiently shews the weakness of his understanding.

In the first year of his reign, he enlarged the kingdom of *Agrippa*, who had greatly contributed to his advancement, with the addition of *Judea* and *Samaria*, which had been

^f JOSEPH. & DIO, *ibid.*

^g DIO, p. 667.

^h SUET. c. 12. DIO, p. 669.

ⁱ SUET. c. 35.

^k *Idem*, c. 15.

(U) When news of *Caligula's* death reached *Gaul*, several persons of distinction in that province solicited *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, who commanded on the *Rhine*, to lay hold of that opportunity, and seize the sovereignty for himself. The legions too offered to stand by him, thinking they had as good a right

to dispose of the empire as the prætorian guards. But *Galba* rejected their offers with indignation, which so pleased *Claudius*, that he received him into the number of his intimate friends, and ever after shewed a particular affection for him (6).

(6) *Suet. in Galb. c. 7.*

been formerly possessed by his grandfather *Herod the Great*. To his brother *Herod* he gave the principality of *Chalcis* at the foot of mount *Libanus*; and granted to both the privilege of entering the senate, allowing *Agrippa* to appear there with consular, and *Herod* with prætorial, ornaments¹. He also restored *Mithridates* the Iberian to his kingdom, *Mithridates* the Cilician to the kingdom of *Bosphorus*; and *Antiochus* to that of *Comagene*, who had been all unjustly deprived of their dominions by *Caius*². Soon after his accession to the empire, he recalled his two nieces, *Agrippina* and *Julia*, from the island of *Pontia*, to which they had been confined by their brother *Caius*; but his wife *Messalina*, who governed him with an absolute sway, jealous of the power which *Julia* assumed, prevailed upon him to send her back this very year to the place of her former banishment, under pretence that she was guilty of adultery and several other crimes, which by the envious *Messalina* were laid to her charge, but never proved. The celebrated *Seneca* had his share in the misfortunes of the unhappy princess, being after his quaestorship banished to the island of *Corfica*, upon a bare, and, as is commonly believed, altogether groundless, suspicion of a criminal conversation with her³. This year, the Romans gained some advantages over the *Mauritanians*, who had taken arms to revenge the death of *Ptolemy* their king, barbarously assassinated by *Caius*'s orders⁴. About the same time, *Sulpicius Galba* overcame the *Catti*, and *P. Gabinius Secundus* the *Marfi*, two German nations. *Gabinius* after his victory had the good luck to discover and bring back with him to Rome one of the eagles, which the Germans had taken upon the defeat of *Varus*. For these victories *Claudius* took the triumphal ornaments and the title of emperor. *Gabinius* defeated likewise the *Chauci*, another German nation, and was allowed by *Claudius*, on account of his gallant behaviour on that occasion, to assume the surname of *Chaucius*⁵.

Restores several princes to their dominions.

Seneca banished.

THE following year, *Claudius* entered upon his second consulship, having for his colleague *C. Lælius*, but held it only for two months: to whom he resigned the fasces we are no-where told; *Lælius* continued consul to the end of the year. The emperor, when he first assembled the senate in quality of consul, obliged all the senators to bind themselves by a solemn oath to observe all the laws of *Augustus*; took the same oath himself; but would not allow any of the magistrates or senators to lay themselves under any obligation with respect to his own laws⁶. This year the *Mauritanians* were defeated anew by *Suetonius Paulinus*, who extended his conquests to the river *Nigris*, which separates *Africa* from *Æthiopia*. *Cn. Hosidius Geta*, succeeding *Paulinus* in the command of the Roman troops in *Africa*, gave *Salabas*, the *Mauritanian* general, two great overthrows, which obliged the whole country to submit to the yoke. *Claudius* divided the kingdom of *Mauritania* into two provinces, viz. the *Cæsariensis* and the *Tingitana*, the former being so called from *Cæsar*, a name now common to all the emperors, and the latter from *Tingis*, now *Tangier*, the metropolis of that province. Both these provinces were, by the appointment of *Claudius*, governed by Roman knights⁷ (W). This year *Claudius* caused a law to be passed, commanding, that those who were named by the senate to the government of provinces, should depart from Rome before the beginning of *April*⁸; but the year following he allowed them to stay in Rome, till the middle of that month. At the same time, he published an edict, forbidding those, whom he should charge

Mauritania reduced and divided into two provinces.

¹ JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 4. DIO, p. 670. ² JOSEPH. & DIO, ibid. ³ TACIT. annal. l. ii. c. 8. DIO, p. 670. ⁴ DIO, ibid. ⁵ SUT. c. 24. ⁶ DIO, p. 671. ⁷ DIO, ibid. PLIN. l. v. c. 1. ⁸ DIO, l. lx. p. 672.

(W) *Dion Cassius* tells us, that *Geta* pursued the *Mauritanians* beyond mount *Atlas*; and that while he was in those dry and sandy countries in great distress for want of water, a magician, who lived there, taught him certain charms, which, he said, were frequently practised by the inhabitants with wonderful success, when they wanted water. *Geta* gave no great credit to the magician; but being prompted, partly by curiosity, partly by the distress he was in, to make use of the charms which the *Mauritanian* had taught him, he was greatly surprised to see all on a sudden the sky overcast, and a great quantity of water fall from heaven. The barbarians, concluding from thence, that the gods

favoured the Romans, sent deputies to treat with, and submitted to, *Geta*, upon his own terms. Thus *Dion Cassius* (7). We read in *Pliny*, that *Claudius* sent a colony to *Tingis*, which city he named *Julia Traducta* (8). But we are inclined to believe, that this colony was sent to *Tingis* by *Julius Cæsar*, since it is mentioned by *Strabo* (9), who died before the reign of *Claudius*. *Vossius* takes *Pliny* to have been mistaken in giving to *Tingis* in *Africa* the name of *Julia Traducta*, which, in his opinion, was peculiar to the city of *Tingis* in *Spain*, built in the time of *Julius Cæsar*, and peopled with inhabitants from *Tingis* in *Africa* (10).

(7) DIO, l. lx. p. 671. (8) PLIN. l. v. c. 1. (9) STRAB. l. iii. p. 140. (10) VOSS. in hist. p. 179.

Claudius
makes a har-
bour at the
mouth of the
Tiber.

charge with the government of provinces, to return him thanks, as was customary, in the senate; since they owed no obligations to him; but he on the contrary was greatly indebted to them, for easing him of part of his burden^g. The great famine, which raged this year at *Rome*; prompted *Claudius* to undertake the forming of a large and convenient haven at the mouth of the *Tiber*, which great work he happily completed, though *Cæsar* the dictator, if some mistake is not crept into *Suetonius*, had many years before attempted it in vain^h. It was an undertaking; says *Dion Cassius*, worthy of the grandeur of the *Roman* empire; but the successors of *Claudius* were not able to maintain it; so that soon after his death it was choaked up with sand and became quite uselessⁱ (X). At the same time, *Claudius* undertook the draining of the lake *Fucinus*, in the country of the *Marfi*, and the conveying of its waters, by a deep canal, into the *Tiber*, or rather the *Liris*, in which work he employed thirty thousand men for eleven years together; but to no effect; as we shall see in the tenth year of his reign.

Lewdness of
Messalina.

THIS year, *Messalina* and *Claudius*'s freedmen began to abuse the prince's weakness and the too great power he allowed them, to the destruction of such of the nobility as gave them umbrage, or any ways incurred their displeasure. The first who fell by their treachery was *Appius Silanus*, a person of great distinction and known integrity. He married to his first wife *Æmilia Lepida*, grand-daughter to *Julia* the daughter of *Augustus*, and had by her *L. Junius Silanus*, to whom *Claudius* had betrothed his daughter *Octavia*. Upon the death of *Æmilia Lepida*, which happened this year, *Claudius*, who held him in the number of his most intimate friends, persuaded him to marry *Domitia Lepida*, mother to his own wife *Messalina*. But to his great misfortune the empress, whose lewdness knew no bounds, fell in love with him herself, and was not ashamed to disclose to him her passion. *Silanus* rejected with the utmost indignation her incestuous solicitations, which provoked her to such a degree, that she resolved upon his ruin, and compassed it with the concurrence of the freedman *Narcissus* in the following manner. *Narcissus* rushed into *Claudius*'s chamber one morning by break of day as in a great fright, and told the emperor, who was still in bed, that he had dreamt *Silanus* designed to murder him that very day. *Messalina*, as had been agreed on beforehand, pretending to hear the freedman's account with surprise and amazement, assured the emperor, that she had been for several nights together frightened with the same dream. In the mean time, *Silanus*, who had been told the day before, that he was to wait upon the emperor at that hour, suddenly came in; which so terrified *Claudius*, of all men the most timorous, that, without any further inquiries, he commanded him to be immediately seized and executed. The same day he acquainted the senate with what had passed, and was not ashamed publicly to return thanks to his freedman for watching over his safety, even in his sleep^k (Y). The death of *Silanus* alarmed the nobility, who thinking their lives and estates precarious under a weak prince, intirely governed by his wife and freedmen, resolved by his death to put an end to their reign, and deliver themselves from the dangers that threatened. *Annius Vinicianus*, or, as *Josephus* calls him, *Minucianus*, who had acted a chief part in the murder

Death of Si-
lanus.

^g Idem ibid. ^h Suet. c. 20. Dio, p. 672. ⁱ Idem ibid. ^k Suet. c. 37. Dio, p. 674. Tacit. annal. xi. c. 37.

(X) *Suetonius* calls it the port of *Ostia*, though it lay on the other side of the *Tiber* over-against *Ostia* at a place still called by the inhabitants *il porto, the haven*. The same writer tells us, that at the entrance of the harbour was sunk the vessel, in which the great obelisk we spoke of in the preceding reign, was brought out of *Egypt*, as a foundation for the piles, upon which was raised a high tower, according to the model of the *Pharos* of *Alexandria* (11).

(Y) *Suetonius* tells us, that a person, who had a suit at law depending before *Claudius*, in the same manner rid himself of his adversary, telling him he had dreamt the night before, that he was assassinated; and afterwards, when his adversary appeared, whispering him in the ear, that he was the assassin. This was enough for *Claudius* to have him immediately apprehended and executed, as if he had been convicted. The poor unmanly wretch was at the least

apprehension of danger easily put upon the most cruel and sanguinary precautions, fear getting the better of his reason and temper, which had naturally no bias to cruelty. When returned to himself, he often testified great grief and concern for the executions which he had commanded in a sudden fright, without knowing what he did or said: nay, we are told, that he frequently inquired what was become of those very persons who had been executed by his orders; that he sometimes sent to invite them to dine with him the very next day, and was under the utmost concern, when informed of their death, protesting with tears in his eyes, that he had given no such orders (12). Thus was his whole life governed by fears, and his fears by his wives and freedmen: hence many bloody executions, according to the degree of his own timorousness, or of their ambition, revenge, and avarice.

(11) Suet. c. 20.

(12) Suet. c. 37, 39.

a murder of *Caius*, and after his death had been by the senate judged equal to the empire, was at the head of the conspiracy, and drew into it *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*, governor of *Dalmatia*, who had been consul ten years before, and with him a great number of knights and senators. *Camillus*, who was at the head of a powerful army, openly declared his design, and by assuring the troops under his command that he had nothing in view but to restore *Rome* to her antient liberty, persuaded them to take an oath of allegiance to him; and at the same time, as he was well acquainted with *Claudius*'s timorous temper, he wrote a letter to him filled with reproaches, and threatening him with a cruel death, if he did not forthwith resign the empire, and, betaking himself to a private and retired life, save him the trouble and charge of making war upon him. The coward was so terrified with this letter, that he assembled, in the utmost consternation, his friends, to deliberate with them, whether or no he should resign the sovereign power to *Camillus*? But he was soon delivered from his fears; for *Camillus*'s soldiers, not being able, by some strange accident, to remove their ensigns, when they were ordered to march out and meet their new emperor, began upon that omen to repent of their revolt, and being persuaded that the gods disapproved of it, fell upon their officers; and cut most of them in pieces. *Camillus* himself found means to escape to the island of *Issa* on the coast of *Dalmatia*, where he was stabbed in the arms of his wife *Junia* by a common soldier, named *Vologinius*, after he had bore the name of emperor for five days¹. Upon his death most of the conspirators, and among the rest *Vinicianus*, laid violent hands on themselves; some were seized and executed, and some by purchasing with large sums the favour of *Messalina* and the emperor's freedmen, never were, though notoriously guilty, inquired after, while many innocent knights and senators were, under colour of being concerned in the conspiracy, stripped of their estates by the rapacious *Messalina* and *Narcissus*, and either sent into banishment, or executed without mercy. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that one of *Camilla*'s freedmen, by name *Golefes*, being apprehended and brought before the senate, spoke there with great courage and freedom. Whereupon *Narcissus*, who was present among the emperor's attendants and stood behind him, making up to the freedman, asked him, *What would you have done, if your master had got possession of the empire? I should have kept behind him*, said he, *and, mindful of my condition, not presumed to speak in his presence*^m. The courage and resolution of *Arria* is celebrated by most of the antient writers. She was wife to *Cæcina Pætus*, a consular man, who, having joined *Camillus*, was seized in *Dalmatia*, and sent to be tried at *Rome*. *Arria* being by the merciless soldiers denied the satisfaction of attending her husband in the same vessel; followed him in another, and arriving at *Rome*, there publicly reproached *Junia*, the wife of *Camillus*, with want of courage and conjugal affection, in living after she had seen her husband inhumanly murdered in her arms. Her friends, concluding from thence, that she was resolved not to outlive her husband, watched her day and night; but she, to convince them that all their precautions were to no effect, beat her head against the wall with such violence, that her friends, for some time, believed her dead. However, she recovered; but finding she could not, with all her interest, for she was in great favour with *Messalina*, save her husband, and that he had not the courage to fall by his own hand, she took a dagger, plunged it into her own breast, and pulling it out again, presented it to her husband, saying, *Non dolet; I don't feel it*ⁿ. *Martial* makes her say, *I don't feel my wound, but shall feel yours*^o (Z). *Otho*, father to the emperor of that name, being appointed to succeed *Camillus* in the command of the troops in *Dalmatia*, had the courage to cause the heads of those soldiers, who had any hand in the murder of their officers, to be cut off

Camillus revolts, and writes a threatening letter to Claudius.

Is abandoned by his men;

And murdered.

The constancy, firmness, and death of Arria.

¹ Suet. c. 13. Dio, p. 674. Plin. l. iii. epist. 16. Tacit. hist. l. ii. c. 75. ^m Dio, p. 675.
^a Plin. l. iii. epist. 16. ^o Mart. l. i. epig. 14.

(Z) This action of *Arria* is mightily cried up by the antients, especially by *Pliny* the younger: but nevertheless, that judicious writer thinks his heroine far more commendable for the constancy and resolution she shewed in dissembling the extreme grief she felt on the death of one of her children, than her husband who was dangerously ill and tenderly loved the child, might not be acquainted with his misfor-

tune, till he was perfectly recovered. The constancy and intrepidity she shewed at her death proceeded probably from vanity and a certain fondness for fame, says *Pliny*; but her manly behaviour in the height of her grief was the effect of the most refined virtue, since she could not be prompted to it by any prospect of fame or glory (13).

(13) Plin. l. iii. epist. 16.

off in his presence; nay in the midst of the camp, though he well knew, that *Claudius* had approved of what they had done, and even advanced some of them to considerable posts in the army. This conduct displeased the emperor; but *Otho* soon regained his favour, by discovering a conspiracy formed against him by a Roman knight, who was apprehended, convicted, and thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* rock, by the consuls and tribunes of the people^p.

The two Julia's put to death.

Claudius designs to subdue Britain.

Plautius passes over into that island.

THE following year, *Claudius* was the third time consul, having for his colleague *L. Vitellius*, the second time consul. *Claudius* held that dignity, according to *Suetonius*^q, only two months; but, according to *Dion Cassius*, to the beginning of *July*^r, when both he and his colleague resigned the fasces to *Decimus Haterius Agrippa* and *C. Sulpicius Galba*, as we learn from an antient inscription^t. This year, *Claudius* deprived the *Lycians* of their liberty, to put a stop to the differences that reigned amongst them, and to punish them for having in a tumult put some Roman citizens to death^b. Their country was added to the province of *Pamphylia*^u (A). In *Rome*, *Messalina*, abusing the absolute sway she had over her weak husband, persuaded him by her malicious insinuations first to put to death his niece *Julia*, the daughter of *Germanicus*, whom he had banished the year before to the island of *Pontia*, and afterwards *Julia*, the daughter of *Drusus* and grand-daughter of *Tiberius*: she was likewise niece to *Claudius*, being the daughter of his sister *Livilla*. They were both condemned and executed, says *Suetonius*, without being allowed to defend themselves, though no-body could prove the charge that was brought against them^w. However, the latter *Julia* well deserved on another score the doom that overtook her; for she was chiefly instrumental, as we have related above, in the ruin of her husband *Nero* the son of *Germanicus*. When *Claudius* quitted his consulship, the senate decreed him triumphal ornaments, which put him upon undertaking some enterprize that might intitle him to a real triumph. The theatre he chose for his warlike exploits was *Britain*, at that time harassed with civil wars. Some *Britons* of distinction having abandoned their own country, to avoid the fury of the factions that raged there, and taken refuge in *Gaul*, their countrymen complained, not without threats, of the *Romans* for entertaining them, and insisted upon their being sent back. This served as a pretence to make war upon them, one of the fugitives, by name *Bericus*, persuaded the emperor by many arguments to attempt the conquest of that great island, which no *Roman* had ever dared to invade since the time of *Cæsar* the dictator. At his instigation, *Claudius* dispatched orders to *Plautius*, who had succeeded *Gabinus* in the command of the troops in *Lower Germany*, to convey, without delay, all his forces over into *Britain*. This order was not relished by the soldiery, who, in a mutiny declared, *That they would not make war out of the compass of the world*. Hereupon *Claudius* sent his freedman *Narcissus* to appease the mutiny, and encourage the disheartened legions to obey their general. *Narcissus*, upon his arrival, ascended the tribunal, and thence began to harangue the legions, who, provoked at the audaciousness of the slave, abused him with most opprobrious language, bidding him quit the camp, and return to the masquerades and plays at *Rome*; for they were determined, without his harangues, to follow their general. Accordingly, they immediately began their march to the sea-side; and imbarquing on the vessels, which *Plautius* had with incredible expedition got ready for that purpose, landed in *Britain*, before

^p Suet. in Oth. c. 1. Dio, l. lx. p. 675.
ONUPH. in Fast. p. 189.

^t Suet. c. 25.

^q Suet. c. 14.

^u Dio, p. 676.

^r Dio, p. 679.

^w Suet. c. 29.

^v Vide

(A) The *Lycians* on this occasion sent a deputation to *Claudius*, at the head of which was one of their country, who enjoyed the rights of a Roman citizen; but *Claudius*, finding he did not understand the *Latin* tongue, caused his name to be razed out of the roll of citizens: he treated in the same manner many others, whom he judged unworthy of the Roman name (14). He forbade under severe penalties such as were not free of the city to assume the name of any family in *Rome*; and even condemned some persons to death, and caused them to be publicly executed, for no other crime, but because they had falsely passed themselves upon the world for Roman

citizens. But notwithstanding this rigor, he granted the freedom of the city to an infinite number of persons of all nations, who had wherewithal to purchase it of *Messalina* or his freedmen. It was at first sold at a very high rate, but became afterwards so common, that it was purchased, as was then said by way of raillery, for a broken glass (15). Hence *Seneca* wrote in the invectives he published against *Claudius*, that if he had lived longer, he would have made all the *Greeks*, *Gauls*, and *Spaniards* free of *Rome* (16). This to *Seneca* seemed very absurd; but was afterwards practised by other emperors, and, in the opinion of *St. Austin*, very wisely (17).

(14) Dio, *ibid.*
civ. Dei, l. v. c. 17.

(15) Dio, *Suet. ibid.*

(16) *Senec. lud. in Claud. p. 476.*

(17) *Aug.*

a before the inhabitants had any notice of their design, whom therefore they easily defeated in several skirmishes, and advanced as far as the *Thames*. But *Plautius*, not thinking it safe to penetrate farther into the country, wrote to *Claudius*, pursuant to his instructions, acquainting him with the progress he had already made, and the dangers he apprehended from a farther pursuit of his conquests. Upon the receipt of this letter, the emperor, who had drawn together a good number of legions, and kept them in a readiness to march to the assistance of his lieutenant in *Britain*, left *Rome*, and imbarquing at *Ostia*, sailed to *Marseilles* (B); thence he marched by land to *Gessoriacum*, now, as is commonly believed, *Boulogne*, and from that place set sail for *Britain*, where he landed without opposition; and joining *Plautius*, whom b he found incamped on the banks of the *Thames*, which he passed, defeated the enemy, Is followed by *Claudius*. and made himself master of several strong-holds, among the rest of *Camalodunum*, now *Maldon* in *Essex*, according to *Cambden*, where stood the palace of *Cynobelinus*, one of the *British* kings. In this expedition *Vespasian* distinguished himself in a very eminent manner; for partly under *Plautius*, partly under *Claudius* himself, he fought thirty pitched battles, subdued two powerful nations, took twenty strong towns and upwards, and reduced the island *Vetis*, or the island of *Wight*. *Claudius*, having disarmed the *Britons* who had submitted, appointed *Plautius* governor of the conquered provinces, and, charging him to pursue his conquests, returned in His conquests there. great haste to *Rome*, which, however, he did not enter till the next year; but the senate decreed both to him and his son the surname of *Britannicus* (C).

THE following year, *L. Quinctius Crispinus* being the second time consul with *M. Statilius Taurus*, *Claudius* was received at *Rome* with a most magnificent triumph (D): His triumph: and the senate, to encourage the emperor and his lieutenants to pursue their conquests, decreed, that all the treaties made by them should have the same force, as if made by the senate and people of *Rome*. *Claudius* after his triumph restored to the senate the provinces of *Achaia* and *Macedon*, which thenceforth began to be governed again by proconsuls. He likewise honoured *M. Julius Cottius*, prince of the *Alps* called *Cottia*, with the title of king, and enlarged his barren territories; but deprived the *Rhodians* of their liberty for crucifying some *Roman* citizens, which d however, he restored to them nine years after, that is, in the fifty-third year of the christian æra.

THE

* Vide *BUCHER*. de Belg. p. 147. † *SUET.* in *Vesp.* c. 4. & in *Claud.* c. 27. *DIO*, p. 679.
TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 4. ‡ *DIO*, p. 680. § *SUET.* c. 25. ¶ *DIO*, p. 681. ** *SUET.* c. 25. *** *Idem* *ibid.*

(B) *Claudius*, before he set out from *Rome*, committed the government of the city, and the command of the troops left there, to *Lucius Vitellius* the father of the emperor of that name, and this year the emperor's colleague in the consulship. He was a man of parts and valour; but, as we have observed already, a most infamous and slavish flatterer of persons in power. Being appointed, we may say, regent in the absence of *Claudius*, he discharged his trust with great credit and integrity. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Claudius* put off his departure from *Rome* for a few days upon a slight indisposition; which seized *Sulpicius Galba*, afterwards emperor; so highly was he favoured and beloved by *Claudius* after the discovery of the abovementioned conspiracy. *Claudius* in his passage from *Ostia* to *Marseilles* was twice in danger of being shipwrecked, which induced him to pursue his journey from *Marseilles* to *Boulogne* by land (18).

(C) *Claudius* set out from *Rome* on his *British* expedition about the beginning of *July*, and returned to the city in the beginning of *January* (19). He staid in *Britain* a few days, says *Suetonius* (20); sixteen days, says *Dion Cassius* (21). On his return he imbarqued on the *Po*, and, entering by one of the mouths of that river the *Adriatic* sea, landed at *Ostia* (22). *Suetonius* tells us in one place, that he

left the island without fighting one battle, nay without bloodshed (23); and in another (24), that *Vespasian*, partly under *Plautius*, partly under *Claudius* himself, fought thirty battles. The latter is agreeable to what we read in *Dion Cassius*, whom we have followed. *Eutropius* (25) and *S. Jerom* (26) fix to this year the conquest of the islands *Orcades*. But *Tacitus* writes, that they were not subdued by, or known to, the *Romans*, till the reign of *Vespasian* (27). They were not perhaps subdued, but they were certainly known this very year to the *Romans*, since *Pomponius Mela* mentions them in his description of the world, which he wrote while *Claudius* was waging war in *Britain* (28).

(D) That the shew might be more glorious by the concourse of people, he not only gave leave to the governors of provinces to be present at it, but permitted several banished persons to return home on purpose to behold it. In the solemnity his wife *Messalina*, magnificently adorned, followed him at some distance in a stately chariot. He mounted the steps of the capitol on his knees, being supported by his two sons-in-law. Among the spoils of the enemy, he placed a naval crown on the top of his palace hard by the civic crown, in token of his victory over the sea (29).

(18) *Suet.* c. 17. (19) *Dio*, p. 680. (20) *Suet.* *ibid.* (21) *Dio*, *ibid.* (22) *Plin.* l. iii. c. 16.
(23) *Suet.* *ibid.* (24) *Idem*, in vit. *Vespas.* c. 4. (25) *Eutrop.* in vita *Claud.* (26) *Hier.* in *Chron.*
(27) *Tacit.* in vit. Agr. c. 10. (28) *Mela*, l. iii. c. 6. & *Voss. hist.* Lat. l. i. c. 25. (29) *Suet.* c. 27.

Some wife or-
dinances of
Claudius.

THE next consuls were *M. Vinicius*, whom *Claudius* named to that dignity, though he had caused his wife *Julia* the daughter of *Germanicus* to be put to death, and *T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus*. As the city was filled with statues, *Claudius* enacted a law, forbidding any new statues to be erected within the walls of *Rome*, without the consent of the senate, and at the same time ordered a great many already raised to be taken away^d. He punished with great severity some governors of provinces, who had oppressed the people they were set over, and enacted several wholesome laws for bringing such to justice as should for the future be guilty of the same fault; ordering all governors to return to *Rome*, as soon as the time of their command was expired, to answer there the complaints that might be brought against them. The prerogative of granting leave to senators to travel out of *Italy*, which *Augustus* had lodged in the senate, he claimed himself, and obliged the senate to yield it to him by a decree^e. This year, on the first day of *August* about an hour after mid-day, happened an eclipse of the sun. The emperor, as this was his birth-day, took care to give notice of it to the people before-hand, that they might not be surprised at that phenomenon, or draw bad omens from it^f.

Vinicius poi-
soned by Mes-
salina.

IN the following consulate of *Valerius Asiaticus* and *M. Junius Silanus*, died *M. Vinicius*, brother-in-law to *Claudius*, being poisoned by *Messalina*. He was a man of a quiet temper and lived retired, concerning himself only in the affairs of his family; but, to his misfortune, the lewd *Messalina* conceived a violent passion for him, and poisoned him, because he could not by any solicitations be prevailed upon to injure *Claudius*^g. *Asinius Gallus*, the son of *Agrippina Tiberius's* first wife, conspired this year against the emperor, with a design to seize the sovereign power for himself; but the conspiracy being discovered, *Claudius* only condemned him to banishment, as a person from whom he had nothing to apprehend, since he was of a very low stature, ill-shaped, of a very deformed countenance, and so inconsiderate, that he had aspired to the sovereignty, though quite destitute both of friends and money, upon the bare supposition, that he should be immediately acknowledged by all on account of his noble descent. This generous behaviour in *Claudius* was highly commended by persons of all ranks; and no less pleasing to the people was the decree, which he got passed in the senate, forbidding freedmen to appear in judgment against their patrons, and empowering their masters to deprive them of their liberty, and bring them back to the chain, when they proved ungrateful, or gave them any just motive of complaint^h (E).

Claudius's
clemency.

Claudius cen-
sor.

THE next year, *Claudius* was consul the fourth time with *Lucius Vitellius*, the third time consul; but after two months resigned that dignity, and took upon him the office of censor, chusing for his colleague *Lucius Vitellius* already consul, who, as we have often observed, had a wonderful talent for flattery (F). In the discharge of this important office, *Claudius* performed some things highly commendable, but in others gave such instances of his weakness and want of understanding, as exposed him to public derision. He published above twenty edicts in one day, most of them quite trifling and ridiculous; by one of them, for instance, he warned the senate and people to

^d Dio, ibid. ^e Suet. c. 23. Dio, p. 682. ^f Dio, p. 682. ^g Dio, p. 683. ^h Dio, p. 684. Suet. c. 25.

(E) *S. Jerom* tells us (30), that *Thrace*, which had hitherto been governed by kings, was this year, the fifth of *Claudius* and forty-seventh of the *Christian* æra, reduced to a *Roman* province. *Eusebius* likewise writes, that *Rhemetalces*, king of *Thrace*, being killed by his own wife, *Claudius* conquered that country. But of this memorable event no mention is made by the *Greek* or *Latin* writers, whose works have reached our times.

(F) He left no stone unturned, says *Suetonius*, to work himself into the favour of *Claudius*: observing him intirely addicted to his wife *Messalina* and his freedmen, he begged of the former, as the greatest favour she could bestow upon him, that she would grant him the honour of pulling off her shoes. *Messalina*, well pleased to see a man of his quality and parts proud of that office, granted him his request; and *Vitellius*, the first time he discharged his honour-

able employment, carried away one of her shoes, and wore it constantly in his bosom, not being ashamed to pull it out in public and often kiss it. The golden images of *Pallas* and *Narcissus*, the emperor's reigning freedmen, he worshipped amongst his household gods. When *Claudius* entertained the people with the *secular* games, so called, because they were exhibited but once in a century, his compliment to him was, *Sape facias*; *May you many times exhibit these sports*. Not only *Claudius*, who was a weak prince, but his wives and freedmen, were so taken with the gross and fulsome flattery of this fawning slave, that they not only raised him to the first employments in the empire, but likewise his two sons, whom he had the satisfaction to see consuls in the same year, the one succeeding the other (31). His elder son was afterwards raised to the empire.

(30) *Hier. in chron.*

(31) *Suet. in vit. c. 2.*

a to take care that their wine-vessels were well pitched, since there was that year great plenty of grapes; by another he acquainted them, that the juice of the yew-tree was the best remedy of all against the sting of a viper. When he came to inquire into the manners of the Roman knights, he dismissed a young man most notoriously vicious, without any punishment, because his father gave him a good character, telling him, *You have a censor at home*. Another, infamous for debauching both married and unmarried women, he only admonished, *either to live chaste, or to be lewd more warily; for why must I know, said he, with what women you keep company?*¹ This year was remarkable for the deaths of several persons of great distinction, whom *Claudius*, at the instigation of *Messalina*, caused to be executed. Cn. Pompeius Magnus, who had married *Antonia*, the emperor's eldest daughter, fell the first. He was of an illustrious family, but not descended from *Pompey the Great*, being the son of *Crassus Frugi*, who likewise bore the surname of *Great*. His credit with the prince, his great nobility, and extraordinary parts, by giving umbrage to *Messalina*, occasioned his ruin. He was condemned and had his head cut off by a soldier sent to him for that purpose, without so much as knowing that he was accused^k: so great and absolute was the sway, which *Messalina* had obtained over her weak, timorous, and credulous husband. At the same time, *Crassus*, the father of *Pompeius*, and his mother *Scribonia* were by the order of *Claudius* put to death, though the former intirely resembled him, being, to use the expression of *Seneca*, as great a monster as himself, and therefore no less qualified to be emperor^l. Several other persons of this ancient and illustrious family were at the same time sacrificed to the jealousy of *Messalina* and the fears of *Claudius*^m. Upon the death of *Pompeius*, the emperor married his daughter *Antonia* to *Cornelius Sylla Faustus*ⁿ, brother to *Messalina*; if *Zonaras* is to be credited^o, who had a son by her, upon whose birth *Claudius* would not suffer any public demonstrations of joy. Many knights and senators of rank were after the death of *Pompeius* accused of conspiring against the prince, some of whom *Claudius* pardoned, that is, such as he did not fear; but *Valerius Asiaticus* (G) was prosecuted without mercy for no other crime, but because he possessed, and had embellished with extraordinary magnificence, the fine gardens of *Lucullus*, which *Messalina* coveted. He was charged with a design of withdrawing into *Gaul*, to stir up his countrymen to a revolt; for he was a native of *Vienne* in that province, and supported there by numerous and powerful families, all his own relations. He was accused by *Sofibius*, preceptor to *Britannicus* (H), who easily prevailed upon the weak and timorous prince to secure his life and empire, by the destruction of his pretended enemy and rival. *Crispinus*, commander of the prætorian guards, was immediately dispatched with a body of soldiers to seize him at *Baiæ*; which he did accordingly, and hurried him to *Rome* in chains. He was tried, not in the senate, but in the emperor's chamber, in the presence of *Messalina*. However, he pleaded his cause with such eloquence and energy, that he forced tears both from *Claudius* and *Messalina*.

Exposes his weakness in the discharge of that office.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus put to death.

Valerius Asiaticus accused.

His trial.

¹ Suet. c. 16. ^k Suet. c. 29. Dio, p. 679. Senec. lud. in Claud. ^l Senec. ibid.
^m Idem ibid. ⁿ Suet. c. 27. ^o Zonar. p. 184.

(G) *Valerius Asiaticus* was a native of *Vienne* in *Gaul*, and very powerful in that province on account of his wealth and numerous dependents. He had been one of *Caius*'s most intimate friends; but that prince having first debauched his wife, and afterwards bragged of it in a public assembly in his presence, the brave *Gaul*, who had too much spirit to put up such an affront, resolved to be revenged on the outrageous tyrant; and accordingly with great readiness entered into the conspiracy, nay, became, according to *Tacitus*, the principal director in the plot; though he had no share, as we are told by *Josephus* and *Dion Cassius*, in the execution of it. When the senate, after the assassination, were for punishing the conspirators, *Valerius* rising up, commended the action, owned himself privy to it, and publicly wished he had had the glory of dispatching the tyrant with his own hand. The senators, animated by his firmness and resolution, took courage; granted impunity to the conspirators, and were even

for decreeing them rewards (32). *Valerius* had been consul, the year before, the second time, having been once honoured with that dignity in the preceding reign.

(H) This is probably the *Sofibius*, whose writings are quoted by *Arnobius*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, and *Suidas*. He was instructed by *Messalina* to warn *Claudius* under the mask of zeal, that great wealth in the hands of private men proved always dangerous to princes; that *Valerius* was, on account of his immense riches and powerful alliances in *Gaul*, capable of disputing the empire with him; that he was not only highly esteemed by his countrymen the *Gauls*, but in mighty favour with the *Roman* people; that it was already a prevailing rumour through all the provinces, that he designed to put himself at the head of the armies, &c. (33). These malicious and groundless insinuations were sufficient to put the timorous *Claudius* upon the most cruel and bloody precautions.

(32) *Tacit. annal. l. xi. c. 1. Dio, l. lix. p. 663.* (33) *Tacit. ibid.*

He is condemned by the treachery of Vitellius.

Claudius supports the pleaders.

Messalina herself. But the empress, fearing pity and tenderness should get the better of her other passions, left the room, and in going out, whispered *L. Vitellius* in the ear not to let the accused escape^p. As *Valerius* declared that he had never before seen any of the witnesses, who were produced against him, *Sosibius* at last brought in one, who, he said, was well acquainted with him. He had beforehand informed his evidence, that *Valerius* was bald; and therefore upon his entering the room he desired him in the first place to tell them which was *Valerius Asiaticus*: *I have been long acquainted with him, and that is he*, said the witness, pointing at another bald person, who happened to be present. This convinced *Claudius*, that *Asiaticus* was free from all guilt; but while he was deliberating about clearing him, the treacherous *Vitellius*, throwing himself at his feet, and putting him in mind of the good services of *Asiaticus* to the commonwealth, of his attachment to *Antonia*, the prince's mother, of his gallant behaviour in the late *British* expedition, &c. begged him in the end with many tears to display his mercy, by granting to so worthy and deserving a citizen the free choice of his own death. *Claudius*, without further consideration, complied with his request; which was in effect condemning *Asiaticus*, who thereupon opened his veins and bled to death^q (I). *Messalina*, not satisfied with the ruin of *Asiaticus*, suborned persons, who urged *Poppæa*, with whom he was supposed to carry on a criminal conversation, to lay violent hands on herself, to avoid the disgrace of a shameful imprisonment, with which they threatened her. The emperor was so utterly unapprised of her unhappy end, that her husband *Scipio* being a few days after at table with him, he asked him why he came without his wife? *Scipio* answered, that she was dead; but dared not mention the particulars of her death. Afterwards two illustrious *Roman* knights, surnamed *Petræ*, were accused and condemned, because one of them had had a dream, which was supposed to portend some misfortune, either to *Claudius* or the empire (K).

As the pleaders at this time exacted exorbitant fees from their clients, and often of both parties, a complaint of this grievance being begun by *Caius Silius*, consul elect, the whole senate concurred, and demanded, that the *Cincian* law might be revived, injoining that no man should, for pleading a cause, accept of any gift or payment. The demand of the senate was with great vehemence promoted by *Silius*, and with equal ardor opposed by the pleaders (L). *Claudius* favoured the latter, and

^p TACIT. *ibid.*

^q Idem, c. 2, 3.

^r Idem *ibid.*

(I) He behaved with great firmness and intrepidity both at his trial and after his condemnation; besides the charge of treason, he was accused of winking at the licentiousness of the soldiery, of neglecting military discipline, of carrying on an adulterous amour with *Poppæa*, the mother of that *Poppæa*, who became so infamous in the reign of *Nero*, and lastly with surrendering his person, like an harlot, to unnatural lust. This last article *Asiaticus* could not brook; but interrupting the accuser, by name *Suilius*, a person, it seems, of some rank, *Ask thy own sons*, *Suilius*, said he, *they will satisfy thee that I am a man*. After his condemnation, he continued his usual exercises, walking, bathing, and even supping cheerfully, telling his friends, that it would have been more to his credit to have fallen by the craft of *Tiberius*, or the fury of *Claudius*, than thus to perish by the dark devices of a woman, and the treachery of such a base and prostitute sycophant as *Vitellius*. After supper he viewed his funeral pile, and ordered it to be removed to another place, lest the heat and smoke should hurt his trees, and lessen their cool shade: After this he opened his veins without betraying the least concern, and bled to death (34).

(K) Some writers say, that he saw *Claudius* in a dream crowned with a garland of the ears of corn, their beards downwards, which was interpreted to foretel a public famine: others have wrote, that the chaplet he saw was of vine-branches with white leaves, which he construed to portend the death of the prince at the close of autumn. But whatever he

dreamt, both he and his brother were sacrificed, partly for a dream, and partly for accommodating, as was pretended, *Asiaticus* and *Poppæa* with the use of their house for their private assignations.

(L) *Silius* urged the examples of the ancient orators who had required no other reward for pleading, but present applause and the praises of posterity. By allowing orators to take fees, we put them upon the level with mechanics, said he, and debase eloquence, of all accomplishments the most glorious and honourable, to sordid lucre: besides, if eloquence once becomes venal, orators will, upon the prospect of greater gain, be tempted to betray those whom they have undertaken to defend; they will promote enmities, accusations, mutual hatred, quarrels, &c. as a sure means of enriching themselves: if no man finds his advantage in defending suits; there will be few suits to defend: as diseases are the market of physicians, so will our quarrels and animosities prove the revenue of the pleaders, who will therefore take care to inflame us against each other, and keep us always at variance. They might remember *Caius Asinius*, *M. Messala*, and more lately *Arruntius*, and *Esernius*, who were raised to the highest dignities of the state by an unblemished life and an eloquence never exposed to sale. Thus spoke *Silius*. In answer to him, the pleaders owned, that fame was indeed the greatest reward a man could wish for, but uncertain, and therefore not to be depended upon; that the practice of pleading was intended for the good of mankind, was a common refuge for all men, and prevented the powerful and mighty from oppress-

and therefore the senate, instead of subjecting them; as they designed, to the penalties of the law against extortion, if they took any fee at all, or even present for; pleading; contented themselves with settling their fees, which were not to exceed two hundred and fifty crowns, and declaring those who were not satisfied with that sum, guilty of extortion. The same year the *Cherusci*, who inhabited the present duchy of *Brunswick*, had recourse to *Claudius* for a king; who sent them *Italicus*, son to *Tilavius* the brother of the famous *Arminius*. *Italicus* was born at *Rome*, and brought up there after the *Roman* manner; which induced the *Cherusci*, though they received him at first with great joy to take arms against him, and drive him from the throne. He was afterwards restored by the *Longobards*, and; being supported by them, oppressed in a most tyrannical manner the *Cherustan* state. At the same time, *Sanguinius*, governor of *Lower Germany*, being dead, the *Chauci* made incursions into that province; but *Gn. Domitius Corbulo*, the greatest commander of his age, who was sent to succeed *Sanguinius*, obliged them to retire, pursued them into their own country, and would have forced them to submit to the *Roman* yoke, had not *Claudius*, who feared *Corbulo* more than he did the *Germans*, put a stop to his conquests, and ordered him to lead back all the *Roman* forces over the *Rhine*. *Corbulo* obeyed without uttering more than that *happy were the Roman commanders in former times*. As he had taken great pains to restore the antient discipline amongst the legions, whom he found utter strangers to military toils, that they might not relapse into a habit of idleness, he employed them in digging a canal three-and-twenty miles long between the *Meuse* and the *Rhine*, to receive the high tides, and prevent inundations. A modern writer takes this to be the canal known at present by the name of *Fliet*, which extends from *Skys* on the *Meuse* to *Leyden* on the *Rhine*. The emperor granted to *Corbulo* triumphal ornaments, though he would not allow him to prosecute the war. He was succeeded by *Curtius Rufus*, who, though of a mean extraction, arrived at the consular dignity, commanded armies, and died proconsul of *Africa* (M)^u. Towards the end of the year, *Aulus Plautius*, returning from *Britain*, was received by *Claudius* with great marks of distinction, and honoured with an ovation, the emperor himself attending him in that ceremony, and yielding to him the most honourable place^w. *P. Ostorius Scapula* succeeded *Plautius* in the government of *Britain*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. About this time, a *Roman* knight, by name *Cneius Novius*, was discovered armed with a dagger, among those who were paying their court to the prince. When put to the rack, he confessed his design of murdering the emperor; but, though cruelly tortured, would never discover his accomplices, nor even the motives, which had put him upon that attempt^x.

Wars in Germany.

Plautius returns from Britain.

THE

^r Idem, c. 5—8. ^c Idem, c. 19, 20. ⁱ BUCH. de Belg. l. iv. c. 11. ^u TACIT. c. 20.
^w SUET. c. 24. DIO, p. 685. ^x TACIT. c. 23.

pressing those who were not by themselves in a condition to withstand them; neither was eloquence acquired without pains and expence; since they who professed it, neglected their domestic concerns to apply themselves to the business of others. Many followed the profession of war, many that of husbandry, and by both professions a livelihood was acquired; nay, nothing was pursued by any man, but with a view to the advantages it produced. As for *Afinius*, *Messala*, &c. they were either enriched by the civil wars, or heirs of wealthy houses; and therefore might well be above gain, and plead only for glory; but equally obvious were the examples of *P. Clodius* and *Caius Curio*, who never pleaded but for extravagant fees; for themselves, as the study of eloquence had proved very chargeable to them, they thought it but reasonable that they should reap some advantage from it. These considerations appearing of no small force to *Claudius*, the revival of the *Cincian* law was dropt (35). This law was enacted by *M. Cincius*, tribune of the people in the year of *Rome* 549, and revived by *Augustus*, who caused it to be confirmed by a decree of the senate (36).

(M) He was, according to some writers, the son

of a gladiator. When he grew to a man, he attended a *Roman* quæstor into *Africa*, where while he was walking at *Adrumetum*, in the middle of the day, under a porch, a woman above human size appeared before him, and accosted him with these words; *Thou, Rufus, shalt one day govern this province with proconsular power*. Animated with hopes from this presage, he returned to *Rome*, where, by the liberality of his friends and his own qualifications, he gained the quæstorship, and afterwards standing for the office of prætor in competition with several persons of great distinction, carried it by the interest of *Tiberius*, who gave him this encomium: *To me Curtius Rufus seems to be descended from himself*. He was, says *Tacitus*, a servile flatterer of those above him, but arrogant to his inferiors: he lived to a great age, arrived at the consulate, obtained triumphal ornaments, was in the end proconsul of *Africa*, and dying there, fulfilled the presage. This, according to some authors, is the *Quintus Curtius*, whose history of the exploits of *Alexander the Great* has reached us. *Vossius* indeed is of opinion, that this history was wrote in the reign of *Vespasian*, and not of *Claudius*; but the arguments, with which he supports his opinion, are of no force (37).

(35) Tacit. ibid. c. 7.

(36) Dio, l. liv.

(37) Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 28.

Gauls admitted into the senate.

THE following year, *Aulus Vitellius*, who was afterwards emperor; and *Lucius Vipfanius Poplicola* being consuls, *Claudius* in quality of censor created several new patrician families, most of those which had been raised to that dignity by *Romulus*, *L. Brutus*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Augustus*, being extinct. He likewise supplied the vacancies in the senate, introducing into that body some *Æduans*, that is, natives of *Autun* in *Gaul*, and promoting a decree of the senate, qualifying such of the *Gaulish* nobility as were *Roman* citizens to be admitted to the senatorial dignity. Such senators as were of infamous characters he degraded; but proceeded therein with great tenderness, advising them to resign their dignity, that their voluntary abdication might soften and hide the infamy of their expulsion. For these regulations, the consul *Vipfanius* proposed, that *Claudius* should be styled *The father of the senate*; but he modestly declined that title. He then numbered the citizens, who in that survey amounted to six millions nine hundred thousand¹. This year *Claudius* was at length acquainted with the disorders of his wife *Messalina*. She was the daughter of *Valerius Messala Barbatus* the emperor's cousin, and of *Domitia Lepida*, the grand-daughter of *M. Antony* and *Octavia*, *Augustus*'s sister; so that she was *Augustus*'s great niece, as *Claudius* was his great nephew². We have related several instances of her cruelty, which, however great, fell short of her monstrous lewdness. Her chief favourite was *Caius Silius*, the most comely young man in *Rome*, with whose graceful person she was so enchanted, that she obliged him to divorce his wife *Silana*, that she might ingross him wholly to herself. *Silius* was not unapprised of the blackness of his crime, and the doom which threatened him; but to withstand *Messalina* was present destruction. He therefore complied with her vicious inclination, and the empress, far from pursuing her amours privately and by stealth, openly frequented his house with a numerous train, accompanied him incessantly abroad, loaded him with wealth and honours, &c. After some time, *Silius*, apprehensive of the dangers that hung over him, and judging they were only to be averted by dangerous remedies, told the empress, without disguise, that they were gone too far to wait for the prince's death; that desperate attempts were the only security in glaring guilt; that he had accomplices at hand, and was ready to marry her, and adopt *Britannicus*. This proposal, bold beyond all example and almost all belief, *Messalina* applauded, and a few days after, the emperor being gone to *Ostia* to assist at a sacrifice, she married *Silius* with all the usual solemnities in the face of the senate, of the equestrian order, of the whole people and soldiery. *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, and *Dion Cassius*, who relate this memorable incident, being well apprised how fabulous it would appear, that the emperor's wife should in his life-time dare to espouse another husband in form, and celebrate with him in the face of the city the nuptial feasts, declare, that how wonderful soever and incredible it may seem, they frame no fiction; but only recount what is unquestionably true, and what they had learnt from the living or written testimony of their fathers. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Messalina* induced *Claudius* himself to sign the marriage-contract, as if it were only dissembled to avert the calamities which certain prodigies portended to hang over his head³. Horror seized the prince's family, especially those who bore the chief way in it. It was no riddle whither such a marriage tended, and they dreaded nothing so much as a revolution, which would put an end to their power. On the other hand, when they recollected the stupidity of *Claudius*, his blind attachment to his wife, and the many eminent persons sacrificed to her fury, their own apprehensions deterred them from acquainting him with his public ignominy. *Calistus* and *Pallas*, the reigning favourites, were still for dissembling the empress's enormities, and frightening her by secret menaces from keeping company with her adulterer. *Narcissus* thought the emperor should by some means or other be immediately acquainted with the monstrous conduct of his wife; and persisting in his opinion, he prevailed by gifts and promises upon *Calpurnia* and *Cleopatra*, two courtesans in high favour with *Claudius*, to undertake the discovery; which they did the more willingly, as by the fall of *Messalina* they apprehended, that their own authority would be thoroughly established. *Calpurnia* therefore, while the emperor was still at *Ostia*, upon the first occasion of her being with him in private, falling at his feet, cried out, *Messalina has married Silius*; and at the same time asked *Cleopatra*, who purposely attended to attest it, whether she had not found it to be true? *Cleopatra* confirming it, *Claudius*, struck with amazement, ordered *Narcissus* to be called, who

Messalina openly marries Silius.

¹ Idem, c. 25.

² SENECA. lud. in Claud. p. 478.

³ SUE. c. 29.

a who, begging pardon for having concealed from him the disorders of his wife, told him, that he was in a state of divorce; that it was what all men knew; that the nuptials had been celebrated in the face of the city, and that *Messalina's* new husband, if he made not dispatch, would be sovereign of *Rome*. He then sent for his most trusty friends, particularly for *Turranius*, who was charged with the care of providing the city with corn, and next for *Lusius Geta*, commander of the prætorian guards, and inquired of them. As they avouched it, all who were about *Claudius*, insisted upon his proceeding without delay to the camp, and, by securing the prætorian cohorts, consult his preservation before his revenge. *Claudius* was so confounded and dismayed, that he often asked whether he was still emperor? whether *Silius* was yet

 b a private man? In the mean time, *Messalina* was indulging herself without the least apprehension in all manner of diversions, not imagining, that any one would dare to disclose her disorders to the emperor, over whom she had so mighty a sway. As it was then the middle of autumn, she exhibited in her house a representation of the vintage, in which her new husband *Silius* personated *Bacchus*, being attended by a

 c choir of mock-priests and priestesses, among whom was *Messalina* herself with a thyrsus in her hand, and her hair loose and flowing. But in the midst of their jollity and revels, messengers unexpectedly arrived with tidings, that *Claudius* was apprised of all, and approached bent upon sudden vengeance. Hereupon the company immediately dispersed in the utmost consternation; *Messalina* betook herself to the

 d gardens of *Lucullus*; and *Silius*, who was then prætor and consul elect, to dissemble his fear, resumed the offices of the forum. *Messalina*, finding no other resource, resolved to quit her retirement, and boldly to meet her husband, not doubting but she should be able to avert the storm, if she only obtained to be heard. But in the

 e first place, she ordered her son *Britannicus* and her daughter *Octavia*, to go forth, and embracing their father, to implore his mercy for his injured wife: she besought *Vibidia*, the oldest vestal, of whom *Claudius* entertained a high opinion, to do the same. She herself passed through the city on foot, attended only by three persons, no one shewing the least compassion for her in her disgrace. When she was without

 f the walls, not being able to pursue her journey on foot, and finding no other convenience, she was glad to be taken up by a gardener in his dung-cart, in which, quite forsaken by all her train, she took the road to *Ostia*. The emperor was not yet recovered from his fright, but was still incessantly asking, whether *Silius* was yet acknowledged emperor: he likewise betrayed no small distrust of *Geta*, commander of his guards, of which *Narcissus*, who entertained the same distrust, being apprised, he suggested to the emperor, that there was no other expedient to preserve him, than the transferring of the command of his guards upon one of his freedmen for that day only, and offered to undertake it himself. *Claudius* came readily into his proposal, and *Narcissus*, now commander of the prætorian cohorts, took his place as

 such in the emperor's coach, in order to prevent *L. Vitellius* and *P. Largus Cæcina*, who were in the same coach, from interceding in favour of *Messalina*. Upon the road, *Claudius* sometimes broke out into bitter invectives against *Messalina*; at other times shewed compassion for her and their common children. *Vitellius* uttered nothing, but, *O heinous! Oh the iniquity!* which words might be interpreted equally against *Messalina* and her accusers. *Narcissus* urged him to speak plain; but gained nothing: *Vitellius* still answered indirectly, and in terms that might be differently construed; and his example was followed by *Largus Cæcina*. As they drew near the city, *Messalina* unexpectedly appeared in the road, crying aloud with many tears to *Claudius*, that he would hear the mother of *Octavia* and *Britannicus*. *Narcissus* no sooner saw her, than, to drown her cries, he began to exclaim and storm with great noise against the impudent and bold conduct of *Silius*, and the abominations of *Messalina*. At

 the same time, to divert the prince from seeing her, he delivered to him a writing, containing a detail of her prostitutions. As the emperor was entering *Rome*, some attempted to present to him his children by her; but *Narcissus* ordered them to be conveyed away: he could not, however, remove *Vibidia*, who insisted with great vehemence, that the emperor's wife might not be condemned without being heard; so that *Narcissus* was obliged to assure her, that *Messalina* should be heard, and should have full opportunity of clearing herself. He then advised the vestal to withdraw, and attend the sacred functions of her office. As for *Claudius*, he kept the whole time a wonderful silence, and *Vitellius* pretended to be amazed; so that *Narcissus* controuled all things. By his command the house of the adulterer was opened, and

Their security.

She endeavours to appease Claudius.

The conduct of Narcissus.

Messalina meets the emperor.

He is incensed
against her by
Narcissus.

Silius and her
other adulter-
ers executed.

Claudius
seems to re-
lent.

Narcissus ha-
stens her exe-
cution.

the emperor carried thither. As he entered the porch, *Narcissus* shewed him the statue of *Silius* the father standing there, though the senate had by a decree ordered it to be broken; for he had been arraigned under *Tiberius* of treason, as we have related in his reign: in the house he shewed him the rich furniture of the imperial palace, the monuments of his wife's prostitution and his own disgrace. Having thus worked him up to threats and fury, he led him without delay to the camp, where by *Narcissus*'s direction he made a short speech to the soldiery, who with a general clamour demanded that the criminals might be immediately executed. Hereupon *Silius* and several others, whom *Narcissus* had caused to be arrested, were brought before the imperial tribunal; and, being convicted as accomplices of *Messalina*'s prostitutions, were all dragged to execution. *Silius*, without offering any thing in his defence, only begged they would dispatch him soon. *Mneſter*, the player, who had been likewise one of *Messalina*'s gallants, created some hesitation. He tore off his garments, and desired the emperor to behold the marks of the stripes he had endured, before he could be brought to comply with *Messalina*'s impure solicitations; he reminded him at the same time of his own commands, obliging him to gratify *Messalina* without reserve (N), adding, that others had been tempted to offend by great presents, or mighty promises; but his offence was owing only to compulsion. These considerations biased *Claudius* to mercy; but his freedmen dissuading him from saving a player after so many illustrious sacrifices, *Mneſter* was condemned and executed with *Traulus Montanus*, a young knight of extraordinary modesty and comeliness, whom *Messalina* had forced to pass only one night with her, and afterwards cast off, her passion being, as *Tacitus* observes, with equal wantonness inflamed and surfeited^a.

WHEN these executions were over, *Claudius* returned to the palace, where he passed the best part of the night in feasting and revelling with his freedmen. Being warm with wine, for he usually drank very plentifully, he ordered one of his attendants to go and acquaint the *unhappy woman*, for these terms he is said to have used, that she should attend the next day and plead her cause. She was then in the gardens of *Lucullus*, whither she had retired, finding she could have no access to *Claudius*, and was there busy in composing a memorial, which she designed to present to the prince, not without hopes of moving him to compassion. But *Narcissus*, alarmed at the message he sent her, and observing that his resentment visibly abated, and his usual affection began to return, ran hastily forth, and directed the tribunes and centurions then upon duty to dispatch *Messalina*; for such was the emperor's express command. With them he sent one *Evodus* a freed-man, in whom he could confide, charging him to see his orders strictly fulfilled; for he apprehended, and indeed not without reason, since *Claudius* began to relent, that the doom which he had prepared for *Messalina*, would, if she lived to the next day, rebound upon his own head. *Evodus* flew in a moment to the gardens, where he found her lying upon the ground, and her mother *Lepida* sitting by her. He immediately acquainted her with her doom, and at the same time abused her with all the brutal invectives of a slave. Her mother encouraged her not to wait the blow of the executioner; but, since she could not prolong her life, to die with renown. Hereupon, laying hold of a dagger, she aimed, with a trembling hand, first at her throat, and then at her breast; but had not courage and resolution enough for such an attempt. The tribune therefore who stood before her, without ever opening his mouth, observing her timidity and irresolution,

^a TACIT. c. 30—36. DIO, p. 674. SUT. c. 29. SENECA. lud. in Claud.

(N) *Messalina* finding she could neither by threats nor promises induce *Mneſter* to comply with her impure solicitations, had at length recourse to stripes, and caused him to be inhumanly scourged; but to no effect, *Mneſter* dreading to incur the displeasure of the emperor, which, he apprehended, would sooner or later prove fatal to him, if he granted *Messalina* her request; for her abominations were now so public, that he imagined *Claudius* could not be much longer unapprised of them. Hereupon the lewd prostitute, bent upon satisfying at all events the passion she had conceived for the player; *What if the emperor himself*, said she, *should command you*

to gratify me in what I require? I should, without hesitation, replied *Mneſter*, *obey the emperor's commands*. *Messalina* flew to the emperor, and complained to him of the player, who, she said, had unmannerly refused her a small favour. *Claudius* immediately sent for *Mneſter*, reprimanded him with great severity, and commanded him to gratify his wife without reserve. He obeyed, and now alleges this command as a powerful motive to induce *Claudius* to grant him his life (38). But *Narcissus* urging, that his crime was of such enormous malignity, that it availed not how he had committed it, he was executed upon the spot.

^a solution, delivered her from her anxiety and fears, by running her through with his sword. Thus just vengeance overtook her at last, in the very gardens for which she had sacrificed, as we have related above, the brave *Valerius Asiaticus*. She was of all women recorded in history, if not the most lewd, the most amazingly bold in the pursuit of her lewdness ^b. *Claudius* was still at table, when word was brought him, that *Messalina* was dead; but without any particulars, whether she had suffered by her own, or by the executioner's hand. Neither did he make any inquiries, but, calling for a bowl of wine, continued the banquet with his usual gaiety, without betraying either then, or in the following days, any symptoms of hatred, joy, anger, sorrow, or any other human passion or affection, tho' he beheld the enemies of his wife triumphing over her death, and his children bewailing with many tears the violent end of their mother ^c. Nay, *Suetonius* assures us, that as he was a few days after supping with some of his friends, he asked, why his wife *Messalina* came not to supper? Many other instances of the like almost incredible forgetfulness, or rather stupidity, are related by the same writer and by *Dion Cassius* ^d.

UPON the death of *Messalina*, *Claudius* publicly declared, that since he had been so unfortunate in his marriages, he would live a single life for the future; nay, he gave every *Roman* leave to put him to death, if he continued not in that resolution. But, notwithstanding these protestations, he soon changed his mind, and, not remembering what he had said, declared his intention of marrying. Hereupon great strife and emulation arose among the imperial freedmen, which of them should chuse a wife for one, who had been ever governed by his wives. *Callistus* proposed to him *Lollia Paulina*, daughter to *M. Lollius*, a consular. *Pallas* recommended *Julia Agrippina*, the daughter of *Germanicus*; and *Narcissus* employed all his interest in behalf of *Ælia Petina*, whom he had divorced before upon a slight and trivial occasion. *Claudius* himself was now bent upon one, then upon another, and always led by his last adviser. Being thus undetermined and perplexed, he at length called together his counsellors, ordering them to declare and defend in his presence their different opinions (O). *Claudius* heard them all with great attention; but was most affected with the arguments of *Pallas*, enforced by the caresses and allurements of *Agrippina*, who, under colour of consanguinity, was assiduous in her visits to her uncle. This princess, so famous in history for her ambition and misfortunes, was the daughter of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina* the elder, whose courage and chastity we have often had occasion to celebrate. *Tiberius* married her, in the fourteenth year of his reign, to *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, by whom she had a son named *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who succeeded *Claudius*, and is known by the name of *Nero*. Upon the death of her husband, she abandoned herself to all manner of lewdness, and was on that score banished by her brother *Caligula*. *Claudius* recalled her, when she married to her second husband *Crispus Passienus*, one of an illustrious family, and soon after murdered him, to enjoy the rich inheritance to which he had named her in his will. She was in high favour with *Claudius*, even in *Messalina's* time; and therefore would have been sacrificed, as well as her sister *Julia*, to her jealousy, had not the empress been diverted from it by other pursuits ^e. *Claudius* no sooner shewed himself inclined to marry his niece, but she began, as if already married, to exercise the power and authority of a wife. Her first purpose was, to concert a match between her son *Domitianus* and *Octavia*, the emperor's daughter; but *Octavia* had some time since been by her father betrothed to *Lucius Silanus*, a youth of great quality, and no less beloved

Claudius declares his intention to marry again.

And prefers his niece Agrippina to all others.

^b TACIT. c. 37.
6, 7. TACIT. c. 12, 13.

^c Idem ibid.

^d SUET. ibid. DIO, p. 674.

^e SUET. in Ner. c.

(O) *Narcissus* alledged in favour of *Ælia Petina* the emperor's former marriage with her, and their common daughter, for by her he had *Antonia*; and that by recalling one who had already been his wife, he would introduce no innovation into his family, but a wife, who would not exercise the hatred of a step-mother towards *Britannicus* and *Octavia*, since they were so nearly allied to her own children. *Callistus* urged, that to recall her after so long a divorce and dislike, would be the very means to heighten her indignation and pride; that *Lollia* was

a much more eligible match, for having no issue of her own, she was void of every motive of emulation to his, and consequently would use her step-children with the tenderness of a real mother. *Pallas* recommended *Agrippina* from the following considerations; that with her she would bring the grandson of *Germanicus*, and was herself worthy of imperial fortune, noble in her descent, of tried fruitfulness, and in the prime of her age; that by this match would be prevented her carrying into another house the illustrious blood of the *Cæsars* (39).

(39) Tacit. c. 2.

Lacius Silanus disgraced.

loved and esteemed by *Claudius*. However, as the weak prince had no judgment, nor choice, nor aversion or affection, but such as were inspired by others, *Vitellius*, foreseeing into whose hands the sovereignty was hastening, in order to purchase the favour of *Agrippina*, began to devise crimes against *Silanus*. That young nobleman had a sister, by name *Junia Silana*, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and no less gaiety; and hence *Vitellius*, then censor, took the accusation, wresting to a charge of incest the mutual affection of brother and sister; an affection no-ways incestuous, but somewhat too free and unguarded; for while *Junia* was by others styled *Venus* on account of her beauty, *Silanus* chose, we know not why, to call her *Juno*, who was both sister and wife to *Jupiter*. This the infamous sycophant *Vitellius* laid hold of; and having first prejudiced the undiscerning emperor against the innocent youth, quite unapprised of any plots against him, he soon after, in quality of censor, degraded him from the rank of a senator, tho' the senate had been already reviewed, and the number of senators fixed a good while before; nay, he obliged him by an edict to renounce his prætorship, though it was of course to expire the next day, conferring it for that day upon *Eprius Marcellus*. *Silanus* being thus marked with infamy, *Claudius* broke off the match between him and *Octavia*^f.

The senate and people approve of *Claudius*'s marriage with *Agrippina*.

THE next consuls were *C. Pompeius Longinus Gallus* and *Q. Veranius Nepos*. Tho' *Claudius* and *Agrippina* lived publicly together, yet they durst not celebrate their nuptials, there being no instance among the *Romans* of a marriage between an uncle and a niece; but that scruple was removed by *Vitellius*, who having first prevailed, without much trouble, upon *Claudius* to promise, that he would submit to the authority of the senate and the unanimous voice of the people, easily persuaded both orders to approve of the marriage; nay, some of the senators declared, that, if the emperor delayed longer, they would compel him. *Claudius* then yielded; but nevertheless did not celebrate the nuptials, till the senate passed a decree, declaring for ever lawful marriages between uncles and their brothers daughters. But notwithstanding this general law, no one followed the example of *Claudius*, except one *Roman* knight, by name *Titus Alledius Severus*, and he only, as was believed, to court the favour of *Agrippina*. This law was afterwards revoked by the emperor *Nerva*, as was that legitimating the inter-marriage of cousin-germans, long unknown to the *Romans*, by *Theodosius the Great*. The day after the decree of the senate was published, *Claudius* celebrated his nuptials with the usual solemnity: and on the same day *Silanus* slew himself, whether by choice or constraint, is uncertain. His sister *Junia* was banished *Italy*; and to her sentence *Claudius* added an order to the pontiffs, in-joining them to offer expiatory sacrifices in the grove of *Diana*; a source of mockery to all men, says *Tacitus*, that penalties and lustrations should be appointed for a pretended incest, while real incest was established by law^g. From this time the city assumed a different face, all men tamely obeying a woman, who did not, like *Messalina*, render the *Roman* state subservient only to her wanton and lewd amours, but to her insatiable avarice, unbounded ambition, and unparallelled cruelty. She governed all, and the emperor himself, without controul; appeared with him in the senate; placed herself by him on the same tribunal in all public ceremonies; gave, together with him, audience to foreign princes and ambassadors; and did not even abandon him in the courts of justice, which to the *Romans* was a sight altogether new^h.

Seneca recalled from exile.

To signalize the beginning, we may say, of her reign, with some plausible action, she prevailed upon *Claudius*, not only to recal from exile, but to honour with the prætorship, *L. Annæus Seneca*, a man by all greatly esteemed on account of his eloquence and accomplishments. But in this she had also her private views, which were the education of her son *Domitius* under such a master, and the use of his counsels in the pursuit of her ambitious designs; for she did not doubt, but *Seneca* would, out of gratitude, continue faithfully attached to her, and maintain, for all his philosophy, an irreconcilable hatred to *Claudius*, by whom he had been banished^k; and truly his hatred appears but too plainly in his writings. Not long after, *Agrippina*, pursuing her ambitious designs, gained by vast promises *Memmius Pollio*, consul elect, to move the senate, that they would unanimously beseech *Claudius* to betroth *Octavia* to *Domitius*. To this, which was a great step towards the sovereignty, the senate readily agreed; and *Claudius* not apprised of his wife's aspiring views, with the same readiness consented. Thus was *Domitius*, by the efforts and devices of his mother,

Octavia betrothed to *Domitius*.

^f TACIT. c. 4. DIO, p. 677. SUET. c. 29. c. 8. DIO, p. 687.

^k TACIT. ibid.

^g Idem, c. 8. SENEC. lud. in Claud. ^h TACIT.

mother, raised almost to an equality with *Britannicus*. He was born on the fifteenth of *December* in the thirty-seventh year of the christian æra; so that he was in the beginning of this, the forty-ninth; entered into the twelfth year of his age¹. In the next place, *Agrippina*, no less implacable in her hatred, than ambitious in her views, being enraged at *Lollia Paulina*, for having aspired to the emperor's bed, framed crimes against her, and suborned an accuser, who charged her with consulting the magicians and *Chaldeans* about the match. *Claudius*, without hearing her, represented her supposed guilt to the senate, and required, that her estate might be confiscated, and she banished *Italy*^m. But *Agrippina*, not satisfied with this punishment, sent privately a tribune, with orders to cut off her head, and bring it to her. The tribune obeyed; and *Agrippina* is said to have with her own hands opened the mouth of the deceased, that from her teeth, which had something, we know not what, very singular, she might be well assured it was her headⁿ (P). *Calpurnia*, another woman of great distinction, was likewise doomed to ruin, because the prince had praised her beauty; but as this was from no passion for her person, but only in occasional discourse, her life was spared. This year to the senators of *Narbonne Gaul* was granted the same privilege with those of *Sicily*, of visiting their estates there, without asking leave of the prince. The same year the countries of *Iturea* and *Judæa* were, upon the death of their kings, *Sobemus* and *Agrippa*, annexed to the government of *Syria*. About the end of the year, *Claudius* widened the circumference of *Rome*, inclosing, according to *Onuphrius*^o, mount *Aventine*. We are told, that such only as had extended the limits of the empire, were, in virtue of an ancient institution, impowered to enlarge also the bounds of the city^p. This power *Claudius* probably claimed, in regard of his having conquered part of *Britain*. As for the troubles which happened this year in the kingdoms of *Parthia* and *Bosphorus*, we refer our readers to the account we have given of them in our history of those countries (Q).

Lollia Paulina put to death.

Rome enlarged.

The following year, *C. Antistius Vetus* and *M. Suius Nervilianus* being consuls, the freed-man *Pallas*, who had conducted the late marriage of *Agrippina*, and was now engaged in a criminal correspondence with her, and thence wholly addicted to her interest, persuaded *Claudius* to adopt, in preference to his own son, *Domitius* for his eldest, because he was three years older than *Britannicus* (R). From this time

Domitius

¹ Suet. in Ner. c. 6.

^m Tacit. c. 22.

ⁿ Dio, p. 686.

^o Onuph. in fast. p. 101.

^p Tacit. c. 23.

(P) *Lollia Paulina* was first married to *Memmius Regulus*, governor of *Greece* and *Macedon*, from whom she was forced by *Caligula*, who took her to himself. She was grand-daughter to *M. Lollius*, appointed by *Augustus* governor to *Caius Cæsar*, when he was sent into the east. *Claudius*, in representing her pretended guilt to the senate, touched upon her noble descent, telling the senators, that by her mother she was neice to *Lucius Volusius*; that *Cotta Messalinus* was her great-uncle; that she herself was once the wife of *Memmius Regulus*, &c. but of her marriage with *Caligula* he said nothing. He added, that she pursued pernicious designs, and must be divested of the means and opportunities of putting them in execution. Upon this her immense wealth was confiscated, and only about thirty-thousand pounds of our money left her. *Tacitus* tells us, that the tribune dispatched by *Agrippina* had orders to compel her to lay violent hands on herself (40).

(Q) *Phlegon*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, tells us, that this year, the ninth of *Claudius*'s reign, a woman was delivered at *Rome* of an ape (41).

(R) *Tacitus* tells us, that it was observed by persons skilled in antiquity, that never was any adoption made before this into the patrician family of the *Claudii*; which, from *Attus Clausus*, called afterwards *Appius Claudius*, the first who settled at *Rome*, had subsisted upon its own stock. *Lipsius* is not at all pleased with this observation; but urges against it the adoption of *Germanicus*. However, being prompted by his good nature to excuse the

mistake, he acquaints us, that *Tiberius*, when he adopted *Germanicus*, was not himself of the *Claudian*, but of the *Julian* family; a poor quibble indeed, and altogether unworthy of so learned a critic! It is surprising, that a writer of such penetration should thus mistake the meaning of *Tacitus*, tho' conveyed to him in the plainest terms. Some observed, says the historian, that never was any adoption made before this into the patrician family of the *Claudii*. &c. Could *Lipsius* possibly suppose *Germanicus* to have been adopted by *Tiberius* into the *Claudian* family? We cannot think him capable of entertaining a notion so notoriously absurd, since *Germanicus*, *Tiberius*'s own brother's son, was, as is manifest, by birth, and without any adoption, of the *Claudian* family. On the other hand, if he does not suppose him to have been adopted by *Tiberius* into the *Claudian* family, but only for his son, as he truly was, to what purpose alledge such an adoption against those who observed, to the glory of the *Claudian* family, that it had subsisted upon its own stock since its first settling at *Rome*, to the adoption of *Domitius Ahenobarbus*? Besides, if *Tiberius* was himself no longer of the *Claudian*, but of the *Julian*, family, how could he adopt *Germanicus* into the former? That *Tacitus* meant not such an adoption as that of *Germanicus*, but an adoption into the family, is evident both from the context in that writer, and from *Suetonius*, who tells us that *Claudius*, when he adopted young *Domitius*, publicly declared, that no one had ever before been adopted into the *Claudian* family (42). But *quandoque bonus dormit at Homerus*.

(40) *Idem*, c. 22.

(41) *Pbleg. de reb. memorabil.* c. 22.

(42) *Suet. in Claud.* c. 39.

The hard
treatment of
Britannicus.

Colonia
Agrippinen-
sis.

Nero takes
the manly
robe.

Domitius was named *Nero Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus* (S). This adoption was applauded by the senate, and a decree passed confirming it, and conferring upon *Agrippina* the sublime title of *Augusta*. However, there was no Roman so void of compassion, as not to be affected with the hard lot of the unhappy *Britannicus*, whom *Agrippina*, under colour of tenderness for him, kept locked up in a nursery, tho' now nine years old. By degrees she removed from him his former attendants, and even caused some of them to be put to death; among the rest his preceptor *Sossius*, putting in their room persons who were intirely at her devotion. She would never allow him to appear abroad, nor even to wait upon his father, giving out, that he was disordered in his senses, and troubled with the falling-sickness. Not long after the adoption of *Nero*, *Britannicus* having saluted him, as he was used to do before, by the name of *Abenobarbus*, *Nero* resented it to such a degree, that he endeavoured to persuade the emperor, that he was a supposititious child. This year *Agrippina*, to display her power at *Rome* in foreign countries, procured a colony of veterans to be sent to the capital of the *Ubii*, a town in which she had been born, and which she called by her own name *Colonia Agrippinensis*. This city is now known by the name of *Cologne*. About the same time the *Catti*, of whom we have had frequent occasion to speak in the reign of *Tiberius*, made incursions into the *Roman* territories; but were repulsed with great slaughter by *Pomponius Secundus*, commander of the legions in *Upper Germany*, who, on that occasion, released from bondage some *Romans* who had continued in it ever since the massacre of *Varus* and his legions. His vigilance and gallant conduct seemed to the senate worthy of triumphal ornaments, which were decreed him accordingly; but he did not derive so much glory from them, as from his elegant poems, which are greatly cried up by the best judges of antiquity. It was at this time too, that *Vannius*, whom *Drusus* the son of *Tiberius* had thirty years before created king of the *Suevians*, was driven out by the *Hermundurians* and *Ligians*. *Claudius*, tho' he had declined engaging in a quarrel among the barbarians, yet granted a safe refuge to the deposed king, and lands in *Pannonia* both to him and his followers. *Vangio* and *Sido*, his own sister's sons, parted his kingdom between them, and ever continued faithful to the *Romans*.

THE following year, *Claudius* being the fifth time consul with *Servius Cornelius Orfitus* (T), *Nero*, tho' not yet fourteen, was presented with the manly robe, which qualified him for honours and employments. At the same time, the senate, with the concurrence of *Claudius* decreed, that in his twentieth year he should discharge the consulship, and in the mean time, as consul designed, be invested with proconsular authority out of *Rome*, and be styled prince of the *Roman* youth. *Claudius* moreover bestowed, in *Nero's* name, a largess upon the soldiery, and another upon the people; and to draw the eyes and affections of the people upon him, made him appear at the circensian games, which were then solemnized, in a triumphal robe, the mark and ornament of the imperial state, while *Britannicus* was carried about in his prætexta, the usual habit of children. Some of the tribunes and centurions could not help pitying the unhappy youth; but they were all, under various pretences, soon removed from the palace; even such of the young prince's freed-men, as were found inviolably attached to his person and interest, were partly discharged, and partly put to death, as if they had inspired their patron with hatred and emulation against *Nero*, which might in the end flame out into war and public ruin. Upon their removal, *Britannicus* was committed to the government of others, chosen by his step-mother. The next step which *Agrippina* took towards the accomplishment of her great design was, the removing of *Lusius Geta* and *Rufus Crispinus* from the command of the prætorian cohorts.

^P TACIT. c. 26. Suet. in Ner. c. 7. Dio, p. 667. ^Q TACIT. c. 28. ^R Idem, c. 29.

(S) *Suetonius* tells us, that, when *Domitius* was born, *Caligula* being desired by his sister *Agrippina* to give the child what name he thought proper, the emperor, fixing his eyes upon *Claudius*, gave him, by way of raillery, his name; which *Agrippina* took much amiss, *Claudius* being at that time the laughing-stock of the court; but now she esteems both herself and her son highly honoured with a name which she then despised (43).

(T) *Claudius* held this his last consulship six months (44). *Onuphrius* adds to his colleague's other names that of *Scipio* (45); and truly the *Orfiti* seem to have been of the family of the *Scipios* (46). *C. Minucius* or *Minicius Fundanus*, and *C. Verbenius Sacerdos*, were substituted in the consulship to *Claudius* and *Orfitus* (47). *Vespasian*, who was afterwards emperor, was consul for the two last months of this year, as we read in *Suetonius* (48).

(43) Suet. in Ner. c. 6. (44) Suet. c. 4. (45) *Onuph. in fast.* (46) *Grut. p. 17.* (47) *Onuph. ibid.* (48) Suet. in Vesp. c. 4.

a cohorts. She imagined them grateful to the memory of *Messalina*, and thence zealously devoted to her children. She therefore alledged to the emperor, that, by the cabals and emulation of two commanders, the guards were rent into factions; whereas by the authority of one, they would be more easily kept to their duty. Hereupon *Claudius*, without any further inquiry, transferred the command of the prætorian bands on *Burrhus Afranius*, whom she recommended, an officer highly esteemed by the soldiery, but well apprised to whom he owed his preferment. And now *Agrippina* began to assume a more haughty deportment than ever; she entered the capitol in a chariot, a distinction granted to none but priests. This, however, heightened the reverence of the people towards one, who was, without example, the daughter of a

Burrhus Afranius appointed commander of the prætorian guards.

b *Cæsar*, the mother of one, sister to the late emperor, and wife to the present. But, in the mean time, her chief companion, *L. Vitellius*, was by a senator, named *Junius Lupus*, accused of high-treason; and *Claudius*, ever timorous, would have hearkened to the charge, had not *Agrippina*, by menaces rather than intreaties, turned his resentment against the accuser, who was banished, *Vitellius* desiring no further punishment. This year, a great famine raged in *Rome*, and the populace, not confining their complaints to houses and corners, gathered in tumultuous crouds round the prince, while he was publicly administering justice, and drove him to the extremity of the forum; insomuch, that with the utmost difficulty he escaped their violence, his guards opening him a way through the outrageous multitude. *Suetonius* tells us, that he was not only reviled with opprobrious language by the enraged populace, but so pelted with crusts of bread, that he narrowly escaped being killed. However, instead of resenting such base treatment, he took such effectual care to have the city supplied with corn, that in less than fifteen days no one had occasion to complain, that winter happening to prove exceeding mild and favourable. That the city might not again be reduced to such distress, he gave all possible encouragement to merchants, granted ample privileges to such as built trading vessels, and took upon himself to make good all the losses they should suffer.

A famine at Rome.

c THIS year, the tenth of *Claudius*'s reign, the proprætor, *P. Ostorius Scapula*, landing in *Britain* (U), was obliged, soon after his arrival, though the season was already far advanced, to take the field against the *Britons*, who broke into the territories of the friends and allies of *Rome* with so much the more violence and confidence, as they supposed that a new general, not yet acquainted with his army, would not in the beginning of winter dare to take the field and make head against them. But *Ostorius*, who was an officer of great experience, being well apprised, that by the first events of war confidence or consternation was raised in an enemy, led forth such cohorts as were next at hand, fell unexpectedly upon the unwary *Britons* with great slaughter, and pursued such as were broken so close as to prevent their rejoining. Then, as he could not depend upon a peace made by constraint, and therefore not sincere, he deprived of their arms those whom he suspected, and by means of several forts on the *Severn* and the two *Avons*, one of which is also called the *Nen*, he endeavoured to restrain the enemy from making any farther inroads into the territories of the *Roman* allies. This the *Iceni*, that is, the inhabitants of the present counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon* could not brook. They were a powerful people, and not weakened by any wars or invasions; for they had of their own accord entered into an alliance with the *Romans*. Being therefore joined by the bordering nations, they soon raised a considerable army, and incamped in a place defended by a ditch, and narrow lanes, not passable by the horse. *Ostorius*, though not yet joined by his legions, resolved to attack them; and accordingly, having drawn up his auxiliaries and dismounted his cavalry, he advanced in good order to attack the enemy's rustic fortifications. The ditch was soon forced, and the *Britons* put in disorder, being hampered and entangled with their own inclosures. However, as they were cooped in on all sides, and no way was left for them to escape, being animated with despair, they performed many feats of bravery. In this battle *M. Ostorius*, the son of the general, acquired the civic crown, by saving the life of a *Roman* citizen.

Farther conquests in Britain.

The Iceni defeated.

(U) *Aulus Plautius* left *Britain*, and returned to *Rome*, according to *Dion Cassius*, in the sixth year of *Claudius*'s reign: whereas *Ostorius* did not arrive in that island, as is evident from *Tacitus*, till three years after. Hence it is plain, that between *Plautius* and *Ostorius* was another governor of this country, whom authors have not mentioned, probably because he performed nothing worthy of notice.

Idem, c. 42.

Idem, c. 43.

Suet. c. 18.

Suet. ibid.

They submit. The *Iceni* being thus overcome, and those unsettled spirits, who had hitherto wavered between peace and war, calmed by their overthrow, *Ostorius*, advanced into the country of the *Cangi*, probably the present counties of *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*, laying waste their territories, and committing general spoil, till he approached the *Irish* sea, when commotions begun among the *Brigantes*, the inhabitants of *Lancashire*, *Yorkshire*, the bishopric of *Durham*, and the counties of *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, drew him back; for the *Brigantes* had submitted to him before, probably by their deputies, after the overthrow of the *Iceni*; and the *Roman* general was determined to prosecute no new enterprize, till his former ones were completed and secure. The chief authors of the disturbance were executed, and the rest pardoned, which put a stop to any farther attempts of the *Brigantes*. But the *Silures*, the inhabitants of *South-Wales*, would hearken to no terms. *Ostorius* therefore resolved to lead his legions against them; but first conveyed a numerous colony of veterans to *Camalodunum*, in order to keep the conquered countries in awe, and inure the *Roman* allies to the laws and jurisdiction of *Rome*. To *Gogidunus*, a *British* king, and a great friend to the *Romans*, certain cities were given, to attach him still more to their interest; for it was a custom, as *Tacitus* observes*, practised in the earliest ages by the *Roman* people, to employ even kings as their instruments in establishing bondage on nations. After these precautions, *Ostorius* marched with all his forces against the *Silures*, a people resolute and fierce by nature, and moreover confiding in the valour and conduct of *Caractacus*, whom many prosperous, and many doubtful, successes had rendered famous, and raised in renown above all the other *British* commanders. As he was better acquainted with the country than the *Romans*, but inferior to them in the number of his troops, he wisely removed the seat of the war into the territories of the *Ordovices*, now *North-Wales*. There he chose a place, against which it was difficult to advance, and from which it was no less difficult to retire; every way incommodious to the *Romans*, and every way favourable to his own men; for it was upon the ridges of exceeding steep mountains, the sides of which, where approachable, he fortified with walls of stone; at the foot of the mountains flowed a river, dangerous to be forded, and the walls, which he had reared, were defended by numerous bodies of his bravest men. The place, as *Camden* conjectures, had thence the name of *Caer Caradoc*, which is a steep hill on the west borders of *Shropshire*, at the foot of which runs the river *Clun*: *Caradoc* in the *British* tongue is supposed to be the same with *Caractacus* in *Latin*. *Ostorius* having drawn hither all his forces, since the *British* commander was resolved to put the whole to the decision of the sword, began to advance in battle-array towards the enemy. At his approach the leaders of the several confederate nations, who had joined *Caractacus*, ran from rank to rank, animating their followers with representations proper to dispel fear, and rouse in their breasts a martial ardor. As for *Caractacus*, he flew through the whole army, proclaiming, where-ever he passed, that from this day, from this battle, they must date their liberty completely recovered, or their slavery eternally established: he put them in mind of the glorious feats of their ancestors, who had driven out *Cæsar* the dictator, and by whose valour they yet lived free from tribute and the *Roman* axes, yet preserved the persons of their wives and children from dishonour. His harangue was answered by loud shouts and acclamations, which were echoed and doubled by the neighbouring woods and mountains. In the end, every one bound himself by the most sacred oath amongst them, never to yield to force or wounds. The resolute alacrity of the enemy startled the *Roman* general, especially when he discovered the river before him, the ramparts raised upon its banks, the steepness of the mountains filled with men hanging almost over their heads, and in short the most dismal and threatening scene of war he had ever beheld. But the soldiers pressed for the attack, crying out, *All difficulties are surmountable by courage*. *Ostorius* therefore, having carefully surveyed the ground, and tried where the river was fordable, and where not, ordered the trumpets to sound, and his legionaries to advance. They gained without much difficulty the opposite bank; but as they approached the rampart, they were galled with incessant showers of darts, which did great execution, till forming themselves into a *testudo*, they demolished the wall, which covered the enemy, and encountered them hand to hand upon ground equal to both. Then the *Britons*, not able to stand the shock of the legions, betook themselves to the ridges of the mountains,

* *TACIT.* in vit. Agr. c. 4.

a tains, where they made a stand against the *Romans*, who pursued them; but as they covered themselves with no armour, and only fought with discharges of arrows, the *Romans* closing with them, easily broke their ranks, put them to flight, and gained a complete victory. The wife and daughter of *Caratacus* were taken prisoners, and his brothers surrendered at discretion. He himself had recourse to the protection of *Cartismandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*; but as all things conspire against the unfortunate, he was by her delivered in bonds to the conquerors, according to *Tacitus* in the ninth, but by a more exact computation in the seventh, year after the commencement of the war in *Britain*; so long had he sustained it; and hence his renown, says *Tacitus*, had reached all the islands, spread over the neighbouring countries, and was celebrated even in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, where all longed to behold the brave commander, who had for so many years defied the arms, and baffled all the attempts, of the *Romans*. He was immediately sent to *Claudius*, who received him in a kind of triumph. As he drew near the city, the people were summoned, as to some solemn spectacle, to see the illustrious captive; as he passed by, the prætorian guards stood under arms in the field before their camp. Before the *British* king marched his servants and followers, carrying the gold chains and military ornaments, which he had taken in the wars with his neighbours; next his brothers, his wife, and daughters; and lastly himself exposed to view. All but he appeared dejected, and descended to supplications unworthy of their rank and character. The king himself, without betraying the least fear, or uttering a word that implored mercy, being brought before the emperor, who was seated on his tribunal, addressed him thus:

"If my moderation in prosperity and success had been equal to my quality and fortune, I should have arrived in this city under another character, that of a friend, and not a captive; nor would you have disdained to receive into terms of alliance a prince, descended from illustrious ancestors, and ruling over so many nations. But different is my present lot, a lot, which reflects no less glory upon you, than disgrace and reproach upon me. I was lately master of men and arms, horses and treasures; and where is the wonder, that I was unwilling to lose them, that I strove to retain them? Though you, *Romans*, aim at extending your dominion over all mankind, it does not thence follow, that all men will readily and voluntarily submit to the yoke. Had I immediately yielded, my misfortune would have been less remarkable, your conquest less renowned: even now, if I am to suffer death, the fame of my resistance and your victory will die with me; but if you preserve my life, I shall be a living monument of your clemency". *Claudius*, compassionating the misfortunes of so brave a man, and admiring the constancy with which he bore them, generously granted to him, to his wife, his daughter, and brothers both their lives and liberty. Being released from their chains, they first paid their duty and acknowledgement to the prince, and next to *Agrippina*, who was seated upon another tribunal close to the emperor's*. We are told, that *Caratacus* being asked, after he had viewed the city of *Rome*, which was then in the height of its beauty and grandeur, what he thought of that stately metropolis? returned the following judicious answer: *I am amazed, that men, who have such magnificent habitations of their own, should leave them, and come so far to bereave us Britons of our poor cottages*†. In the senate many pompous encomiums were pronounced upon the taking of *Caratacus*, some of the senators extolling it as an event no less illustrious, than the taking of *Syphax* by *P. Scipio*, or of *Perfes* by *Lucius Paulus*. To *Ostorius*, who continued in *Britain*, triumphal ornaments were decreed.

Thus far the administration of *Ostorius* had proved successful; but now his fortune began to change; whether it was, that upon the captivity of *Caratacus* the *Romans* thought the war concluded, and thence grew less vigilant, or that the *Britons* enraged, rather than disheartened, at the loss of their king, strove more vehemently to revenge it. However that be, the *Silures* fell by surprise upon the præfect of the camp and some legionary cohorts, whom *Ostorius* had left to rear forts in their country; and would have cut them all in pieces, had they not received timely assistance from the neighbouring garisons: as it was, the præfect himself, eight centurions, and a great number of the most resolute soldiers were slain. Soon after they routed the *Roman* foragers and the troops sent to support them. Hereupon *Ostorius* dispatched to their relief some cohorts lightly armed; but they not being able to put a stop to the flight, the

But is defeated.

And delivered up to the Romans by the queen of the Brigantes, and sent to Rome.

His speech to Claudius

Who grants him his life and liberty.

Some advantages gained by the Silures.

* *TACIT. ibid. c. 36, 37.*† *ZONAR. p. 86.*

the legions were drawn out. Their arrival encouraged the fugitives; the fight was renewed, and the success, after having been long doubtful, proved in the end favourable to the *Romans*; the enemy fled, but, as night approached, with small loss. Thenceforward scarce a day passed without some encounter or skirmish, sometimes in the woods, sometimes in the marshes; at times by command of their officers, and often without their knowledge, as design or chance gave them an opportunity. What most exasperated the *Silures* was, a saying of the *Roman* general current among them, that their name must be utterly extinguished, as was that of the *Sicambri*, who had been partly cut off, and partly transplanted into *Gaul*. Being thus animated, they surprised and carried off two auxiliary cohorts, as they were without due circumspection pillaging the country, to satiate the avarice of their commanders. The spoil and captives they distributed among the neighbouring nations; with a view to draw them too into the revolt. In the mean time, *Ostorius*, sinking under the weight of his cares and anxieties, ended his days to the great joy of the enemy; that so renowned a commander had perished in the war. *Claudius* was no sooner apprised of the death of his lieutenant, than he appointed *Aulus Didius Gallus* to succeed him; who, notwithstanding his expeditious arrival, found affairs in a much worse condition than they had been at the death of *Ostorius*. For the *Silures*, finding the *Romans* destitute of a general, had attacked and defeated a legion commanded by *Manlius Valens*, a disaster magnified both by the enemy and the new general; by the enemy, to terrify and discourage him; by *Didius*, to gain the greater glory, if he put an end to the war, or to have the juster excuse, if it continued. In the mean time, the *Silures* made frequent and wide incursions into the territories of the *Roman* allies, committing everywhere dreadful devastations, till *Didius*, taking the field, set upon them, repulsed them, and restrained them within more narrow bounds.

Ostorius dies.

Other advantages gained by the Silures.

The queen of the Brigantes driven out in spite of the Romans.

NEXT to *Caracellacus* in merit and valour was *Venutius*, or *Venusius*, once long faithful to the *Romans*, and protected by them, during his marriage with *Cartismandua*, queen of the *Brigantes*. That princess was amply rewarded by the *Romans*, and in high favour with them, for having seized and delivered up into their hands king *Caracellacus*. Wherefore, presuming upon their protection, she wantonly deserted her husband *Venutius*, and married his armour-bearer *Vellocatus*, on whom with her person she conferred her crown. This action, generally abhorred by the *Britons*, occasioned great disturbances in the state, and kindled a civil war among the *Brigantes*. The queen, by craft and subtil stratagems, got the brother and other relations of *Venutius* into her power. But *Venutius*, on the other hand, being supported by the *Brigantes* themselves, who were offended at their queen's reproachful conduct and scorned to be governed by a woman, and receiving powerful succours from the neighbouring nations, reduced the unfaithful princess to the utmost distress. She then had recourse to her fast friends the *Romans*, who immediately dispatched some cohorts and squadrons to her aid. Hereupon a bloody battle ensued, which was long doubtful; but in the end proved successful to the *Romans*, who rescued the queen from impending danger. *Venutius*, however, maintained himself in the kingdom, in spite of the utmost efforts of the *Roman* general. Many battles were fought with doubtful success, and no great advantages gained on either side. At length *Didius*, who was stricken in years, and already satiated with a long train of honours, gave over all thoughts of restoring the queen, and contented himself with acting only defensively, and restraining the enemy by his lieutenants. In this posture continued affairs here till the seventh year of *Nero's* reign, *Didius* and his successor *Veranius* thinking it sufficient just to maintain what acquisitions their predecessors had made, or only to raise some forts further in the island, and very few they were, purely for the name and reputation of having enlarged their government. *Veranius* indeed died in less than a year, and was succeeded by *Suetonius Paulinus*, whose feats in this island we shall relate in the reign of *Nero*; when the order of time will oblige us to resume the detail, which it now causes us to interrupt.

A decree against women who married slaves.

THE following year, *Faustus Sylla* and *Salvius Otho Titianus* being consuls, the senate passed a rigorous decree for expelling the astrologers out of *Italy*, which, however, was never put in execution. Another decree issued against women of rank, who married slaves, ordaining, that she, who thus debased herself, without the consent of the master of the slave, should herself be reduced to a state of slavery; but

^a TACIT. c. 38, 39.

^a TACIT. *ibid.* c. 40. vit. Agr. c. 14. Hist. l. iii. c. 45.

a but where he consented, he should be held for a slave manumitted. *Claudius* declared in the senate, that *Pallas* was the deviser of this scheme; whereupon *Bareas Soranus*, consul elect, moved, that he might be rewarded with the ornaments of prætor, and a present of about a hundred thousand pounds of our money. *Cornelius Scipio* added, that public thanks should be returned him for deigning, though descended from the ancient kings of *Arcadia*, to be reckoned among the emperor's ministers, and postponing this his ancient nobility to the service of the state. The haughty slave accepted the ornaments of the prætorship, and also the privilege of wearing a gold ring; but despised the present, and prevailed with *Claudius* to acquaint the senate in his name, that he was satisfied with the honours, and chose to live still in his ancient poverty. Hereupon a decree passed, was engraven in brass, and publicly hung up, in which a manumitted slave, lately redeemed from the infamy of whips and fetters, but now worth near seven millions, was extolled for observing the venerable parsimony of the primitive ages. This in truth was a compliment, as *Pliny* the younger observes, made to a slave by a body of slaves. Thus was dignity debased, infamy exalted, the awful authority of the senate prostituted, and the ornaments of magistracy ignominiously defiled. It was not enough for the once great and venerable Roman senate to heap honours upon the emperor; they must likewise court, adore, and exalt his slaves and freedmen, creatures brought from the chain and oar, insects naturally doomed to the vilest offices of the kitchen, stable, and privies. This year *Claudius* finished at an immense charge the aqueduct, which *Caligula* had begun fourteen years before, and consecrated it, to use the expression of the ancient writers, on the first of *August*, his birth day. It was a work of extraordinary magnificence, as appears from its stately ruins, which are still to be seen with an inscription, in which *Claudius* is styled emperor the twenty-seventh time. Four hundred and sixty persons were appointed to keep it in repair, and large salaries assigned them out of the public treasury. The same year the great canal being finished, which was designed for the draining of the lake *Fucinus*, and had kept thirty thousand men constantly employed for eleven years together, being at length finished, before the waters were let out, *Claudius* exhibited a naval fight, in which nineteen thousand condemned criminals engaged on board an hundred large gallies, representing the *Sicilian* and *Rhodian* fleets. The lake was surrounded with an inclosure of huge rafts to obstruct all means of flight or escape. Upon the rafts stood the emperor's guards; the lake was covered with gallies; the shore, the adjacent hills, and the tops of the mountains, were crowded with a mighty multitude; many from the neighbouring towns, others from *Rome* itself, either from a passion to behold the spectacle, or in compliment to the prince: the whole represented a vast theatre, and that greater numbers of spectators might be the better accommodated, a mountain between the lake and the river *Liris* was levelled. The emperor presided in a coat of mail, and with him *Agrippina* in a mantle of cloth of gold. When the two fleets were drawn up and ready to engage, a *Triton* of silver, springing by an ingenious contrivance out of the midst of the lake, sounded the charge, and the combat began, which, though between malefactors, was fought with all the courage and gallantry of brave soldiers; so that after a most obstinate contest, after many wounds and much blood, *Claudius* granted such of them as remained, their lives, and redeemed them from slaughter (W). When the shew was over, the earth between the lake and the canal was removed; but the canal was found not to be sunk sufficiently low to receive the water in the centre of the lake. Its bed therefore was dug deeper; and when this work was ended, which happened this year, to draw the multitude once more together, a shew of gladiators was exhibited upon bridges laid over it. After the shew, the emperor made a great banquet just at the fall from the lake; but the water, breaking out unexpectedly with incredible violence, bore down with it whatever was near it, and shook

The ornaments of the prætorship decreed to *Pallas*.

The debasement of the senate.

A combat exhibited on the lake *Fucinus*.

A combat of gladiators on the canal.

PLIN. l. viii. ep. 6.

(W) *Suetonius* tells us, that the combatants, when upon the point of engaging, cried out to *Claudius* Farewell, good emperor; we, who are going to die, salute you: the emperor returned the compliment, bidding them farewell too; which words they construed as if he had excused them from the combat,

and therefore refused to engage, standing still, till *Claudius*, transported with rage, leapt down from his seat, and running in a most unbecoming manner about the banks of the lake, threatened to destroy them with fire and sword, if they did not immediately engage (48).

(48) *Suet.* c. 21.

The underta-
king unsucce-
ssful.

shook the ground to a great distance and by its impetuosity and roaring, terrified and dismayed *Claudius*, his guests, and the spectators, who all betook themselves to flight, and narrowly escaped being carried away with the stream. *Agrippina*, taking advantage of the emperor's fright, charged *Narcissus*, the director of the work, with avarice, as if he had not laid out, but imbezzled the vast treasures allotted for it: on the other hand, *Narcissus* did not spare *Agrippina*, but reproached her with aspiring and boundless views^c. *Dion Cassius* writes, that *Narcissus* let out the waters on purpose to cover another fault, which the desire of saving for his own use the immense sums allowed him for the work, prompted him to commit^d; but what fault that was, he does not tell us: we only learn from *Tacitus*, that when the water was discharged, the negligence of the workmen and the insufficiency of the work manifestly appeared. *Suetonius* seems to insinuate, that *Claudius* accomplished this vast undertaking, and drained the lake. *Pliny* likewise reckons the draining of the lake *Fucinus* amongst the most remarkable works of *Claudius*; but it was neglected, says he, thro' envy, by his successor *Nero*. On the other hand, *Dion Cassius* calls the immense sums, laid out on this stupendous work, useless expences; and *Seneca* writes, that the lake *Fucinus* was in his time still full, though the workmen had in *Claudius*'s time with immense labour finished the canal, which if *Suetonius* is to be credited, they hewed through a rocky mountain for three miles together^e. *Spartianus* says, that *Adrian* drained this lake^f. However, it is still to be seen in the *Farther Abruzzo*, and is known by the name of the lake of *Celano*. Towards the end of the year the *Bitbynians* sent deputies to *Rome* to accuse *Junius Cilo*, their governor, of extortion. He had indeed oppressed them in a most cruel and barbarous manner; but the emperor, when they were admitted to his presence, not well understanding what they said, desired *Narcissus*, when they withdrew, to acquaint him with the end of their embassy. They are come, answered frankly *Narcissus*, to return you thanks for your kindness, in appointing over them a man of such integrity, moderation, and disinterestedness, as *Cilo*. Hereupon *Claudius* relying intirely upon the faith of his freedman, commanded, that *Cilo*, since he had given such satisfaction, should be continued in his government two years longer, during which time he completed the ruin of that unhappy people^h: a remarkable instance this of the prince's weakness, and the impudent boldness of his freedmen!

The weakness
of the prince
abused by his
freedmen.

Nero marries
Octavia.

THE following consuls were *Decimus Junius Silanus Torquatus*, and *Q. Haterius Antoninus*, during whose administration, *Nero*, who had entered the sixteenth year of his age on the fifteenth of *December*, married *Octavia* the daughter of *Claudius*, to whom he had been contracted three years before. Soon after, to acquire the glory of eloquence, he undertook the cause of the *Ilians*, and obtained for them, as the ancestors of the *Romans*, an intire immunity from all taxes and tributes whatsoever. He likewise made an oration in favour of the *Rhodians*, and prevailed with *Claudius* to restore them to their ancient liberty, which had been often taken from them, and often re-established: a third oration he pronounced in favour of the inhabitants of *Bononia*, a *Roman* colony, which had been utterly consumed by fire; and they were at his suit relieved with a large bountyⁱ. The two first orations he uttered in *Greek*, and the third in *Latin*. At the same time the inhabitants of *Apamea*, *Byzantium*, and *Coos*, having recourse to the young prince, obtained by his mediation signal favours; the *Coans* a general immunity from impositions (X), and the inhabitants of *Apamea* and *Byzantium*, a discharge from all tribute for the space of five years, the latter

Several fa-
vours granted
at his suit.

^c TACIT. c. 57. SUET. c. 21, 32. ^d Dio, in excerpt. Val. p. 678. ^e TACIT. ibid. ^f SUET. c. 20. PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 15. ^g SPART. in Adr. p. 11. ^h Dio, p. 687. ⁱ TACIT. c. 48. SUET. in Ner. c. 7.

(X) When *Claudius* proposed in the senate a general immunity from all manner of taxes and tributes in behalf of the *Coans*, he made a long descant upon their antiquity; how the *Argives*, or at least *Ceus* the father of *Latona*, first cultivated that island; how *Æsculapius* arrived thither soon after, and with him the art of medicine, an art which had long flourished amongst his descendants, whose names he rehearsed, and marked the several ages, in which they lived. He added, that *Xenophon*, his own physician, was descended from the same family; and that at his request an intire discharge for ever from all tributes ought to be granted to his countrymen, that they might attend only the cultivation of an island sacred to that deity. *Tacitus* observes, that he might have alledged many good offices of theirs towards the *Roman* people, nay, and victories gained by their aid; but had not judgment enough to colour under some public consideration his personal partiality to his physician (49). We shall soon see what return *Xenophon* made him for his kindness.

latter having suffered much by the late wars of *Thrace* and *Bosphorus*, of which we have spoken in the histories of those kingdoms; and the former by an earthquake. All this thro' the policy of *Agrippina*, to gain for her son the reputation of a compassionate and humane prince. On the contrary, she pushed *Claudius* upon all the most detested measures of cruelty. As she was desirous of possessing the fine gardens of *Statilius Taurus*, a senator of great distinction, who had been proconsul of *Africa*, she suborned *Tarquitius Priscus*, formerly his lieutenant, to charge him with having consulted the magicians concerning the term of the emperor's life. *Taurus*, finding *Agrippina* bent upon his destruction, laid violent hands on himself. The senate were to such a degree grieved for the loss of so worthy a citizen, and provoked against the accuser, that exerting themselves on this occasion, they expelled him the senate in spite of the protection and intrigues of *Agrippina*. *Suetonius* pretends, that *Taurus*, entering into a conspiracy with *Gallus Asinius*, corrupted several of the emperor's freedmen and domestics with a design to make an insurrection, whereas *Tacitus*, whom we have followed, tells us, he was prosecuted merely on account of his fine gardens, which upon his death *Agrippina* seized, as *Messalina* had done those of *Valerius Asiaticus*. *Claudius* had often declared, that the same force should be allowed to the decisions of his procurators, or receivers, as to his own; and now to shew that this was no declaration at random, he caused it to be confirmed and established by a decree of the senate. These receivers of the emperors were their stewards, persons intrusted with their domestic concerns, for the most part franchised slaves; and nevertheless to such sons of earth the weak prince, intirely controuled by them, was not ashamed to assert by a solemn decree of the senate, a power equal to his own, and to that of the laws. At the same time he conferred universal jurisdiction upon the equestrian order, the same jurisdiction, for which so many seditions had been formerly raised, and so much blood shed! *Augustus* had ordained, that the knights, who governed *Egypt*, should act judicially; soon after their jurisdiction was extended to other provinces; and even in *Rome* itself many things formerly determined by the prætors, were referred to the tribunal of the knights. *Claudius* now invested them with the same unbounded jurisdiction, which had been hitherto enjoyed by the senatorial order, and was looked upon by them as their peculiar prerogative.

Statilius Taurus accused, lays violent hands on himself.

Claudius equals the power of his freedmen to his own.

An unlimited jurisdiction granted to the knights.

Is apprised of the wickedness of Agrippina.

THE following year, *M. Asinius Marcellus* and *M. Acilius Aviola* being consuls, a change of affairs was portended, if the ancients are to be credited, by many prodigies (Y). But *Agrippina* was not so much alarmed by them, as by a saying of *Claudius*, uttered heedlessly in his wine; *That it was his fate to bear the iniquities of his wives for some time, and at last to punish them*. About the same time, having condemned a woman for adultery, he answered one of his freedmen, who applauded the justice of his sentence, *It is my lot to be unfortunate in my marriages, and to punish adulteries*; which plainly shewed, that he was not unapprised of the intrigues and amours of his wife. He likewise betrayed evident tokens of his repenting his marriage with *Agrippina*, and the adoption of *Nero*; for his son *Britannicus* presenting himself to him, he embraced him with more than ordinary kindness, bidding him grow up, for he would give him an account of his whole conduct; adding in *Greek*, *It is love that prompts me*; he declared at the same time his intention of giving him soon the manly robe, *That the people of Rome*, said he, *may have at last a true Cæsar*. As the emperor let no word drop, which was not immediately carried to *Agrippina*, she resolved to be before-hand with him; but first to destroy by his means *Domitia Lepida*, who gave her no small umbrage. She was daughter to *Antonia* the younger, great niece to *Augustus*,

^m TACIT. c. 58.

ⁿ Idem, c. 59.

^o SUET. c. 13.

^p TACIT. c. 50.

^q Idem,

c. 64. SUET. c. 43.

(Y) The ensigns of the soldiers and their tents were scorched with fire from heaven; a swarm of bees settled upon the summit of the capitol; children were born of different forms; a pig was farrowed with the talons of a hawk (50). A blazing star appeared; the monument of his father *Drusus* was struck and split with lightning; the number of every order of magistrates was lessened that year; for one of the quæstors, one of the ædiles, a tribune, a prætor, and a consul, died within a few months.

In his designation of consuls he named none for that dignity beyond the month of *October*, in which he died, as if he had been apprised of his approaching end. The last time he came to the senate, having with great earnestness exhorted his natural and adopted son to live in unity and concord, he recommended them both to the care and protection of the fathers. The last time he administered justice in public, he is said to have told the people from his tribunal, that *his course was ended* (51).

(50) Idem, c. 64.

(51) Idem ibid. & Suet. c. 46.

Domitia Lepida accused and condemned.

Claudius is taken ill.

Is poisoned by the contrivance of Agrippina.

Augustus, cousin-german to *Agrippina* the elder, and sister to *Cneius Domitius*, the present *Agrippina's* former husband; so that she accounted herself no ways inferior to *Agrippina* in nobility, to whom she was equal in beauty, age, and wealth. They were, according to *Tacitus*, both prostitutes in their persons, infamous in their manners, violent in their tempers, and no less rivals in vices, than in the lustre of their families and the advantages of their fortunes. But their chief contention and struggle was, which of them, the aunt, or the mother, should acquire the sway over *Nero*. *Lepida* endeavoured to gain him with caresses and presents, while the imperious *Agrippina* treated him with severity and threats, like one, who was desirous indeed to raise him to the sovereignty, but seemed determined not to allow him to exercise his sovereign authority over her. To get rid of her troublesome rival, she accused *Lepida* of having sought by charms and imprecations to destroy the emperor's wife, and of disturbing the public peace of *Italy* by neglecting to restrain the tumultuous bands of her slaves in *Calabria*. For these imputations she was by the servile senate doomed to die, and executed in spite of the opposition and interest of *Narcissus*, who grew daily more and more distrustful of *Agrippina*, and therefore strove to save *Lepida*. We are told by *Suetonius*, that *Nero* himself was obliged by his mother to appear as a witness against his aunt, though he had a particular kindness and value for her. In the mean time, *Claudius* being taken ill, for the recovery of his health, had recourse to the soft air and wholesome waters of *Sinuessa*; and this occasion was greedily seized by *Agrippina* long since bent upon his destruction, and for that purpose well furnished with wicked agents. She thought it would be safest to procure his death by poison; but she was at a loss what sort to use; if it were powerful and sudden in its operation, her crime might thence be betrayed; if slow and consuming by degrees, there was danger, that *Claudius*, when his end approached, might suspect her, and thence annul the adoption of *Nero*. At length she adjudged a subtle poison the best, such as would disorder his senses, and not suddenly put an end to his life. An experienced artist in such preparations was chosen, by name *Locusta*, a woman who had been lately condemned for poisoning. By her the poison was prepared, and *Halotus*, an eunuch and the emperor's taster (Z), was charged to administer it; which he did accordingly in a dish of mushrooms, of which *Claudius* was a great lover. But whether it was from his natural stupidity, or because he was drunk, he did not seem to feel the virulence of the dose; at the same time a looseness seemed to relieve him, and to defeat the operation and force of the poison. *Agrippina* therefore, terribly dismayed, as one who knew that her own life lay at stake, had recourse to *Xenophon*, the emperor's physician, who being already engaged in her wicked designs, under pretence of assisting *Claudius* in his efforts to vomit, thrust down his throat a feather dipt in most potent poison, which soon put an end to his life (A). Thus died the emperor *Caius Tiberius Claudius Nero*, on the thirteenth of *October*, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years, eight months, and twenty days, reckoning from the day of *Caius's* death. He was a weak prince, almost a change-

* Idem, c. 65. * Suet. in Ner. c. 7. * Tacit. c. 69. Dio, p. 688. * Idem ibid. Dio, p. 689.

(Z) The office of taster, utterly unknown in the times of the republic, was probably established by *Augustus*, as we conjecture from the following epitaph still to be seen at Rome: *Genio. Cæli. Herodian. Prægustator. Divi. Augusti. Idem. Postea. Villicus. In. Hortis. Sallustianis. Decessit. Nonis. Augustis. M. Cocceio. Nerva. C. Vibio. Rufino. Coss. Tiberius* too had his taster, as appears from the following inscription: *Ti. Claudius. Flamma. Clausus. Ti. Aug. Prægustator*. Their example was, no doubt, followed by all the other emperors. This custom obtained among the *Persians*, as we read in *Xenophon* (52), and of them in all likelihood the *Roman* emperors borrowed it.

(A) *Tacitus* tells us, that all the particulars of *Claudius's* death were soon after so thoroughly known, that the writers of those times were able to relate the most minute circumstances of this black deed. But *Suetonius* writes, that though it is agreed on all hands, that he died by poison, yet authors are not

unanimous either as to the place where, or the person by whom it was given. Some, says that writer, tell us, that the eunuch *Halotus*, his taster, poisoned him, while he was banquetting among the priests in the capitol. Others will have it, that in a feast at his own house *Agrippina*, knowing he was a great lover of mushrooms, presented him with one that was poisoned. Neither are the other circumstances of his death better known, continues the same writer; some relate, that he expired soon after he had taken the poison, others, that he continued all night in great agony, and died about break of day. Some affirm, that he fell asleep as soon as he had taken the dose, and was afterwards relieved with vomiting, whereupon the dose was doubled, &c. We have followed *Tacitus*, who seems to have been better acquainted with the circumstances of *Claudius's* death than any other writer, since he relates them without the least doubt or hesitation, as publicly known in his time.

(52) *Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. i.*

a a changeling; had no discernment or passions of his own, but was intirely governed by his wives and freedmen. However, *Tacitus* seems to allow him a share of sense *His character.* at intervals. *Suetonius* reproaches him with cruelty; and tells us; that thirty-five senators; and above three hundred Roman knights, were by his orders put to death. But it is certain, that the prince himself was altogether a stranger to most of these executions; for a centurion bringing him one day word, that, pursuant to his orders, he had executed such a consular; the emperor, with no small surprise, answered, that he had given no such order; but one of his freedmen saying, that the officer had done well in revenging of his own accord injuries offered to the person of the emperor; he acquiesced, and without further inquiry approved of the execution ^w. *Seneca* in the bitter satyr he wrote against him says, among other things, that he no more scrupled the killing of a man, than the killing of a fly ^z. But his hatred to *Claudius*, by whom he had been banished to the island of *Corfica* and kept there for the space of eight years; prompted him to charge the prince with those crimes, which other writers, free from passion and prejudice, lay at the door of his wives and freed-men. He had, according to *Tacitus*, *Dion Cassius*, and *Suetonius*, many good qualities, was an utter enemy to all pride and ostentation, a stranger to revenge, free from the imputation of avarice, a great lover of justice; and when he acted of himself, and was not by fear bereft of his senses, inclined to mercy and compassion. But *Seneca* paints him as a monster, in whom centred all vices, without allowing him one single virtue, one good quality; whence it is but too manifest, that his passion got the better of his philosophy.

WHILE *Claudius* lay dead in his apartment, the senate; the consuls, and pontiffs, were offering vows for his recovery; nay, restoratives were still applied, and every thing else performed, as if they were not without hopes of his recovery, till matters were disposed for securing the empire to *Nero*. With this view *Agrippina*, as soon as the prince expired, personating inconsolable grief, and pretending to seek on all hands some allay to her sorrow, clasped *Britannicus* fast in her arms, styled him the true image of his father, and by various devices kept him in the chamber, and likewise his two sisters, *Octavia* and *Antonia*. At the same time, she posted guards in all the avenues, shut up all the passages, and from time to time gave out; that the prince was recovering. At last, when she had taken all possible precautions to prevent any disturbance, at noon the gates of the palace were unexpectedly thrown open, and *Nero*, accompanied by *Burrhus*, captain of the prætorian guards, walked forth to the cohort which was then upon duty. There, by the command of *Burrhus*, he was received with shouts of joy, and instantly put into a litter. Some indeed hesitated; frequently looking and asking, where was *Britannicus*? but as he was detained in the chamber of the deceased emperor, and no one appeared to propose him, they presently joined the others, and embraced the choice which was offered them. Thus *Nero* was carried to the camp, where, after a speech suitable to the exigency and the promise of a largess equal to that of the late prince, he was saluted emperor. *Agrippina* personates great sorrow. *Procures Nero to be declared emperor.* The declaration of the soldiers was followed and confirmed by the decrees of the senate, which were, without reluctance, accepted by the people both at *Rome* and in the provinces. To *Claudius* was decreed a solemn and pompous funeral, the same as had been ordained for *Augustus*, *Agrippina* emulating the magnificence of her great-grand-mother *Livia Augusta*. His last will, however; though attested by the hands and seals of all the magistrates, was not read in public, lest his preferring there the son of his wife to his own son might be resented by the people ^y.

Nero had scarce been saluted emperor, when the imperious and revengeful *Agrippina* made what haste she could to dispatch *Narcissus*, who had spoken reproachfully of her, and betrayed no small affection for *Britannicus*. She caused him to be immediately arrested; and dragged to prison, where he was, through fear of a more ignominious and cruel death, constrained to lay violent hands on himself, sore against the will of *Nero*. He is said to have been at once profuse and rapacious, to have surpassed in wealth *Cræsus*, the kings of *Persia*, and *Claudius* himself, and at the same time to have excelled all the prodigals of his age. As he bore an absolute sway under *Claudius*, his friendship was courted by foreign kings, cities, and provinces, all striving who should make him the most magnificent presents. We have seen in the course of *Claudius*'s reign, by how many crimes he deserved the doom that overtook him

^w Suet. c. 23.^z Senec. lud. in Claud. p. 478.^y Tacit. c. 69. Suet. c. 44.

him at last. But after all, he was faithful to his master, preserved his life with great care, and was ready, as *Tacitus* informs us, to lay down his own for his service.^a *Agrippina* would never have attempted to poison *Claudius*, if *Dion Cassius* is to be credited; had she not first removed *Narcissus*, by persuading him to try the baths of *Campania* for the recovery of his health. Before he laid violent hands on himself, he consigned to the flames several letters and secret papers against *Agrippina*, which, as the prince's secretary, he had in his custody, that her accusers might not be exposed to the fury of a woman, whose tempestuous spirit, to use his expression, and violent lust of dominion, if not restrained, would soon drown *Rome* in blood.^b *Zonarus* tells us, upon what authority we know not, that *Narcissus* put an end to his life upon the tomb of *Messalina*.^c About the same time, another victim, far more illustrious, was sacrificed, and indeed unknown to *Nero*, by the deadly fraud of *Agrippina*. This was *Junius Silanus*, proconsul of *Asia*, a man of great wealth and equal quality, but of a quiet disposition, and so little inclined to raise any disturbances in the state, that he had, during the late reigns, spent his life in slothful indolence, and even in scorn; in so much, that *Caligula* used to call him *the golden sheep*. However, as upon the death of *Claudius*, it was whispered among the populace, that as *Nero* was scarce out of his childhood, and had by iniquity acquired the empire, such a man as *Silanus* ought to be preferred to him, one of ripe years, of an unblemished character, and, what was then highly esteemed, descended from the *Cæsars*; for he too was the great grandson of *Augustus*; this was enough for *Agrippina* to dispatch him; and accordingly she sent orders, without her son's consent or knowledge, to *P. Celer*, a Roman knight, and to *Helius*, a freedman, both the emperor's receivers in *Asia*, to murder *Silanus*. Her orders were obeyed, and poison was given him at a banquet by the two assassins, so openly, as if they were neither ashamed nor afraid to own the murder. A torrent of slaughters would have followed, had not *Afranius Burrhus* and *Annaeus Seneca* prevented it. These were the young prince's governors, who was now only in the seventeenth year of his age. Though partners in power, yet, by a rare instance, they lived free from all jealousy and emulation, and were of equal weight and authority, though different in their accomplishments. *Burrhus* was his instructor in the military art, and *Seneca* in the precepts of eloquence. In these different offices they assisted and supported each other, the easier to manage between them the dangerous age of the prince, neither of them having any thing in view, any thing at heart, but the service of their illustrious pupil and the welfare of the public. They had both one constant struggle to maintain against the turbulent spirit of *Agrippina*, who, transported with the lust of ruling without controul and supported by *Pallas*, was for sacrificing, even before the obsequies of her husband were performed, to her rage and jealousy, all those who gave her the least umbrage. But *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, unanimously exerting their authority, restrained her blind rage, and kept her within bounds. *Nero* indeed heaped all kinds of honours upon her, and to the tribune, who came to attend him, the first day of his government, for the word, he gave that of *optima mater*, *excellent mother*: the senate too, the first time they assembled, decreed her two lictors, and several other marks of distinction; but the emperor's governors, bearing a greater sway than she over his youthful mind, prevented her from committing such excesses, as she had been guilty of during the late reign.^d

Nero's first care after his accession to the empire was, to perform, with all possible pomp and magnificence, the obsequies of the deceased emperor: he pronounced himself his funeral oration, in which he displayed the antiquity of his lineage, the many consulships, the many triumphs of his ancestors; he likewise touched upon his personal accomplishments, especially his eloquence, and thorough knowledge of the *Greek* tongue; all which was heard with attention and pleasure. But when he began to cry up the wisdom, foresight, and providence of *Claudius*, the whole audience broke into a loud laughter; though the speech was of *Seneca's* composing, and discovered much accuracy and elegance; for he had, says *Tacitus*, a fine genius and a style well adapted to the taste of that time. On this occasion it was observed, that *Nero* was the first *Roman* emperor who stood in need of another man's eloquence; *Cæsar* the dictator stood in rank with the most distinguished orators, and none of his successors wanted eloquence, address, and energy in speaking. But *Nero* having from his early childhood applied himself to graving, painting, singing, and manage-

And Junius
Silanus.

Burrhus and
Seneca the
young prince's
governors.

They restrain
the fury of
Agrippina.

Claudius's fu-
neral praises.

^a *TACIT. c. 65.* ^b *DIO, p. 688.* ^c *Idem ibid.* ^d *ZONAR. p. 187.* *TACIT. annal.*
13. c. 1, 2. *SUST. c. 8. DIO, l. xi. p. 690.*

ing of chariots, was obliged to employ the pen of *Seneca*, where-ever he had occasion to speak in public, or even to write letters concerning affairs of any importance. *Seneca* had one under him, named *Beryllus*, who is styled by *Josephus*^c, *Nero's* preceptor, but was only his *Greek* secretary.

WHEN the obsequies were over, the young prince repaired to the senate, where, after an introduction, in which he acknowledged himself indebted for the empire to the authority of the senate and the concurrence of the soldiery, he declared in what manner he designed to govern; that he claimed not the judgment and decision of affairs; that the whole power and authority should not be confined to a few persons, but every magistrate should have their peculiar jurisdiction; that nothing should be saleable within his walls, nor any access there to informers; that between his family and the republic a just distinction should ever be maintained; that the senate should preserve their ancient jurisdiction; that *Italy* and the provinces belonging to the people should apply only to the consuls, and by them procure access to the fathers; that to himself he reserved what was especially committed to his care, the direction of the armies: he concluded with assuring them, that he designed to govern his people according to the model of the deified *Augustus*. The senate ordered this speech, which was likewise composed by *Seneca*, to be engraved on a plate of silver, and to be annually read in the senate by the new consuls^f. At the same time, they accumulated all kinds of honours upon him, which he accepted, without refusing any, except that of *Father of his country*, in consideration of his youth^e, which, however, he assumed before the second year of his reign expired, as appears from some ancient medals^k. He seemed at first inclined to perform the mighty promises he had made to the senate; for this year he gave innumerable instances of clemency, moderation, and good-nature: to the people he distributed four hundred sesterces a man; to such of the senators as were descended from illustrious families, but reduced to poverty, he allowed annual salaries, to some five hundred thousand sesterces, besides a certain quantity of corn, which he likewise allowed monthly to his guards: many impositions he utterly suppressed, and retrenched others to a fourth: he redressed several disorders; restrained the profuse luxury of feasts and banquets, which had obtained during the late reign, *Claudius* himself being greatly addicted to feasting; with the approbation of the senate he published an edict, forbidding the selling of any thing boiled in public houses, except pulse and greens; he suppressed a kind of sports, in which certain persons, running up and down the city, pretended to have by custom acquired a right of robbing, as it were in jest, all they met, and carrying off whatever they could seizeⁱ. The senate likewise, depending upon the prince's declaration began to exercise their ancient jurisdiction: and made various regulations, among the rest the two following; that no orator or pleader should receive any fee, payment, or present, for defending a cause; and that those, who were designed quæstors, should be no longer obliged to exhibit public shews of gladiators. All this was opposed by *Agrippina* as annulling the acts of *Claudius*; but *Nero* preferred the counsels of *Burrhus* and *Seneca* to those of his mother; and the fathers prevailed. However, out of respect to her, he caused her late husband *Claudius* to be ranked among the gods, with all the solemnity and pomp of priests, altars, and sacrifices: which gave occasion to the pleasantry of *Gallio* the brother of *Seneca*, who hearing of the deification of *Claudius*, could not help saying, that he had been drawn up to heaven with a hook, as the criminals were dragged to the *Tiber*^k. Towards the end of this year, *Nero* bestowed the *Lesser Armenia* on *Aristobulus* the son of *Herod*, king of *Chalcis*; to *Sobemus* he gave, with the ensigns of royalty and title of king, the country of *Sophene*, lying between *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Comagene*, and added some towns of *Galilee* to the territories which *Claudius* had given to *Agrippa*, the son of *Agrippa*, king of *Judea*^l. Before the year expired, ambassadors arrived from *Armenia* to plead before *Nero* a cause of their nation; and while the emperor was hearing them, seated on the imperial throne, *Agrippina* appeared all on a sudden, and was advancing to sit in joint judgment with the prince. The whole assembly was struck with amazement; but no one daring to restrain her, *Seneca* suggested to him, to descend and meet his mother; and thus, under the disguise of filial reverence, that public disgrace was prevented; for the *Romans* thought it highly ignominious, that foreign nations should believe

Claudius deified.

The unbounded ambition of Agrippina.

^c JOSEPH. antiq. l. xx. c. 7.

^f TACIT. c. 3.

SUET. c. 10.

DIO, p. 650.

^g SUET.

c. 8.

^h Vide GOLTZ. p. 44.

ⁱ SUET. c. 16.

^k DIO, p. 688.

^l TACIT. c. 5.

JOSEPH. ibid: l. xx. c. 5.

believe them to be governed by a woman¹. The audience was put off to another day, when *Seneca* and *Burrhus* took effectual care to prevent her disturbing it. As her son was but a youth, and wholly indebted to her for the sovereignty, she claimed an equal share in it with him, and therefore pretended to answer foreign ambassadors jointly with him, to write letters to princes and kings, to dispatch orders to the governors of provinces and commanders of armies; to preside among the Roman eagles, and in short, to be called and acknowledged a partner in the empire, which her ancestors had acquired, and she had conferred on her son. She always accompanied him in the same litter, was attended by the same guards, and at first prevailed upon the young prince to assemble the senate in the palace, that, posted by a door behind a curtain, she might over-hear the debates without being seen². *Seneca* and *Burrhus*, well apprised what dreadful disorders she would raise, if she once got the ascendant over the prince, left no stone unturned to lessen her power; and their attempts were not without success, as we shall find anon. The same year, *Nero* applied to the senate for a statue to his father, and for the consular ornaments to *Asconius Labeo*, who had been his tutor. The senate not only complied with his request, but at the same time decreed statues to himself of solid silver and gold, which he absolutely refused, and checked those who proposed them. The senate likewise decreed, that the year should for the future begin on *December*, the month in which *Nero* was born; but, notwithstanding the ordinance of the senate, he preserved the ancient custom of beginning the year with the first of *January*. Neither would he admit a criminal prosecution against *Corinas Celer*, a senator, upon the accusation of a slave; nor against *Julius Densus*, a Roman knight, who was charged with his devotion to *Britannicus*, as a great crime³.

Nero's modesty.

Nero's first consulship.

Begins to slight the authority of his mother.

He is indulged by his governors in his passion for Acte.

THE following year, *Nero*, who was, by a decree of the senate, to exercise the consulship in the twentieth year of his age, tho' he was now but in his eighteenth, took possession of that dignity, agreeable to the custom of other emperors, who never failed to assume the fasces the year after their accession to the empire. He chose for his colleague *L. Antistius Vetus*; but would not suffer him to swear, as was usual, upon his acts, an action mightily cried up by the fathers, with a design to animate his youthful mind to the pursuit of glory resulting from things of greater moment. At the same time, he gave a signal instance of his mercy towards *Plautius Lateranus*, whom, formerly degraded from the order of senator for adultery with *Messalina*, he now restored to his ancient rank. *Tacitus* observes, that he made great professions of clemency in the frequent speeches, which *Seneca*, the composer, uttered in public by his mouth, either to manifest what good counsels he gave him, or to display his own wit⁴. After two months he resigned the fasces; but to whom we are no-where told. This year, *Nero* first began to slight the authority of his mother, which was no-ways displeasing to *Seneca* and *Burrhus*, who dreaded her violent spirit, and expected to see the calamities of the late reign renewed, if she came to bear the chief sway in the administration. The young prince conceived a violent passion for a franchised slave, by name *Acte*, and at the same time assumed as confidants in his amour *Otho* and *Claudius Senecio*; the first of a consular family, the same who arrived afterwards at the empire, and the other the son of one of the emperor's freedmen. They were both youths of graceful persons, but utterly abandoned to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, and on that score admitted by *Nero* to an intire intimacy. *Seneca* and *Burrhus* were soon informed of their pupil's intrigue; but, upon mature deliberation thought it adviseable not to thwart him in his amour, since with a woman of low condition, to the injury of no man, the prince satisfied his youthful inclinations; whereas, if he were restrained from that gallantry, there was room to dread that he would outrageously insult women of the greatest distinction; for he had already conceived an utter aversion to his wife *Oetavia*, however illustrious in her birth, however celebrated for her virtue. Thus reasoned *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, men, without all doubt, of great penetration, experience, and discernment⁵. But *Dion Cassius* ascribes to their unseasonable condescension and indulgence the many horrible excesses, which will render the name of *Nero* execrable to the latest posterity. Crimes, says that judicious writer, are linked together, and a passion, when once let loose, is scarce ever again restrained within due bounds. The prince's governors meant well; but the prince, finding they did not check the first sallies of his passion, took by degrees greater

¹ TACIT. *ibid.*

² Idem *ibid.*

³ Idem, c. *xx.*

⁴ Idem *ibid.*

⁵ TACIT. c. *12.*

a greater liberties, and at length, impatient of all controul, gave a loose to his irregular appetites. Thus *Dion Cassius* ^r. But, however that be, *Agrippina* could not dissemble the irregular conduct of her son, not from any motive of virtue; as will soon appear, but because she dreaded the extravagant power of a concubine. She left no stone unturned to check his growing passion; she filled the city with the angry invectives of an incensed woman; complained, fretted, and stormed; that a manumitted slave was become her rival; a hand-maid her daughter-in-law. But the fouler her reproaches were; the more they fired his passion; so that, being at length overcome by its force, he shook off all respect to his mother, and threw himself; without reserve; into the arms of *Seneca*, with whom he knew *Annaeus Serenus* (B) lived in close confidence; one who had hitherto cloaked the prince's passion for *Acte*, by pretending to be in love with her himself, and had openly presented to her in his own name whatever *Nero* in secret bestowed upon her. *Agrippina* was no sooner apprised of this, than she changed her arts and address; attempting to regain the confidence of her son by soft and alluring speeches; she even offered him her own chamber, that there, and, if he pleased, within her own arms; he might more privately indulge his passion, a passion pardonable in one of his youthful years and sovereign fortune. She even acknowledged her unseasonable severity, and made him a tender of all her wealth, which was not much short of the imperial treasures. Thus from being over-strict in checking her son, she became all at once beyond all measure submissive and fawning. This sudden change deceived not *Nero*; and his intimate friends, dreading it, besought him to be upon his guard against the snares of an implacable and deceitful woman ^r.

But checked by
his mother.

Who endeavours
afterwards to be-
mour him.

It happened about this time, that as *Nero* was surveying the rich ornaments, in which the emperors wives and mothers used to appear on solemn days, he chose out the most pompous and stately, and sent them as presents to his mother. This the young prince did to convince her, that though he would not be controuled by her, yet he bore her no rancour or ill-will; but *Agrippina*, transported with rage, uttered bitter complaints against her son, who, she said, by sending her such trifles, did not so much intend to make her a present, as to exclude her from all the rest, and to divide with her what he had wholly received from her. These words, as slanderers and tale-bearers are never wanting in courts, were immediately carried to *Nero* with aggravations; who thereupon provoked with *Pallas*, by whom chiefly *Agrippina* was upheld in her ambitious designs; dismissed him from his employment, the management of the finances, which he had received from *Claudius*, and in which he had acted more like the sovereign director of the empire, than a minister. We are told, that as he left the palace, attended by a great throng of followers, *Nero* said, not unpleasantly, *Pallas is going to abdicate the sovereignty*. The emperor, however, assured him upon his word, that he should not be questioned for his past behaviour, and that as to his accounts, the public should have no more demands upon him, than he upon the public. Thus *Pallas* forfeited his power, but preserved immense wealth, amounting to seven millions of our money, to the hour of his death, which happened in the eighth year of *Nero's* reign, as we shall relate in its proper place. The disgrace of *Pallas* provoked *Agrippina* to such a degree, that, not able to refrain her rage, she abandoned herself to it without controul, uttering dreadful threats and curses even in the emperor's hearing. *Britannicus*, said she, is now grown up, the true and worthy son of *Claudius*; he is now fit to assume the empire of his father, an empire, which one, who is a son only by adoption, holds to the prejudice of the lawful heir, and exerts his ill-acquired power chiefly by abusing and insulting his mother: she threatened to lay open to the world all her infamous practices, all the steps she had taken to secure the empire to the ungrateful monster her son, the surreptitious adoption, her own guilt in poisoning her husband, the crying calamities she had brought upon her own family, the unhappy house of *Germanicus*, &c. She added, that only one comfort

A new motive
of misunder-
standing be-
tween *Nero*
and *Agrip-
pina*.

Pallas dis-
missed.

His disgrace
highly resent-
ed by *Agrip-
pina*.

^r *DIO*, in excerpt. Val. p. 681.

^r *TACIT.* c. 13.

(B) He was commander of the city guards, and generally esteemed, notwithstanding his thus cloaking *Nero's* passion for *Acte*. To him *Seneca* inscribed his book *de tranquillitate*, and was to such a degree grieved for the loss of so dear and worthy

a friend, as he himself owns in one of his letters (38), that he deserved to be ranked among those who had suffered themselves to be overcome by an unmanly grief.

Nero endeavours to expose Britannicus to ridicule.

Resolves upon his destruction.

Britannicus poisoned.

fort by the providence of the gods remained to her, that her step-son was yet alive ; with him she would repair to the camp, and there leave it to the decision of the soldiery, whether the prating pedagogue *Seneca* and the maimed *Burrhus*, or the son of the deified *Claudius* and the daughter of the renowned *Germanicus*, should have the sovereign rule of mankind. At the same time, she shook her fist at the emperor himself, tossed her hands, uttered all manner of reproaches, curses, imprecations ; devoted the monster, so she called her son, and his governors to the infernal furies ; invoked the manes of her husband *Claudius*, of the *Silani*, and many others, whom she had murdered to no purpose. This alarmed *Nero*, and as *Britannicus* the next day ended the fourteenth year of his age, when he was to take the manly robe, the emperor began seriously to reflect with himself, now on the violent temper of his mother, then upon the promising genius of the youth, of which he had given in the late feasts of *Saturn* a glaring proof, and gained by it the favour and esteem of all. Besides many other innocent diversions practised on that occasion by the *Roman* youth of the like age and condition, it was an ancient custom among them to chuse a king, whose commands, whatever they were, the whole company was bound to obey. The king was chosen by lot, and in the palace, where the emperor, who was himself but a youth, *Britannicus*, and other children of the first quality, diverted themselves with this pastime, the lot fell upon *Nero*, who thereupon gave to all the rest different commands, yet such as exposed them to no ridicule ; but that to *Britannicus* was to stand up in the middle of the company, and there sing a song. He hoped the boy, unaccustomed as he was to company, and quite ignorant how to behave himself in public, would become an object of laughter. But *Britannicus*, to the great surprise of all, with a becoming modesty, and an undisturbed address, though the eyes of the whole court were upon him, raised his voice, and sung a few verses, importing, that he was bereft of his natural inheritance, and unjustly deprived of the authority to which he was born. The modest and comely aspect of the youth, the deep concern which he betrayed in every note, and the reflections which all, who were present, made within themselves, drew sighs and tears from the whole company. *Nero*, struck with the address of the youth, but more with the verses he sung, immediately withdrew, as did all the rest in silence, to give free vent to their grief in private, and let their tears flow unrestrained. From that time *Nero* conceived an irreconcilable hatred to the innocent youth, and being now alarmed at the threats of his mother, he resolved to rid himself of one, whom he no longer looked upon as a brother, but as a competitor. But not daring openly to command the execution of a person of his rank, whom he could reproach with no crime, he ordered poison to be privately prepared, employing as his agent *Julius Pollio*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, in whose custody was kept under condemnation for poisoning the famous *Locusta*, who had administered poison to *Claudius*. As for those who were about the person of *Britannicus*, *Agrippina* had long since taken care, that they should be such as had no sense of honour or honesty. The dose was therefore hastily prepared by *Locusta*, and administered to the young prince by the hands of his governors ; but whether it was not powerful enough in itself, or, to prevent a discovery by its sudden operation, it had been qualified, it was without effect, being voided by a looseness. Hereupon *Nero* threatened the tribune with immediate death, and would have ordered *Locusta* to be executed, pursuant to her former sentence, for preferring her own safety to the security of the prince, had she not undertaken to prepare a dose, which, she engaged, should dispatch him as suddenly as a dagger. Accordingly the deadly potion, compounded of several poisons, all of experienced energy and quickness, was prepared in a chamber next to the emperor's, and in his presence. The opportunity to give it him was taken while he was dining with the emperor ; but at a separate table, and more sparingly served, as it was the manner of the children of the reigning family, who were never admitted to the emperor's table, but took their meals apart with other young noblemen, not in a lying, but sitting, posture. Whatever the princes of the imperial family eat or drank, was first tried by a special officer of theirs, a taster. To the end therefore, that neither this custom might be omitted, nor the iniquity be discovered, by the death of both, the matter was thus concerted. To *Britannicus* drink was presented without poison, and tried by the taster, but scalding hot, and for that reason returned. It was then tempered with cold water, into which poison had been poured before-hand, of such force and quickness in its operation, that *Britannicus* had scarce drunk it when he fell to the ground, bereft at once of speech and life. Fear and trembling

a trembling seized his companions; some instantly made off, but others, who comprehended the mystery, remained with their eyes fixed stedfastly upon *Nero*, who with the air of one utterly ignorant, declared, that it was only an usual fit of the falling sickness, to which *Britannicus* had been subject from his early childhood, and that by degrees his sight and understanding would return. *Agrippina* and the young prince's sister *Octavia* were both present, but strove to conceal their grief and surprise; wherein *Octavia* indeed topped her part, having learnt, however raw in years, artfully to dissemble every symptom of grief and tenderness, and every other affection of her soul. But *Agrippina*, sensible that her last refuge was snatched from her, could not help betraying manifest tokens of dread and consternation. However, with disguised looks, she endeavoured to smother her concern; so that after a short silence the gaiety of the entertainment was resumed. ^b *Suetonius* tells us, that *Titus*, afterwards emperor, being among the other young noblemen at table with *Britannicus*; when he drank the baneful potion, tasted it, but recovered after a lingering and dangerous illness. This is no-ways consistent, as every reader must perceive, with the detail, which *Tacitus*, of all the antient writers the most accurate, gives us of that remarkable incident.

UPON one and the same day were seen the untimely fate of *Britannicus* and his funeral pile, to which his corpse was conveyed in the evening, all things belonging to his funeral having been prepared beforehand. His remains were reposed in the field of *Mars* without any pomp, solemnity, or even a funeral oration; though he was the last branch of the *Claudian* family, which had subsisted in great splendor, and upon its own stock, without adoptions, ever since the time of *Romulus*, that is, for the space of eight hundred and three years. During the funeral a violent and tempestuous shower of rain fell, which the populace looked upon as a declaration of the wrath of the gods for such a crying iniquity, while others, reflecting on the eternal dissensions of rival brothers; and the unfociable genius of sovereignty, called it a pardonable crime. ^w *Nero* by an edict justified the hasty dispatch of the obsequies, complained, that in *Britannicus* he had lost the support of a brother; and exhorted the fathers to cherish with the greater tenderness a prince, who alone survived of a family, born to sustain the sovereign power. He then distributed the possessions of *Britannicus*, his palaces in *Rome*, his manors and villas throughout *Italy*, like spoils taken in war, among the chief persons of his court, to purchase by such donations their approbation, or at least their silence. *Tacitus* tells us, that some were severely censured for sharing in these distributions, notwithstanding the severity and uprightness they professed. He means, no doubt, *Burrhus* and *Seneca*; but endeavours to excuse them, by adding, that they were perhaps constrained to accept the presents by the authority of the emperor, who, being stung with the guilt of his own conscience, hoped, that his crimes would be overlooked, if by largesses he could engage, as it were, in the same guilt, persons of such credit and reputation. In this distribution *Nero* did not forget his mother, but could by no liberalities calm her tempestuous spirit. She caressed *Octavia*, the deceased prince's sister and the emperor's wife; held frequently secret cabals with her confidants; and was on all hands amassing treasure; as if she had some great design to support with it: she paid great court to the tribunes and centurions, and received in the most obliging manner such of the nobility as came to wait upon her. These measures were known to *Nero*, who thereupon withdrew the prætorian guards, which attended her, as consort to the late emperor and mother to this, and also the band of *Germans*, which, as a farther honour, had been added to the former: at the same time, he commanded her to quit the palace, and retire to the house, which had belonged to her grandmother *Antonia*. He repaired thither now and then to visit her, but always surrounded with a crowd of officers, and withdrew after a short compliment. *Agrippina* was immediately deserted in her new habitation; the throng of courtiers, who daily frequented her levee while she lived in the palace, instantly vanished; no one appeared to comfort her in her disgrace; no one to visit her, except a small number of ladies, and these not from any friendship or affection, to which insects, who frequent courts; are commonly no less strangers than to virtue and honesty, but to watch all the words and actions of the disgraced princess, and carry them with the usual aggravations of tale-bearers to the emperor. Among these was *Julia Silana*, whom *Caius Silius* had divorced; as we have

His funeral.
Nero's hypocrisy.

Agrippina driven out of the palace.

^l Idem, c. 16, 17.

^u Suet. in Tit. c. 2.

^w Tacit. c. 17.

She is accused
unjustly.

Burrhus inter-
cedes for her.

She is found
innocent, and
returns into
favour.

The arrogance
of Pallas.

have related above, to marry *Messalina*. She was no less infamous for her lewdness, than renowned on account of her high birth and extraordinary beauty; had been long dear to *Agrippina*, and had for a considerable while lived with her in great intimacy; but being afterwards disgusted with her for diverting *Sextius Africanus*, a noble youth, from marrying her, she resolved now to make *Agrippina* pay dear for the wrong done her. With this view she instructed two of her own creatures, *Iturius* and *Calvisius*, to accuse her, as if she designed to marry *Rubellius Plautus*, great-grandson to *Augustus*, with a view to raise disturbances in the state. This was by *Iturius* and *Calvisius* imparted to *Atimetus*, the freedman of *Domitia*, *Nero's* aunt; and by him to *Paris*, the celebrated player, who was also *Domitia's* freedman. *Paris* hastened to the emperor, laid before him a minute detail of the pretended conspiracy, and so terrified him, that, without any further inquiries, he resolved not only to put his mother and *Plautus* to death, but to remove *Burrhus*, the captain of his guards, as one who owed his promotion to *Agrippina*. Some authors write, that a commission was already dispatched to *Cæcina Thuscus*, intrusting him with the command of the prætorian bands; but that *Burrhus* retained his dignity by the interest and mediation of *Seneca*: others write, that no jealousy was entertained of that officer's fidelity. However that be, *Nero* could not be diverted from the cruel purpose of killing his mother, till *Burrhus* took upon him to see her executed, in case she were convicted of the crimes laid to her charge; but every one, he said, ought to be heard before condemnation, and much more a mother. Early next morning, *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, attended by some of the emperor's freedmen to watch their discourse, went to wait on *Agrippina*, and notify to her the charge brought against her, and give her the names of her accusers. She received them with great haughtiness, and when her crimes were explained to her, defended herself with her wonted fierceness, but at the same time with such energy, that *Seneca* and *Burrhus*, fully convinced of her innocence, not only declared her free from all guilt, but at her request prevailed with the emperor to grant her an interview, during which she took not the least notice of the crimes laid to her charge, as if her innocence were sufficiently known, nor of the obligations he owed her, lest she should seem to reproach him with ingratitude; but confidently demanded, that vengeance should be taken of her accusers and suitable rewards conferred on her friends, and obtained both. Among her friends *Fenius Rufus* was honoured with the charge of supplying the city with corn; to *Aruntius Stella* was given the direction of certain public shews; to *Caius Balbilius* was assigned the government of *Egypt*, and that of *Syria* to *Publius Anteius*, who was nevertheless under various pretences detained at *Rome*. Of her accusers, *Silana*, *Calvisius*, and *Iturius* were sent into exile; against *Atimetus* sentence of death was pronounced and executed; but *Paris*, the emperor's inseparable companion in his debauches, was dismissed without any punishment*. This year *Pallas* and *Burrhus* were charged with a design of raising to the empire *Cornelius Sylla*, who had married *Antonia*, the late emperor's daughter; but the charge appearing evidently forged, they were both declared innocent. The arrogance of *Pallas*, however innocent, gave on this occasion no small offence; for the accuser naming to him some of his freedmen, whom he pretended to have been his accomplices, the franchised slave had the impudence to answer, that he never condescended to speak to any of his domestics, but constantly signified his pleasure to them by a nod, a motion of his hand, or, if his commands consisted of many particulars, in writing, that they might thus learn to keep their distance. *Burrhus*, though accused, sat and voted with the other judges, by whom the accuser *Petus* was condemned to banishment. Towards the close of the year, the emperor caused the cohort to be removed, which used to attend, as a guard, at the public sports, to exhibit thereby a plausible appearance of popular liberty, and also to prevent the soldiery from tainting their discipline with the licentiousness of the theatre†. Such was *Nero*, during the first year of his reign, when he gloried in not having shed one drop of blood, as we learn from the books of clemency, which *Seneca* inscribed to him some time after he had entered the nineteenth year of his age; that is, about the fifty-fifth of the *Christian* æra. The chief aim of that excellent writer throughout the whole work is to imprint deeply in the mind of his pupil, that a general and extensive beneficence is the genuine characteristic of a good prince; that those who are intrusted with the sovereign power, are not only bound to protect the innocent

* TACIT. c. 20—22.

† Idem, c. 22—24.

innocent and guiltless; but often extend their mercy and good-nature to those who may seem unworthy of their favour and protection. This he insinuates to have hitherto been practised by *Nero*; and relates a celebrated saying of the young prince, who being desired by *Burrhus* to sign a warrant for the execution of two public robbers, put it off from time to time; but *Burrhus* pressing him to dispatch that affair, he at last set his hand to the warrant with the utmost reluctance, which he expressed with the following words mightily extolled by *Seneca*: *Oh had I never learnt to write!* A signal instance of Nero's clemency.

THE following year, *Quintus Volusius Saturninus* and *P. Cornelius Scipio* being consuls, *Nero* began to indulge with more liberty his youthful inclinations, his debauched companions, especially *Otho* and *Senecio*, of whom we have spoken above, incessantly repeating in his ears, that he was no longer a child, to be awed by a *Burrhus* or a *Seneca*; that they ought to tremble before him, as their sovereign, and not he before them, as his tutors and masters, &c. As youth are more susceptible of bad than good counsels, the young prince, in spite of the wholesome advice of his governors, abandoned himself to unseasonable revellings, and filled *Rome* with innumerable disorders. Nero abandons himself to revelling and debauchery. For, unmindful of his rank and disguised in the habit of a slave, he scoured in the night the streets, the public inns, and the stews, followed by his debauched companions, who seized as a lawful prey whatever they found exposed to sale, and assaulted whomsoever they met. In these frolics he often ran great dangers, and once was so wounded in the face, that he ever afterwards bore the scar, no one imagining it was the emperor who thus roamed and rioted about the streets. But when that came to be known, his name was falsely assumed as a cloak by others, who in separate gangs practised the same excesses; so that such combustions happened almost every night in the city, as if it had been stormed by an enemy. The prince having one night offered some affront to a woman of distinction, as she was returning home in the dark, her husband, by name *Julius Montanus*, a senator, who attended her, not only repulsed the aggressor, but handled him so roughly, that he was for several days obliged to keep his room: *Suetonius* says, he was almost killed. However, he dissembled this treatment so long as it remained unknown to whom it had been offered; but *Montanus* having at last discovered it was the emperor, and thereupon implored by a letter his forgiveness, *Nero*, thinking he reproached him by owning he knew him, obliged him by threats and menaces to lay violent hands on himself. Thenceforth the emperor became more cautious, and was constantly attended in his nocturnal rambles by a party of his guards, and a numerous train of gladiators following him at some distance, who, however, were ordered not to interpose, till the prince's party was quite overcome. He likewise took great delight in stirring up and inflaming the different factions in the play-house, that favoured particular players; and when they were engaged, as it were, in battle, it was a great diversion to him to throw stones and pieces of broken benches among them, with which he once dangerously wounded a prætor in the head. These tumults rent the whole city into parties and factions, some favouring one player, and some another; insomuch, that greater and more dangerous commotions being apprehended, no other remedy was found, Players driven out of but that of driving the players out of *Italy*, and recalling the soldiers to guard the *Italy* theatre at the celebration of the public shews^a. Under the same consuls, *Vipsanius Lenas* was accused of extortion in his government of *Sardinia*, and condemned to banishment: *Cestius Proculus*, charged with the same crime, was acquitted: *Clodius Quirinalis*, commander of the fleet which rode at *Ravenna*, being convicted of several acts of cruelty, prevented by poison his impending condemnation: *Caninius Rebilus*, one of the ablest civilians and richest citizens in *Rome*, redeemed himself from the uneasiness of an old age broken with infirmities, by opening his veins, which was thought the more surprising, as he had ever been infamous for his effeminacy and lasciviousness. The same year, died *Lucius Volusius Saturninus*, in the ninety-third year of his age, a man of great integrity, wealth, and interest, and nevertheless, what to *Tacitus* seems a kind of prodigy, never obnoxious to, or disturbed by, any of the bloody emperors under whom he lived^b. He was father to *Quintus Volusius*, this year's consul, who was born to him in the sixty-second year of his age: he was governor of *Rome* when he died^c.

THE

^a SENEC. de clem. l. ii. c. 1. SUET. c. 10. Val. p. 685.

^b TACIT. c. 30.

^c PLIN. l. vii. c. 8.

^a TACIT. c. 25. SUET. c. 26. DIO, in excerpt.

Several instances of Nero's generosity, goodness, &c.

THE next consuls were *Nero*, the second time, and *L. Calpurnius Piso*, who, after six months, resigned the fasces to *Ducennius Geminius* and *Pompeius Paulinus*. This year, *Nero* remitted the duty upon the sale of slaves, distributed to the populace a largess of four hundred small sesterces a man; and issued an edict, forbidding all governors of provinces to exhibit any public shews, being well apprised, that such acts of munificence were only designed to stop the mouths of the people; who in the end bore the whole charge; so that the liberality of their governors and their avarice concurred equally to undo them. He likewise consented, with great readiness, to a decree of the senate, enacting, that if any one was killed by his slaves, those who had been manumitted, if they still continued under the same roof, should be executed with his other slaves. *Lucius Varius*, who had been consul, but formerly degraded for extortion; he restored to his rank; and referred *Pomponia Græcina*, a lady of great distinction, but accused of having embraced a foreign superstition, says *Tacitus*, meaning probably the christian religion, pursuant to the ancient custom, to the inquisition of her husband. She was married to *Aulus Plautius*, the same who, by his conquests in *Britain* in the reign of *Claudius*, had deserved an ovation. *Plautius* assembled his relations, took together with them cognizance of the behaviour and reputation of his wife, and declared her innocent. *P. Celer* was accused of many crimes by the province of *Asia*; but as he had dispatched by poison the proconsul *Silanus*, as we have related above, that crime covered all his other enormities; so that *Nero*, ashamed to discharge him and unwilling to condemn him, lengthened out the process, till he died of old age. *Eprius Marcellus* was accused by the *Lycians* of extortion; but absolved, though evidently guilty; nay, so powerful a faction was formed in his favour, that some of his accusers were punished with exile, as if they had conspired the ruin of an innocent man. The *Cicilians* had better success in the prosecution of *Cossutianus Capito*, who, for his extortions, was condemned to banishment.

Relieves poor senators.

THE following year, *Nero* entered upon his third consulship; but held it only four months. His colleague was *Valerius Messala*, to whom, as he was of an illustrious family but by misfortunes reduced to poverty, *Nero* generously presented a yearly pension of five hundred great sesterces. At the same time, he assigned annual appointments to other senators, who did not deserve them, having wasted their paternal wealth in voluptuousness and riotous living. This year *Publius Suius*, an abandoned accuser, who had made a great figure during the reign of *Claudius*, and with his venal eloquence procured the ruin of many illustrious citizens, was arraigned of various crimes. He was charged with the death of *Poppæa Sabina*, of *Julia* the daughter of *Drusus*, of *Valerius Asiaticus*, of *Lucius Saturninus*, of *Cornelius Lupus*, and of whole bands of *Roman* knights condemned at his instigation; in short, all the cruelties committed in the late reign were imputed to *Suius*. In his defence he urged, that he had engaged in none of these accusations of his own accord, but purely in obedience to the prince. But *Nero* checked this plea, by declaring, that from the memoirs of *Claudius* it evidently appeared, that no accusation whatsoever had been undertaken by his orders. The accused then pleaded the commands of *Messalina*: but this too was reckoned a weak defence; for why, it was said, had no other advocate but *Suius* been singled out to accomplish the bloody purposes of that prostitute? *Seneca* seems to have been the chief and most sanguine promoter of this prosecution; for against him chiefly *Suius* inveighed, reproaching him with contaminating the beds of princesses, meaning *Julia*, *Germanicus's* daughter; with hunting after inheritances, and catching the rich and childless, as it were, in his net; with his exhausting all *Italy* and the provinces by his excessive usury; with amassing, by what precepts of wisdom, by what principles of philosophy, he said, he knew not, a treasure of more than seven millions, in the short space of four years. These reproaches, says *Tacitus*, did not a little taint the reputation and character of his antagonist *Seneca*. *Suius*, however, was condemned, and banished to the *Balearic* islands on the coast of *Spain*. In hatred to him his son *Nerulinus* was also arraigned; but *Nero* interposed, alledging, that public vengeance was sufficiently satiated by the doom of the father^d. This year was first kindled *Nero's* passion for the celebrated *Poppæa Sabina*; a passion which proved the source of heavy calamities to the *Roman* state. She was the daughter of another *Poppæa Sabina*, put to death by *Messalina's* orders.

P. Suius accused.

His invectives against Seneca.

^c TACIT. c. 32—34.

^d Idem, c. 42, 43.

orders, as we have related above, and of *Titus Ollius*, a senator. As *Poppæus Sabina*, her mother's father, had shone in the republic, borne the consular dignity, and been honoured with triumphal ornaments, she borrowed his name, and called herself *Poppæa Sabina*; for to her own father the friendship of *Sejanus* had proved fatal, before he had attained to any dignity. She possessed every ornament becoming her sex, except that of virtue; in beauty she excelled all the women of her time; her wit, engaging address, and sprightly conversation charmed all who conversed with her. But her lewdness knew no bounds; nor was she controuled in the pursuit of it by the awe of fame. Between husband and adulterer she made no distinction, says *Tacitus*, but was ever ready to gratify her own inclinations, without regarding any ties, however binding. Hence, tho' she was married to *Rufus Crispinus*, a Roman knight, and by him had a son, she was not ashamed to leave him; and live publicly with *Otho*, a gay youth and the emperor's reigning favourite. This commerce of adultery was soon followed by their marriage, *Crispinus* readily consenting to a divorce. *Otho*, now her husband, was continually extolling to *Nero* the beauty and charms of his wife, being prompted thereunto either by the indiscreet warmth of a lover, or by a desire of kindling in the young prince's breast the like passion, and procuring, from their common enjoyment of the same woman, an additional support to his present authority. *Nero's* passion was easily inflamed; he desired to see *Poppæa*, an interview was appointed, and the emperor, in his first conversation with her, was so taken with her soft arts, with her address and caresses, that he carried her to the palace and there detained her. But the artful *Poppæa*, after a night or two, when she had worked up the prince's affection to the highest pitch, changed her former behaviour into haughtiness, importuning the emperor to let her return to her husband, whom of all men she thought the most deserving, the most worthy of her affection. Hereupon *Otho* was immediately forbidden the palace, debarred of all intercourse, and even access to the emperor, and soon after, to prevent his having any communication with *Poppæa*, preferred to the government of *Lusitania*; a government which he administered for the space of ten years with eminent uprightness and honour, having acquired no less reputation in authority, by his gravity and regular conduct, than he had deserved infamy in a private station, by a most voluptuous and dissolute life (C). Thus *Nero* enjoyed *Poppæa* without a rival, and was for some time intirely governed by her pernicious and destructive counsels, as we shall relate anon. This year *Cornelius Sylla*, who had married *Antonia* the daughter of *Claudius*, being falsely accused of forming a conspiracy against the emperor, was banished his country, as if he had been a traitor fully convicted, and confined within the walls of *Marseilles* (D). The same year, as the people complained loudly

^a TACIT. c. 45, 46. Suet. in Oth. c. 3. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xx. c. 7.

(C) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Nero*, conceiving a passion for *Poppæa*, took her from her husband, and sent her to *Otho*, who, receiving her into his house under colour of marriage, who so taken with her charms, that he pretended to ingross her wholly to himself, and not only refused to admit such as were sent to her from *Nero*, but once shut out the emperor himself, tho' he earnestly intreated him to deliver her up to him, and added menaces to his intreaties. Upon this *Nero*, to deliver himself from so troublesome a rival, preferred him to the government of *Lusitania*, now *Portugal*, fearing that a more severe punishment might discover the whole intrigue; yet so far it was known, that the following lampoon was made and dispersed;

*Cur Otho mentito sit, quæritis, exul honore?
Uxoris mæchus caperat esse suæ.*

That is, *Why was Otho banished under colour of an honourable preferment? Because he became the adulterer of his own wife.* *Plutarch*, in the life of *Galba*, tells us, that *Nero* would not have been satisfied with so slight a punishment; had not *Seneca*, who had a great friendship for *Otho*, prevailed upon the emperor to condemn him only to an honourable exile,

which would put him in full possession of his misfortunes (39).

(D) *Sylla* was accused by one *Graptus*, *Nero's* freedman, an old, subtle, and wicked courtier, well practised, ever since the reign of *Tiberius*, in the dark devices of the emperors. He, upon this occasion, forged the following plot. The *Milvian* bridge was then the scene of nocturnal revellings; and thither *Nero* frequently resorted, that he might there the more licentious riot without the city. *Graptus* therefore pretended, that a plot was laid for him, as he should return from thence by the *Flaminian* way; but he had, by the providence of the gods escaped it, in coming home through the gardens of *Sallust*; and that *Sylla* was at the head of this conspiracy. The only foundation of all this was, that certain debauched youths had in sport filled with groundless fears some of the emperor's attendants, as they were repairing back to the palace. But *Sylla* was, by his marriage with *Antonia*, *Claudius's* daughter, nearly allied to the family of the *Cæsars*; and *Nero* mistook his natural heaviness and indolence, which rendered him unequal to any attempt of treason, for deep artifice and dissimulation; and hence his ruin (40).

(39) *Plut. in Galb.*

(40) *Tacit. ibid.*

Nero designs to suppress all taxes. loudly of the arbitrary exactions of the publicans, *Nero* was for intirely suppressing all taxes and duties, thinking that the greatest bounty he could bestow upon mankind; but the senate, after many high encomiums on the greatness of his soul, restrained him, by remonstrating, that the suppression of all taxes must necessarily be attended with the dissolution of the empire. The prince therefore contented himself with ordaining by an edict, that all the regulations relating to the revenues, which till then had been kept secret, should be hung up in public, to the end every one might know the precise sum he was to contribute; that the publicans should exact no claims for above a year backward; that all causes against them should be immediately heard and determined by the prætor at *Rome*, and in the provinces by the proprætors and proconsuls for the time being, with other the like intirely equitable injunctions, which, however, grew soon obsolete, tho' the suppression of the *quadragesima* or fortieth penny, and of the *quingagesima* or fiftieth, as also of some other impositions, continued in force at least till the reign of *Adrian*. At the same time, to encourage the transportation of grain from the transmarine provinces, it was ordained, that no duty should be paid for the same ^f.

Issues several equitable regulations.

The state of affairs on the Rhine.

In *Germany*, affairs having continued in a state of tranquillity till this time, the commanders of the *Roman* armies, having no enemy to contend with, kept their troops employed in various works. *Paulinus Pompeius*, who commanded in *Lower Germany*, perfected a dam, which *Drusus* had begun threescore and three years before, to restrain the overflowing of the *Rhine*. A modern writer places it in the neighbourhood of *Duerstede* or *Wick* above *Utrecht* ^a. *Lucius Vetus*, who commanded in *Upper Germany*, undertook a work truly great, stupendous, and worthy of the *Roman* grandeur, which was to dig a canal of communication between the *Sône* and the *Moselle*, that the armies from *Italy*, sailing by sea into the *Rhone*, and then into the *Sône*, might fall through this canal into the *Moselle*, thence through the *Rhine* into the ocean; so that a communication might be opened between the *Mediterranean* and the said sea. But *Ælius Gracilis*, governor of *Belgic Gaul*, through which the *Moselle* flowed, jealous of the glory which *Vetus* would have acquired by so great and useful an undertaking, warned him not to bring his troops into another man's province, and at the same time threatened him with the displeasure of the emperor, who would be alarmed at such an enterprize, imagining it undertaken with a private view to court the affections of the *Gauls*. Thus was that glorious project dropped ^b. These things seem to have happened in the first year of *Nero's* reign; for our historian relates in this place the transactions of several years. Afterwards, that is, according to *Onuphrius*, in the third year of the same prince's reign, *Paulinus* being succeeded by *Dubius Avitus*, and *Vetus* by *T. Curulius Mancias*, the *Frisians*, under the conduct of *Verritus* and *Malarigis*, possessed themselves of certain lands, which, being void of inhabitants, had been applied to the use of the *Roman* soldiers, who were wont to send their horses and cattle to graze there. They had already founded their dwellings and sown the fields, when *Avitus* threatened to drive them from thence, unless they first obtained from the emperor a grant of those territories. Hereupon the two chiefs proceeded to *Rome*, where, while they waited for access to *Nero*, among the several sights which were usually exhibited to strangers, they were conducted to *Pompey's* theatre, to assist at a public shew. There, while they were gazing round them, surveying with astonishment the multitudes of people, and informing themselves which were the *Roman* knights, where sat the senators, &c. they spied certain persons in a foreign dress sitting among the latter, and asked who they were? This is a distinction, answered the interpreter, conferred by the *Roman* people on the ambassadors of such nations, as have signalized their bravery in war and fidelity towards us. If so, replied the two chiefs, we claim a right to sit there too; for amongst men there is not a nation, which in fidelity and feats of arms surpasses the *Germans*; and thus leaving their seats, they placed themselves amongst the senators; a proceeding highly applauded by the numerous assembly, as the effect of an honest emulation. *Nero* honoured them both with the rights of *Roman* citizens; but commanded them to abandon their new possessions: which their countrymen refusing to do, *Avitus*, by a sudden irruption, put many of them to the sword, and forced the rest to comply with the emperor's orders ^c. Some time after, the *Ansibarii*, being driven out of their own country by the *Chauci*, took possession of the same lands, being

The Frisians possess themselves of lands belonging to the Romans.

Are driven from thence by Avitus.

^a TACIT. c. 51. 52. SUT. c. 10. ^b BUCH. de Belg. l. v. c. 5. ^c TACIT. c. 53. ^d Idem, c. 54.

a being supported by the neighbouring nations, who pitied their forlorn condition, and led by a man of great renown and of known fidelity towards the Romans, his name *Boiocalus*. He alledged to *Avitus*, in behalf of himself and his people, that, upon the revolt of the *Cherusci*, when *Varus* and his legions were slaughtered, he had been thrown into bonds by *Arminius*; that he had afterwards served under *Tiberius*, then under *Germanicus*, and, to the merit of fifty years service, was ready to add that of submitting his people to the empire of *Rome*. He remonstrated, that the territory in dispute was large and lay waste; that he might allow to an unhappy people, driven from their own habitations, settlements in it, and at the same time retain wide tracts for the horses and cattle of the *Roman* soldiers to graze and range in; that it was inconsistent with humanity to furnish men in order to feed their beasts, and with religion to devote to dismal deserts and solitude any part of the earth, which was by the gods appropriated to the children of men; that such parts of it as none possessed, were free and common to all. Then lifting up his eyes to the sun and the other celestial luminaries, he asked them, how they could bear to behold a desolate soil? and would they not more justly let loose the sea to swallow up usurpers who thus engrossed the earth? *Avitus*, provoked at this language, made no other reply, than that the weakest must submit to the more powerful; and that since the gods, to whom they appealed, had left the sovereign judgement to the *Romans*, other judges than themselves they would suffer none. This answer he gave in public; but to *Boiocalus* in private he offered lands, as an acknowledgement of his long attachment to the *Romans*. But this offer the brave *German* looked upon as a price proposed for betraying his people, and rejected it with indignation, adding, *A place to live in we may want, but a place to die in we cannot*. Thus they parted with mutual animosity. The *Anfibarii* invited into a confederacy the bordering nations; but *Curtilius Mancias*, who commanded in *Upper Germany*, passing the *Rhine* at the head of his legions, threatened them with desolation and slaughter, if they lent any assistance to the enemies of *Rome*. On the other hand, they were awed by *Avitus*, who likewise appeared with his legions on the banks of the *Rhine*; so that the unhappy *Anfibarii*, deserted by all, had recourse to the *Usipites*, the *Tubantes*, the *Catti*, the *Cherusci*, begging leave to settle in their territories; but being every-where driven out as enemies and intruders, in these long and various wanderings the people perished^k. This year, the *Jubones*, a people in alliance with *Rome*, who are supposed to have inhabited the counties of *Nassau* and *Isenburg*, were afflicted with the sudden eruption of a subterraneous fire, which consumed their farms, towns, and dwellings, and was advancing with great fury to the walls of *Cologne*, when certain boors, after having in vain attempted to extinguish it with the throwing of water and other usual expedients, transported with rage, vented their wrath by attacking it at a distance with volleys of stones. This, to their great surprize, allayed its fury; which no sooner began to abate, than they proceeded to a closer attack with clubs and blows, as in an encounter with an enemy, and at length, which was still more surprizing, they quite got the better of the devouring conflagration, by throwing their garments upon it^l. This year, *Domitius Corbulo*, the greatest general of his age, completed the reduction of *Armenia*, by driving from thence *Tiridates*, brother to *Vologeses* king of the *Parthians*, and making himself master of *Artaxata*, the most important place of the whole kingdom. Of the glorious exploits of this brave officer, we have given a distinct account in our history of *Armenia*; and therefore, not to trespass upon the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, we shall only add here, that for the success which had attended *Corbulo's* arms, *Nero* was proclaimed emperor, and by a decree of the senate days of public thanksgiving were appointed, with statues of victory to the prince, triumphal arches, and perpetuity of the consulship. It was moreover decreed, that the day when the city of *Artaxata* was taken, the day when the news arrived at *Rome*, and the day which produced that decree, should all be for ever kept as festivals. This motion was opposed by *Caius Cassius*, who argued, that were every instance of public prosperity to be attended with public thanksgiving, the whole year would not afford days enough for days of devotion; a just distribution ought therefore to be made between days of devotion and days of business, that the worship of the gods might not interfere with the occupations of men^m.

The *Anfibarii* possess themselves of the same lands.

But are utterly exterminated.

Armenia reduced by Corbulo.

HITHERTO

^k Idem, c. 57.

^l Idem ibid. BURACH. numif. p. 92.

^m TACIT. c. 34.

HITHERTO *Nero's* administration was universally applauded, and is generally cried up by historians; nay, *Trajan*, an excellent prince, is said to have proposed to himself the five first years of *Nero's* reign as the most accomplished model of an equitable government. This, if true, must, no doubt, be understood under several restrictions. But however that be, this year, the sixth of his reign, when *Caius Vipsanius Apronianus* and *Caius Fonteius Capito* were consuls, produced an instance of the blackest and most unnatural iniquity recorded in history, that of a mother murdered by a son, who was indebted to her not only for his life, but for the empire, and that very power, which, by an apostacy from nature, he impiously employed against her. This horrid attempt, which will render the name of *Nero* execrable to the latest posterity, we shall relate, as it has been transmitted to us by the most unexceptionable historians of antiquity. *Agrippina* had, after the late groundless charge brought against her, in some degree regained the emperor's favour, and continued to bear no small sway at court, till *Poppæa* was introduced there. That ambitious prostitute aimed at nothing less than solemnly marrying the emperor; but as she could never hope to see *Octavia* divorced, nor herself honoured with imperial wedlock during the life of *Agrippina*, she made it her whole study to inflame *Nero* against her, sometimes jeering him by the sarcastical name of pupil, one blindly subject to the capricious humour of a woman, and so far from being suffered to sway the empire, that he was not allowed that liberty, which every private *Roman* enjoyed as his birth-right. As for herself, she desired to be restored to the conjugal embraces of *Otho*, that she might in any corner of the earth rather hear of the emperor's abasement and reproach, than stay to behold it. She added atrocious calumnies against *Agrippina*, as if she designed to attempt upon his life; and threatened to abandon him, that she might not be with him exposed to the dangers that surrounded him. Her complaints and expostulations, enforced with sighs, tears, and all the soft artifices, which the deceitful adulterers possessed in an eminent degree, pierced the soul of *Nero*, and in behalf of *Agrippina* no one interposed, all at court being overjoyed to see her authority crushed, and no one imagining the son would ever be hardened to such a pitch of iniquity, as inhumanly to spill the blood of his mother.

Poppæa inflames Nero against his mother.

By what impious means Agrippina strove to retain her power

IN the mean time, *Agrippina*, well apprised of the views and artifices of *Poppæa*, left nothing unattempted, which thirst of power could suggest to retain her wonted dominion. Authors, who lived in those times, and to whose authority *Tacitus* pays great deference, tell us, that the lust of ruling transported her to such extravagant and almost incredible lengths, that while *Nero* was well heated with wine and banqueting, she accosted him gayly attired; and, without any regard to fame or modesty, prompted him, we relate it with horror! to a crime no less repugnant to nature, than that which he soon after committed. *Seneca*, who was present, observing the prince, while he was thus drunk, inclined to yield to the solicitations of his mother, for an antidote against the inticements of one woman, had recourse to another, and introduced *Acte*. By this means the unnatural abomination was prevented; but the reputation of *Seneca* somewhat tarnished, who might, by some other expedient more worthy of a philosopher, have diverted the prince from so monstrous an impurity. *Fabius Rusticus*, a writer of those times, ascribes this unheard-of passion, not to *Agrippina*, but to *Nero*, and adds, that he was rescued from so great an infamy by *Acte*. But in the detail we have given, all other authors agree, and it was more over confirmed in *Tacitus's* time by the testimony of popular fame. Be that as it will, *Nero* dreading the infamy, which the bare suspicion of such a detestable iniquity would reflect on his character, and being told, that the soldiery would never bear the rule of a prince thus contaminated, began thenceforth to avoid all private conferences with his mother; which gave *Poppæa* a favourable opportunity of inflaming him more and more against her, till at length she worked him to a resolution of delivering himself by a parricide from one, who, she said, was his dread and his torment. He was now therefore only in suspense about the means of dispatching her, whether by poison, by the sword, or by any other effectual method. That of poison was preferred at first; but to administer it was thought difficult; for if it were done at the prince's table, her death would never be believed sudden and accidental, since in the like manner *Britannicus* had already perished. To apply to her own domestics appeared dangerous. As she was a woman long acquainted

Nero resolves to destroy her. Is in suspense about the means.

with frauds and blood, she was upon her guard against all snares, and armed by counter-poisons against the operation of poison. How to dispatch her with the sword and cover the execution, no one could contrive. It was feared too, that none could be found sufficiently hardened for the execution of such iniquitous orders. In this perplexity, *Anicetus* proffered his service, and his dexterity. He was a franchised slave, had been tutor to *Nero* in his infancy; but was now commander of the fleet which rode at *Misenum*. As he was an implacable enemy to *Agrippina*, and *Agrippina* to him, he undertook to contrive a vessel so, that, by a sudden and artificial bursting in the open sea, it should overwhelm and drown her, without the least warning or apprehension. If she were thus dispatched by shipwreck, no one, he said, could ascribe her death to the malice and contrivance of men. *Nero* was pleased with this device the more, because he had a favourable opportunity to put it in execution, as he was then celebrating at *Baiae* the solemn festival of *Minerva* called *Quinquatrus*, which began on the nineteenth of *March*, and lasted five days. In order to intice his mother thither, he pretended a desire to be reconciled to her, declaring, that children ought to bear with the humours of their parents; and that, for himself, it behoved him to forget all past provocations, and be sincerely reconciled to a tender mother, whose gift was the power and empire which he swayed. A general rumour of this pretended disposition was immediately spread abroad, reached *Agrippina*, and found credit with her, women being naturally prone to believe what feeds their wishes, and promises matter of joy. At the same time, he wrote a letter to her, filled with the most tender expressions of filial affection and duty, inviting her to pass the festival with him at *Baiae*. *Agrippina*, not suspecting any treachery, tho' well practised in the dark devices of the court, deferred no longer her departure; but imbarquing at *Antium*, where she then was, sailed to *Bauli* (E), an imperial villa between the cape of *Misenum* and the gulf of *Baiae*. Thither *Nero* hastened to receive her, met her upon the shore, presented her his hand, embraced her, and conducted her to the castle. Not far from the shore, amongst several other vessels belonging to the emperor and the noblemen of his court, rode that which had been contrived by *Anicetus*, more pompous and gaudy than the rest, as if *Nero* by that distinction intended fresh honour to his mother. But she having had some intimation of the plot, tho' doubtful whether she should believe it or not, when invited on board, declared she chose to go to *Baiae* by land; and accordingly was carried thither in a sedan. Upon her arrival, the behaviour of *Nero*, obliging beyond expression and free from all manner of affectation, allayed her fears; for *Nero*, during her stay there, treated her with the utmost magnificence, yielded to her at table the most honourable place, entertained her with great variety of diversions, granted her all the favours she asked in behalf of herself or her friends, and, in conversing with her, broke sometimes out into sallies of youthful gaitety, discoursing at other times with a composed and grave air of weighty affairs, as if he reposed in her an intire confidence and sought her counsel. Having, with these insinuating caresses and hollow fondness, removed all her suspicions, he drew out the last banquet till the night was far spent; and in the mean time gave private orders to the commander of one of his galleys, to run foul of that which had conveyed *Agrippina* to *Bauli* and disable it, that she might be obliged to imbarque on the fatal vessel. When the banquet was over, *Nero* acquainted her with the misfortune which had happened to her own vessel, begged her to accept of the other, and ordered the admiral himself, *Anicetus*, to attend her to *Antium*. The emperor attended her in person to the shore, and at parting hung upon her neck, kissing her eyes, kissing her bosom with such tenderness, that he left it uncertain, as our historian observes, whether he meant by that passionate behaviour to cloak his horrid design, or whether his spirit, however fierce and savage, could not withstand the more powerful efforts of nature, at the last sight of a mother just going to perish.

He pretends kindness for her.

His prodigious falsehood and shew of filial tenderness.

THE

² TACIT. C. 4. SUET. C. 34. DIO, l. lxi. p. 695.

(E) This villa belonged first to *Hortensius* the celebrated orator, and afterwards to *Antonia*, the wife of *Drusus* (41). At this time it was possessed by the emperor, and long after by *Symmachus*, who describes it, and gives the etymology of its name in the following verses:

Huc deus Alcides stabulanda armenta coegit

*Eruta Geryonis de lare tergemini.
Inde recens ætas corrupta Baaulia Baulos
Nuncupat, occulto nominis indicio.
Ab Divo ad proceres dominos fortuna cucurrit;
Fama loci obscuros ne pateretur heros.
Hanc celebravit opum felix Hortensius aulam,
Contra Arpinatem qui stetit eloquio.*

(41) *Plin. l. ix. c. 55.*

THE sea proved smooth and calm, the night clear, and the stars shone in full lustre, as if all this, says our historian, had been concerted by the providence of the gods, that so black a murder might not remain undiscovered, by being ascribed to the malignity of winds and waves. *Agrippina*, when she imbarqued, was attended only by two persons, *Crepercius Gallus*, who stood in the steerage, and a lady named *Aceronia Polla*, who lay at her feet, and was entertaining her with the pleasing discourse of the remorse of her son and his sincere reconciliation, when all on a sudden, upon a signal given, the deck over that quarter was loosened; and being purposely loaded with a great quantity of lead, sunk violently down, and crushed *Crepercius* to death. *Agrippina* and *Aceronia* were defended by the posts of the bed where they lay, which happened to be too strong to yield to the weight; neither did the vessel open as had been concerted, such of the mariners as not had been intrusted with the plot, obstructing the measures of those who were. The latter, finding this expedient defeated, strove to bear the vessel down on one side, and so sink her; but the other mariners, not privy to the design, at the same time struggling to preserve her, by ballancing the contrary way, she was not at once swallowed up, but sunk by degrees; so that *Agrippina* and *Aceronia* fell softly into the sea. The latter screaming out, for the more speedy relief, that she was *Agrippina*, and passionately calling upon the mariners to succour the prince's mother, was by them pursued with their poles and oars, and so slain. *Agrippina* never opened her mouth, and being therefore less known, escaped, with one wound only on her shoulder; and, what with swimming, what with the timely assistance of some fisher-boats which rowed out to succour her, reached the lake *Lucrinus*, and was thence conveyed to her own villa. There reflecting upon the danger which she had escaped, the fate of *Aceronia*, mistaken for herself and designedly slain, the manner in which the vessel, under the shelter of the shore, not tossed by winds, nor striking upon rocks, had yielded in its upper part and been purposely overset, she concluded, that for this very end she had been inticed by the fraudulent letters of her son, and for this treated by him with such extraordinary marks of honour. However, she thought it adviseable to dissemble the whole, and however well apprised of these black devices, to act as if she saw them not. With this view she dispatched *Agerinus* her freed-man, to acquaint the emperor with the danger she had escaped by the providence of the gods and his imperial fortune, and to intreat him, that, however alarmed at the misfortune which had threatened his mother, he would postpone the trouble of visiting her; for what she only stood in need of at present was rest. In the mean time, disguising her fear and counterfeiting perfect security, she caused her wound to be dressed; and calling for the last will of *Aceronia*, ordered all her effects to be registered and sealed up^a.

Agrippina designedly shipwrecked.

She escapes.

And dissembles her apprehensions.

Nero's fears upon the escape of his mother.

Anicetus undertakes to finish the murder.

As to *Nero*, he had passed the night in great uneasiness and anxiety, attending the success of his design; and while he was hourly expecting expresses to apprise him, that the parricide was executed, tidings arrived, that his mother had escaped only with a slight wound. At this he was struck with terror and dismay, not doubting, but her fierce spirit, bent upon hasty revenge, would either arm the slaves, stir up the rage of the soldiery against him, or recur with a tragical representation of the whole plot to the senate and people. Thus terrified and dismayed, he immediately sent for *Burrhus* and *Seneca*, who perhaps had not before, says *Tacitus*, been acquainted with the conspiracy. To them he notified his disappointment, and told them, that in the present emergency, he had no resource, no protection, no one to advise with, but them. They both kept long silence, either because they thought it was in vain to dissuade him from a design on which they saw him bent, or because they believed matters already pushed so far, that unless *Agrippina* soon perished, *Nero* certainly must. At length *Seneca*, who used always to speak the first, looked at *Burrhus*, as if he asked him, whether orders for the dispatching of *Agrippina* might not be trusted to the soldiery under his command? *Burrhus* understood him, and answered, that the prætorian guards were so zealously attached to the name of the Cæsars, so fond of the family and memory of *Germanicus*, that they would never engage in any cruel or bloody attempt against their descendants. He added, that *Anicetus* ought to accomplish what he had begun. *Anicetus* undertook without hesitation to acquit himself of his engagement; and *Nero* crying out, that *Anicetus* presented him that day with the empire, urged him to use dispatch, taking with him whom he pleased

^a TACIT. c. 5. DIO, p. 695.

to assist him. In the mean time, *Agerinus* arriving from *Agrippina*, with the news of her disaster and escape, was immediately admitted to the emperor, by whose orders, as he was delivering his message, a dagger was dropped between his legs; and then, as if he had been sent to murder the prince, he was immediately loaded with irons, and dragged to prison. This fable was forged to support another; for *Nero* intended to give out, that his destruction had been concerted by his mother, and that she, upon the discovery of her treason, had put an end to her own life, to avoid the punishment she deserved ^b.

In the mean time, the danger which threatened *Agrippina* at sea, and was looked upon as the effect of chance, flying abroad, the people from all quarters flocked to the shore to assist her; some crowded into barques and skiffs; others entered the sea, and waded as deep as their height would permit; nay, some stretched out their arms, as it were to catch and receive her: so that the whole coast resounded with lamentations for her misfortune, vows for her deliverance, and the indistinct clamour of a multitude, solicitous about her safety. When they understood, that she was out of danger, they all hastened to congratulate her upon her escape. But, in the mean time, *Anicetus* arriving with an armed band of mariners, they all dispersed; and the franchised slave, having beset the villa with a guard, burst open the gates, secured such of her slaves as offered to stop him, and advanced to the very door of her chamber, which he found guarded by a small number of her friends, who, at the sight of so many armed men, betook themselves to flight, and left her with one maid only, who lay in the room with her. She was already very anxious and uneasy, that no soul had yet arrived from her son, nor had even *Agerinus* returned, when she heard a sudden noise and tumult at the door of her chamber; which so terrified her maid, that starting up, she too was about to depart; which *Agrippina* perceiving, *Thou likewise*, said he, *art going to abandon me*: and that moment *Anicetus*, having forced open the door, entered her chamber, accompanied by *Herculeus*, captain of a galley, and *Oloaritus*, a centurion of the navy. The princess, tho' well apprised of their design, yet addressing them with great intrepidity, *If you are come*, said she, *from the emperor, to be informed of my health, I can acquaint him, that I am well refreshed and recovered; if upon any bloody design, I will never believe you commissioned by my son; my son cannot command a parricide*. But the assassins, without returning her any answer, placed themselves round her bed; for in her chamber was a small light, and *Herculeus* the first discharged a blow upon her head with a great club. *Oloaritus* the centurion instantly drew his sword to dispatch her; but she, notwithstanding the blow she had received, starting up, presented her belly, crying with a loud voice, *Strike me here; this carried and brought forth such a monster as Nero*. In uttering these words, she was pierced with a multitude of wounds, and expired ^c. In these particulars all authors agree; some add, that *Nero* afterwards surveyed the naked body of his mangled mother, viewed her limbs, and extolled their symmetry and beauty; but this is denied by others, and seems inconsistent with the concern which he afterwards shewed. That very night her corpse was burnt without any pomp or solemnity, being carried to the pile upon no other bed, than that which she lay upon at her meals. Her bones were interred by her domestics, who, after the death of *Nero*, raised her a vulgar tomb upon the road to cape *Misenum*, adjoining to a villa which formerly belonged to *Cæsar* the dictator. *Mnester*, one of her freed-men, as soon as her funeral pile was lighted, run himself thro' with a sword, whether from grief and affection for her, or from dread of some terrible doom, which he apprehended hanging over his head, was never known. Thus died the celebrated *Agrippina*, daughter to *Germanicus*, grand-daughter to *Agrippa*, and great grand-daughter to *Augustus*, sister to one emperor, wife to another, and mother to a third. This doom she had deserved by a long train of crying iniquities, long before it overtook her; nay, we are told, that she was warned of it many years before by the *Chaldeans*, who being consulted by her concerning the fortune of *Nero*, and answering, that he would certainly reign and kill his mother; *Let him kill me*, said she, *so he do but reign* ^k.

Zeal of the populace upon discovering her danger.

Her house beset with armed men.

Her murder.

Her end foretold long before.

THE scene of this horrible iniquity being over, the emperor began to reflect within himself on the enormity of his guilt; a mother inhumanly murdered, to whom he owed his life and empire! With this thought he passed the rest of the night in dreadful

^b TACIT. c. 6. DIO. p. 695. Suet, ibid. ^a TACIT. c. 7, 8. DIO; p. 696. Suet. c. 24. ^k TACIT. c. 9. DIO, Suet, ibid.

Nero's agonies upon her death.

He affects sorrow.

He charges her with many crimes.

The flattery of the senate.

Endeavours to blacken her memory.

He is received at Rome with extraordinary flattery.

dreadful agonies, now dumb, motionless, with his eyes fixed, then starting up amazed and trembling. Thus wild and ghastly, he waited the return of day, which, he apprehended, would bring upon him some dreadful and final doom. Burrhus was the first who afforded him some comfort in the midst of these horrors, by persuading the tribunes and centurions under his command to congratulate the prince upon his thus happily escaping the enormous treason devised by his mother. Their example was followed first by the emperor's friends, and next by the neighbouring communities of *Campania*, who testified their joy by sacrifices to the gods, and embassies to the prince. Nero himself, by a quite opposite dissimulation, pretended to be inconsolably grieved for the death of his mother, answering those who strove to comfort him, that he hated a life, which upon such terms had been saved. However, as the face and aspect of places cannot change like the countenances of men, the sight of that coast and those shores, where the parricide had been perpetrated, filled him with continual horrors; besides, there were some, who imagined they heard horrid shrieks and wailings from *Agrippina's* tomb; and a mournful sound of trumpets from the neighbouring cliffs and hills. Nero therefore flying from such tragical places, which incessantly reproached him with the crying greatness and enormity of his crime, withdrew to *Naples*, whence he sent letters to the senate, acquainting them, that *Agerinus*, a freedman of *Agrippina*, had been sent by her to assassinate him; but had been timely apprehended, and that she had thereupon laid violent hands on herself, with the same guilty conscience which had prompted her to attempt upon the life of her son. To this he added a detail of her crimes traced a long way back; he even ascribed to her all the vile measures and black iniquities of the reign of *Claudius*, and concluded, that her death ought to be looked upon as a public blessing, and ascribed to the auspicious fortune of the *Roman* state. This letter was composed by *Seneca*, who thereupon was severely censured, and indeed not undeservedly, by all men of honour and virtue. No one believed the pretended conspiracy; but nevertheless the senators, with wonderful heat and competition, strove to surpass one another in decreeing new honours to *Nero* on this occasion. The following solemnities were therefore ordained, that at all the altars public devotions should be observed; that the feast of *Minerva*, during which the conspiracy was detected, should be celebrated with anniversary plays for ever; that the statue of that goddess in gold should be placed in the senate-house, and close by it that of the emperor; and lastly, that the anniversary of *Agrippina* should be inserted in the number of unlucky days. *Tiberius Pætus*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the course of this reign, walked out of the senate as soon as the emperor's letter was read, chusing rather to provoke the vengeance of *Nero*, than give his assent to such servile, flattering, and iniquitous decrees; but there was not a man in the senate, who had so much honour and integrity as to follow his example. And now *Nero*, to heighten the public hatred towards his mother and blacken her memory, as if she had checked his natural inclination to mercy, restored to their native country and estates several persons of distinction, who had been formerly by her doomed to exile. He likewise pardoned *Iturius* and *Calvisius*, of whom we have spoken above, and suffered the body of *Lollia Paulina*, who had ended her course at *Tarentum*, to be brought home, and reposed in the tomb of her illustrious ancestors. Notwithstanding these acts of clemency, the emperor could not prevail upon himself to return to *Rome*, dreading to appear, after his parricide, before the senate and people. But the abandoned profligates of his court, and no court upon earth, says *Tacitus*, ever abounded with more, assured him, that the very name of *Agrippina* was generally abhorred; inso-much, that by her death he had secured for ever the affections both of the people and senate. Hereupon he proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received with a more forward and officious zeal, than even his flattering courtiers had promised him. The several tribes in distinct bodies came forth to meet him, and likewise the senate in their robes, with mighty crouds of women and children, ranged into separate classes according to their sex and age. Where-ever he passed, plays and shews were exhibited with all the pomp and parade of a solemn triumph. Elated with pride upon such a reception, he repaired, like a triumphant victor, to the capitol, and there paid his vows and oblations¹. But all these tokens of joy and approbation could

¹TACIT. C. 11—13. DIO, l. lxi. p. 796.

could not smother the reproaches of his own conscience; the horrors of his guilt never forsook him; he owned, that the furies pursued him with stripes, and rage, and burning torches; his dread was sometimes so great, that every joint of him trembled; he applied to the magicians, and endeavoured, by one of their sacrifices, to call up the ghost of his mother, and intreat her to forgive him; nay, some time after, when he travelled into *Greece*, tho' he was mighty desirous of assisting at the *Eleusine* ceremonies, yet his heart failed him, and he withdrew as soon as he heard the crier commanding, with a loud voice, all impious and profane persons to depart^m.

As no one would take upon him to give the emperor wholesome advice; but, on the contrary, all conspired to deceive him with servile flattery, and to commend even his most enormous excesses, he abandoned himself without controul to all his extravagant passions. He was chiefly fond of two diversions, both highly unbecoming his rank and station, *viz.* of driving a chariot and singing to the harp in a theatrical habit. *Seneca* and *Burrhus* had thought it adviseable to indulge him from the beginning in the former, in order to divert him from the latter, which they thought a more shameful and unmanly employment. Thus a piece of ground in the *Vatican* was inclosed with a wall, that he might there exert his dexterity in driving, without being exposed to the view of a promiscuous croud of spectators; but now he was desirous of being publicly seen, and even invited to the sight the populace, who failed not to magnify him with encomiums and loud acclamations. As the emperor imagined, that by bringing many others under the same infamy he should lessen his own, he introduced, as actors, into the theatre, several noble Romans, descended from illustrious families, but decayed and through indigence become venal. He likewise engaged with great rewards several Roman knights to undertake the acting of parts in public representations. However, that he might not yet debase himself in the common theatre, he instituted a sort of plays called *juvenales*, which were exhibited in private houses or gardens, persons of the first quality, nay, many who had borne the chief offices in the state, acting in them, and degrading themselves to imitate the port and buffoonry of the *Greek* and *Roman* mimics, even in their most obscene gesticulations. The contagion even reached ladies of the greatest distinction, who, in imitation of the prince and his court, had their assemblies and representations too in a grove planted by *Augustus*, where booths were built, and in them sold whatever incited to sensuality and wantonness. Thus was even the outward appearance of virtue banished the city, and all manner of avowed lewdness, depravity, and dissoluteness introduced in its room, men and women being engaged in a contention to outvie each other in glaring vices and scenes of impurity. At length *Nero* could forbear no longer, but took the harp, and mounted the public stage, trying the strings with much attention and care, and studying his part. About him stood his companions and a cohort of the guards, with many tribunes and centurions, and *Burrhus* their commander, sad on this infamous occasion, but praising *Nero* while he grieved for him. At this time, he inrolled a body of Roman knights, intitled the *knights* of *Augustus*, young men distinguished by the bloom of their years and strength of body, but all professed profligates. As the emperor spent whole days and nights in singing and playing upon the harp, the whole business of these knights was to commend his person and voice, to extol the beauty of both by names and epithets peculiar to the gods, and to sing his airs about the streetsⁿ.

He diverts himself with chariot-driving.

He engages several noble Romans to debase themselves upon the stage.

THE next year, *Nero* entered upon his fourth consulship, having *Cossus Cornelius Lentulus* for his colleague, and held that dignity for six months. This year he instituted, for the improvement of wit and genius, contests of eloquence and poetry, with other games to be exhibited every fifth year; whence they were styled *quinquennial games*. On this occasion the players and pantomimes, who had often caused great animosities, were recalled and restored to the stage. During these sports a comet appeared, which, according to the persuasion of the vulgar, always portended a change of princes; hence, as if *Nero* had been already deposed, it became the topic of general inquiry, who should be chosen to succeed him, and the name of *Rubellius Plautus* was on this occasion in everyone's mouth. He was, by his mother *Julia* the daughter of *Drusus*, descended from the family of the *Cæsars*, and had acquired great reputation by the integrity of his life, and a strict adherence, notwithstanding the

A comet appears.

general

Nero alarm-
ed.
He advises
Rubellius
Plautus to re-
tire to Asia.

general corruption, to the venerable institutions and severe manners of the primitive Romans. At the same time, as Nero was sitting at an entertainment at a place called *Sublaqueum*, on the banks of the *Simbruine* lake, a flash of lightning darted upon the repast, scattered the dishes, overturned the table, and, while the emperor was drinking, struck the cup out of his hand. As this happened in the neighbourhood of *Tibur*, whence *Plautus* was originally sprung by his father's side, the people believed, that he was appointed and marked out by the gods to succeed Nero. All this alarmed Nero, who thereupon wrote to *Plautus*, that he would do well to consult the peace and tranquillity of *Rome*, by withdrawing to his possessions in *Asia*, where he might enjoy the bloom of his life free from intrigues of faction, fraught with ambiguity and danger. Upon this warning, *Plautus*, who had long since buried himself in retirement, shunning and dreading power, left *Rome*, and, with *Antistia* his wife and a few friends, hastened to *Asia*. This year, Nero appointed *Tigranes* (F) king of *Armenia*, which the brave *Corbulo* had reduced, and bestowed upon him a body of guards, viz. a thousand legionaries, three cohorts of confederates, and two wings of horse, to support him in maintaining his new realm. *Corbulo*, having thus completed the reduction of *Armenia*, left that country, and withdrew into *Syria*, a province assigned him upon the death of *Numidius Quadratus* the late governor. In the close of the year, *Vibius Secundus*, a Roman knight, was, upon the accusation of the *Moors*, condemned for extortion and expelled *Italy*.

The state of
affairs in Bri-
tain.

Suetonius
Paulinus sent
into Britain.

THE following year, *Cæsonius Pætus* and *Petronius Turpilianus* being consuls, the Romans suffered a dreadful slaughter in *Britain*. *A. Didius*, who succeeded *Ostorius*, as we have related above, did no more than just maintain what his predecessors had conquered. His successor *Veranius*, having only in some incursions ravaged the territories of the *Silures*, was prevented by death from any further prosecution of the war. He was highly esteemed in his life-time for the severity of his manners; but in his last-will he betrayed a servile ambition and court to power: for after many expressions of flattery bestowed upon Nero, he added, that to his obedience he would have subjected all *Britain*, had he lived but two years longer. He was succeeded by *Suetonius Paulinus*, *Corbulo*'s competitor in the science of war, and universally esteemed in all respects equal to that great commander. *Paulinus* therefore, hoping to reap as much renown from the intire reduction of *Britain*, as *Corbulo* had done from that of *Armenia*, bent his mind upon that enterprize, tho' Nero had then, as we are told, some thoughts of withdrawing the Roman forces and abandoning the island. During the first two years of his government, the Roman general commanded with no less success than he had done formerly in *Africa*, subdued fresh nations, reduced with indefatigable pains several castles, and established garisons to keep in awe the countries which he had brought under subjection. Trusting to these garisons, he left the country behind him exposed to the enemy, and went to attack the island *Mona*, now *Anglesey*, which supplied the revolted with succours, and was a common place of retreat to the fugitives. He built a great number of boats with broad and flat bottoms, the easier to approach a shore full of shallows. Upon these the foot were wafted over, and the horse followed, partly by fording, partly by swimming. On the opposite shore stood numerous bodies of men well armed, and amongst them appeared troops of women, running, like furies, to and fro, dismally clad in funeral apparel, with their hair flying about their shoulders, and torches in their hands. Round them were seen their priests, the *Druids*, uttering, with their hands lifted up to heaven, dreadful imprecations, and invoking vengeance. The amazing novelty of the scene struck the Roman soldiers with dismay; they stood motionless with their bodies exposed, like so many marks, to the darts of the enemy, till encouraged by the repeated exhortations of the general to shake off the scandalous terror inspired by

Idem, c. 26.

(F) *Tigranes* was grandson, or rather great grand-son to *Archelaus*, formerly king of *Cappadocia*; for he was the grandson of *Alexander*, who was put to death by his own father *Herod* king of *Judæa*, and of *Glaphyra*, the daughter of *Archelaus*. His father was likewise named *Alexander*. He was nephew to another *Tigranes*, likewise king

of *Armenia*, who was put to death under *Tiberius*, in the twenty-second year of that prince's reign, and thirty-sixth of the christian æra (42). *Tacitus* tells us, that as this prince had passed many years at *Rome* in the quality of a hostage, his spirit was miserably debased, even to a degree of abjectness and servitude (42).

(42) *Joseph. antiq. l. xviii. c. 7.*

(43) *Tacit. annal. l. xiv. c. 26.*

a by a band of raving women and fanatic priests, they advanced the ensigns, put to the rout the disorderly rabble, and drove them into the fires they had kindled. *He reduces the island of Anglesey.* The island being thus easily reduced, a garison was established to bridle the vanquished, and the groves, dedicated to their bloody superstitions, cut down; for in them they sacrificed the captives taken in war, and consulted their intrails, in order to discover the will of the gods^p.

WHILE *Suetonius* was thus employed, tidings were brought him of the sudden revolt of the province, the occasion of which is thus related by *Tacitus*, who lived near those times: *Prasutagus*, the late king of the *Icenians*, a prince renowned for his opulence had grandeur, and by his last will left the emperor joint heir with his own two daughters, hoping by that signal instance of loyalty to secure his kingdom and family from all injury and violence. But this scheme produced a quite contrary effect; for, under colour of taking possession of the emperor's new inheritance, the kingdom became a prey to the centurions; the deceased prince's house was plundered by rapacious officers; his wife *Boadicia*, or *Boudicea*, ignominiously violated with stripes; his daughters dishonoured; all the principal *Icenians* stripped of their hereditary possessions, and the relations of the late king kept in bonds and treated like slaves. Inraged by these indignities and dreading oppressions still more severe, they took advantage of the absence of *Paulinus*, and began to deliberate about shaking off the yoke, which they could no longer bear. In their private assemblies they strove to inflame one another, by recounting their several grievances, exaggerating the series of bondage, and heightening the injuries they must expect, when reduced to a province. "Our patience, said they, avails us nothing, further than to encourage our tyrants to lay heavier burdens upon a people, who thus tamely bear any. To such height is our oppression grown, that nothing whatever is exempt from their avarice, nothing from their lust. They seize our houses, insult our wives, force away our children, and oblige our youth to fight; and to all this we tamely submit, tho' it be in our power to redeem ourselves from such contumelious tyranny; for what a small force would all the soldiers arrived in the island appear, would the *Britons* but compute their own numbers? It was from this consideration that *Germany* threw off the yoke, tho' defended only by a river, and not, like this, by the ocean. Our country, our wives, our parents and children, animate us to take arms, and behave like men; whereas our oppressors are only prompted by their sordid avarice and brutal sensuality. Let us but imitate the bravery of our forefathers; and not be dismayed with the issue of an encounter or two, and we shall see these robbers withdraw from the island, as their deified *Julius* did formerly." With these and the like speeches, they easily prevailed upon the *Trinobantes*, and several other nations, to join their forces, and attempt the recovery of their antient liberty, as the only means to redeem themselves from the oppressions they groaned under; for the *Britons*, even in those days, cheerfully complied, as *Tacitus* observes, with the imposition of taxes and all duties enjoined by their governors, provided they received no illegal treatment. This they could not brook, nor did the *Romans*, says the same historian, any further subdue them, than to bring them to obey just laws: they abhorred unjust encroachments, and would never submit to be slaves^q. The *Trinobantes* were moreover animated to take arms by their implacable hatred towards the veterans lately planted in the colony of *Camalodunum*, who, encroaching upon the inhabitants, thrust them out of their houses, spoiled them of their hereditary lands, and, adding scorn to oppression, treated them with the vile titles of captives and slaves. Another alarming grievance was a temple built and dedicated to the late emperor *Claudius*, which was a great eye-sore to them, and looked upon by all as a badge and bulwark of eternal slavery. Besides, the priests appointed to minister in the temple, under the cloak of religion, devoured the whole substance of the inhabitants, and reduced the most wealthy amongst them to beggary. Neither did it appear an arduous undertaking to destroy a colony no-wise secured by fortifications; for the *Romans*, not yet well acquainted with the temper of the *Britons*, had consulted only their accommodation and pleasure. To these grievances *Dion Cassius* adds, that *Catus Decianus*, the imperial procurator, exercised a tyranny no less cruel over their substance and fortunes, than the governor did over their bodies and lives: and that *Seneca*, having with fair promises inveigled the *Britons* to borrow vast sums of him, telling them, that

^p Idem, c. 29. & vit. Agr. c. 14.^q *TACIT.* annal. c. 31. & vit. Agr. c. 15, 16.

They rise under the conduct of queen Boudicea.

Great slaughter of the Romans.

Suetonius marches against them.

He abandons London, which is taken and plundered.

that for repayment they should take their own time, all on a sudden demanded both principal and interest, which iniquitous demand reduced the injured *Britons* to despair. Thus provoked by the heaviest sufferings, and invited by the opportunity of the absence of *Paulinus*, the *Icenians* and *Trinobantes*, the former inhabiting the present counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon*, and the latter those of *Essex* and *Middlesex*, and all those who hated servitude, unanimously took arms under the conduct of *Boudicea*, a princess of royal descent. *Tacitus* tells us, that the ensuing troubles were foretold some time before by several signs and prodigies. At *Camalodunum* the statue of *Victory* fell down of itself with her face turned towards the enemy; certain women, transported with prophetic fury, terrified the people with denunciations of impending calamities; in the place, where the colony assembled for the business of the public, was heard a tumultuous noise and the accent of strangers; the theatre echoed with dismal howlings; in the river *Thames* dreadful appearances were seen; the ocean appeared all dyed with blood; and at the departure of the tide shapes of human bodies were left imprinted on the strand. The veterans in the colony, alarmed at these omens, sent to *Catus Decianus*, procurator of the province for succours, *Suetonius* being then at a great distance; but he could spare them only two hundred men, and those not completely armed; and in the colony itself was but a handful of soldiers. The veterans indeed were for securing themselves by a ditch and palisade against any sudden assault, and removing out of the colony their women and old men; but were diverted from these and all other measures tending to their safety by some *Britons*, in whose fidelity they reposed too much confidence. So that, while they were utterly unprepared, and as void of circumspection as if full peace had reigned, the *Britons*, to the number of a hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, flew unanimously to arms, assailed on every side the soldiers dispersed in the forts, and having stormed and sacked the several garisons, fell upon the colony itself as the seat and centre of public servitude, took it at the first assault, and after two days siege the temple, whither the *Romans* were retired in a body. The colony, with the temple, they razed, and put every *Roman* to the sword. After this, upon intelligence that *Petilius Cerealis*, commander of the ninth legion, was advancing to relieve his friends, they hastened to meet him, routed his legion, and cut the infantry, all to a man, in pieces; but *Cerealis* escaped with the horse to the camp, and there defended himself in his intrenchments. *Catus Decianus*, the procurator, who had by his rapacious avarice driven the province into despair, and was universally hated, upon the first notice of the revolt, fled, like a coward, over into *Gaul*. *Suetonius*, upon the first notice of the revolt, left the island of *Anglesey*, and with undaunted bravery marched through the heart of the enemy's country quite to *London*, a city not honoured indeed with the title of colony, but full of *Roman* inhabitants, and even then highly famed for the vast conflux of traders, and plenty of all commodities and provisions. Here he designed at first to settle his head quarters, and make this place the seat and centre of the war: but afterwards reflecting on the small number of his men, he resolved to abandon it, and retire to some more advantageous post. This resolution threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation; but *Suetonius*, hoping by the loss of one town to save the whole province, was not, by the tears and wailing of multitudes imploring his protection, diverted from ordering the signal for departure to be given, taking with him all those who were able or willing to accompany him. He was no sooner gone, than the enemy made themselves masters of the place, and massacred, without distinction of sex or age, all who had staid behind. The like slaughter befel the municipal or free city of *Verulamium*, now *St. Albans*, and several other towns, in which seventy thousand souls perished, all *Romans*, or the confederates of *Rome*. For the provoked *Britons* gave no quarter, and neither took, nor sold, nor exchanged prisoners, nor observed any other law of war, but killed, burnt, or crucified all who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, being more inflamed with a desire of revenge, than of victory or booty. In short, no kind of cruelty was omitted, with which rage and victory could possibly inspire the hearts of an injured people. *Suetonius*, having in the mean time drawn together an army of about ten thousand men, viz. the fourteenth legion, with the veterans of the twentieth, and auxiliaries from the various garisons, resolved without further delay to put the whole, as he was distressed for want of provisions, to the issue of a battle.

^a DIO, l. lxii. p. 701.

^c TACIT. C. 32, 33.

a battle. With this view he chose a place accessible only by a narrow vale, and defended ^{Suetonius re-}
 behind by a wood, being well apprised that the enemy would attack him only in front, ^{solves to give}
 and that in the open vale no stratagems or ambushes were to be dreaded. He drew up ^{the Britons}
 the legionaries in thick ranks, placing round them the light-armed soldiers; and the ^{battle.}
 cavalry on each wing. The *British* army, which was drawn up in great separate
 bands, some of foot, some of horse, appeared an immense multitude. They amounted,
 according to *Dion Cassius*, to 230,000 men; and, according to *Tacitus*, exhibited
 the greatest multitude; that till then had been seen in arms, and withal, so confident
 of victory, that they had brought their wives with them to be spectators of it from
 their waggons; which they had placed round the borders of the field. *Boudicea*,
 b who had chiefly stirred up the *Britons* to this war, was carried about in a chariot with
 her two daughters sitting before her. As she traversed the field from nation to na- ^{Boudicea's}
 tion, she declared to all, that though it was usual for the *Britons* to war under the con- ^{speech to her}
 duct of a woman, yet upon this occasion she assumed not the authority of one de- ^{army.}
 scended from such illustrious ancestors; but appeared upon the same foot with one of
 the vulgar, seeking vengeance, not for the loss of her kingdom; but for the extirpa-
 tion of public liberty; for the stripes inflicted upon her person; and the brutish affronts
 offered to her virgin daughters, since the *Romans* were arrived at such a pitch of
 unbridled violence, that no age nor sex could escape their fury and contamination:
 she enlarged on the evils of tyranny and servitude, and concluded, that in the impending
 battle the *Britons* must either remain utterly victorious, or utterly perish; that to do
 one of these was the firm purpose of her, who was a woman; for the men, they
 might, if they pleased, still live, and be doomed to slavery. *Suetonius*, though
 he confided in the bravery of his men; yet he failed not to join to it exhortations
 mixed with intreaties; that they would despise the savage clamours of the barbarians
 with all their impotent menaces, keep their ranks, and after having discharged their
 darts, close in with the enemy; and pursue the slaughter with their spears and swords,
 without any thought of the spoil, as well knowing, that after victory all must fall
 to their share. The general's speech was followed by such ardor in his men, long
 inured to all the arts and events of battles, that *Suetonius*, not doubting of the issue,
 d gave the signal for the onset. The legion kept their ground immovable, sheltering
 themselves within the streights of the place; till the enemy, advancing within arrow-
 shot, had spent all their darts: upon this advantage they rushed out upon them all
 at once in the form of a wedge; and being supported by the cavalry and auxiliaries,
 overthrew all who stood next to them: hereupon the rest turned their backs and fled,
 but found it difficult to escape, the inclosure, made by their own carriages, ob-
 structing their retreat. The *Romans* gave no quarter, but put all to the sword, not
 sparing even the lives of women, nay they pierced with their darts the very beasts of
 burden, which helped to swell the mighty heaps of the dead: for we are told, that ^{The Britons}
 of the *Britons* were slain near eighty thousand; whereas the *Romans* lost only four ^{defeated with}
 hundred men. *Boudicea*, resolved not to outlive that fatal day, is said by some to ^{great slaugh-}
 e have ended her life by poison; but others write, that she died a few days after the ^{ter.}
 battle of a natural death. *Poenius Posthumus*, prefect of the camp to the second
 legion; upon tidings of the exploits and success of the fourteenth and twentieth legions
 struck with remorse for having defrauded his own of equal honour, and disobeyed,
 contrary to the laws of military duty, the orders of his general, ran himself through
 with his sword. *Dion Cassius* differs from *Tacitus*, whom we have followed in his
 account of this battle; for he tells us, that the victory continued long doubtful, that
 the *Britons*, though only a disorderly rabble, led on by a woman, stood their ground
 against the embattled legions with great intrepidity, and would have tried the fortune
 f of a second battle, had they not in the mean time been disheartened by the unexpected
 death of *Boudicea*. The *Roman* army, after a general review, kept the field under
 tents, to put an end to the war. Their forces were moreover increased by *Nero*,
 who ordered two thousand legionaries, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand
 horse, to pass from *Germany* over into *Britain*. By their arrival the ninth legion was
 recruited, and thereupon the auxiliaries sent into different parts to destroy with fire
 and sword such nations as continued in arms, or appeared suspicious. But nothing
 afflicted the unhappy *Britons* so much as famine; for all their hands being employed
 in the war, they had utterly neglected to cultivate and sow the ground, reckoning
 upon

* TACIT. C. 36, 37. DIO, p. 701.

" DIO, ibid.

The Britons, though afflicted with famine, continue in arms.

Polycletus sent into Britain.

Suetonius recalled.

Several persons condemned at Rome, for forging a will.

The governor of Rome murdered by one of his slaves.

upon the stores and provisions of the *Romans* as their own. However, they continued still in arms, and became daily more backward in their inclinations to peace from the behaviour of *Julius Classicianus*, who succeeding *Catus Decianus* as procurator of the province, and being at variance with *Suetonius*, obstructed the public good to gratify his private pique, giving out, that a new governor would be sent, who, free from the arrogance of a conqueror, and unacquainted with the preceding conduct of the enemy, would treat such as submitted with more gentleness and mercy. And truly *Suetonius*, as *Tacitus* observes, though in other respects a signal commander, yet treated such as surrendered themselves in a very imperious manner, as one who likewise avenged his private injuries. At the same time, *Classicianus* wrote to *Rome*, that there would be no end of war and bloodshed, unless *Suetonius* was removed, ascribing all the disasters to his ill conduct, and the happy success to the auspicious fortune of the republic. Hereupon *Polycletus*, one of the emperor's freedmen, was dispatched to inspect the state of *Britain*, *Nero* conceiving great hopes, that by the authority of his domestic, not only a reconciliation would be brought about between the governor and procurator, but the minds of the discontented *Britons* would be calmed, and inclined to peace. *Polycletus* was not backward to assume the employment, but immediately set out with such an immense train, that he was a burden, as *Tacitus* tells us, even to the wealthy nations of *Italy* and *Gaul*, through which he passed: thence he crossed the channel, and travelled in *Britain* with such awful state and attendance, as struck even the *Roman* soldiers, accustomed to the grandeur of *Rome*, with amazement. But to the *Britons*, among whom reigned popular liberty, he proved an object of derision; as they were utter strangers to the power of the imperial freedmen, they were amazed, that a victorious general and army, who had fought such battles, should obey a manumised slave; his authority was therefore of no weight with men, who, being brought up in the noble principles of liberty, scorned to pay any deference or respect to such sons of earth, however distinguished and exalted by the favours of a court. Hereupon *Polycletus*, finding the *Britons* were not to be dazzled with outward appearances, returned to *Rome*, where he represented to the emperor the transactions and conduct of *Suetonius* in so favourable a light, that he was continued in the government. However, having some time after lost a few galleys on the shore with the men who rowed them, as if this accident had been a proof, that the war still continued, he was ordered to resign the government to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had just ended his consulship. As this new governor neither provoked the *Britons* by any act of hostility, nor was provoked by them, he bestowed on this cowardly inaction the specious name of peace. This tranquillity continued till the time of *Vespasian*, the governors, who succeeded *Turpilianus*, following his example, and carefully avoiding to give any just cause of complaint to the *Britons*; nay, they did not even attempt to recover the island of *Anglesey*, which about this time shook off the yoke. We shall resume the detail of the *British* affairs in the history of the above-mentioned emperor's reign, when we shall see the *Britons* enter the lists with noble armies sent against them from *Gaul* and *Italy*, and conducted by generals of great renown.

DURING these transactions in *Britain*, several persons of great distinction at *Rome* were either degraded or banished for forging a will. Among these was *Antonius Præmus*, of whom we shall have frequent occasion to speak in the reign of *Vespasian*, and *Asinius Marcellus*, descended of an illustrious family, being the great grandson of the celebrated *Asinius Pollio*, and himself without any other blemish in his conduct and manners, save that he believed poverty to be the greatest of evils. The illustrious memory of his ancestors, and the intreaties of the emperor, procured him an exemption from the punishment due to his crime. With the others privy to these detestable practices was condemned and interdicted *Italy* one *Valerius Ponticus*, a pleader or lawyer, for endeavouring to save the criminals by the quibbles of the law; and it was decreed, that whoever should take a fee for such vile employment, should suffer the same punishment as one publicly condemned for calumny. Not long after the death of *Pedanius Secundus*, governor of *Rome*, murdered by a slave of his own, occasioned no small disturbances in the city. According to the ancient laws of *Rome*, all the slaves, who lived under the same roof, were to be involved in the same penalty with the criminal; but such was on this occasion the uproar of the populace, zealous to save so many innocent lives, that it proceeded even to sedition. The senate too

was

^w TACIT. c. 38, 39. & vit. Agr. 16, 17. SUET. c. 18. DIO, p. 702.

a was rent into parties, some rejecting with great warmth such excessive rigor, while others voted against any innovation. After a long and warm debate, it was carried, that, without compassion for the number of slaves, for the age of some, for the sex of others, for the undoubted innocence of most, they should be all condemned to death and executed. As they were no fewer than four hundred, the populace flocked tumultuously together to prevent the execution of so many innocent persons. But Nero reprimanded them by an edict, and with lines of soldiers secured the way, thro' which they were led to the place of execution. *Cingonius Varro* moved, that the freedmen too, who abode under the same roof, should be for ever expelled Italy; but Nero opposed that motion, urging, that since the rigor of the antient custom had not been softened by mercy, it ought not to be heightened by cruelty *.

All his slaves are executed.

b THE following year, *P. Marius* and *L. Asinius* were consuls; but resigned the fasces, according to *Onuphrius*, *Goltzius*, and others, in the month of July to *Trebellius Maximus* and *Seneca*. A decree in the digests, dated the 25th of August, seems to favour this opinion. However, some writers, and among the rest *Ausonius*, maintain, that *Seneca* never attained the dignity of consul. During the administration of these consuls, the prætor *Antistius*, having composed a poem full of contumelious invectives against the prince, and read it to a numerous assembly at a banquet in the house of *Ostorius Scapula*, was arraigned upon the law of majesty by *Cossutianus Capito*, a law, which after long disuse was upon this occasion first revived. *Ostorius* declared before the senate, when he was called upon to give his evidence, that he knew nothing of the imputed crime; but the contrary testimony of the other witnesses being credited, *Julius Marullus*, consul elect, voted, that the accused should be divested of his prætorship and put to death. But *Thrasea Pætus*, after high encomiums upon Nero, and many bitter invectives against *Antistius*, argued, that since under such an excellent prince the senate was in its decisions influenced by no bias or compulsion, and halts and executioners were long since banished, the only punishment they could inflict, without bringing themselves under the imputation of cruelty, and the times under that of infamy, was, to confiscate the estate of the criminal, and confine him to a solitary island. The generous freedom of *Thrasea* animated the other senators, so that they all went readily into his motion, except a small number of abandoned flatterers, among whom was the famous sycophant *Vitellius*. The consuls, however, before they gave the last sanction to the decree, thought it adviseable to acquaint the emperor with their unanimity, who, after having long struggled between shame and resentment, at last answered, that since *Antistius* had, without any provocation, uttered so many black invectives against the prince, it was the duty of the senate to decree a punishment suitable to the crime. However, as he would certainly have opposed any rigorous sentence, so he would now by no means defeat their mercy; they might therefore determine as they thought best, nay, from him they had full leave to discharge the criminal. From this answer it plainly appeared, that the emperor was piqued; but, notwithstanding his displeasure, neither *Thrasea* nor the others departed from the measures which they had approved. At the same time, *Fabricius Veiento* was expelled Italy for writing a satire against the senate, and making traffick of the prince's favour by selling the great offices of the state. His writings being doomed to the flames, were, as *Tacitus* observes, universally sought and read, while it was difficult to find them, and dangerous to keep them; but when every one was free to possess and peruse them, they sunk into contempt and oblivion †. This year died, to the unspeakable grief of all good men, the celebrated *Burrhus*, one of the chief friends and supports of the public; but whether by poison or a disease, is not certainly known: the latter was imagined, because a swelling in his throat gradually increased, till by a total stoppage of respiration he died suffocated. *Suetonius* * and *Dion Cassius* ‡ tell us, that *Nero*, having promised him a remedy against his distemper, sent him a venomous medicine. This, says *Tacitus*, was asserted by many; and it was likewise a common report, that *Burrhus*, being well apprised of it, when the prince came to visit him, turned his face another way, and to his repeated inquiries about his health, returned no other answer than this, *I am well*. The loss of so great and worthy a man was long regretted in Rome, as well from the memory of his own virtues, as from the different character of his joint successors; for *Nero* appointed two captains of the prætorian guards, *Fenius Rufus* and *Sofonius Tigellinus*. The former

Antistius writes a satire against Nero.

The generous freedom of Thrasea Pætus.

Antistius is only banished.

The death of Burrhus.

* TACIT. c. 42—44.

† Idem, c. 48—50.

* SUET. c. 35.

‡ DIO, l. lx. p. 706.

The character of Tigellinus. former was a man of great integrity, but indolent, and an utter enemy to all trouble; the other infamous for lewdness, cruelty, avarice, and all the most flagrant iniquities; but in high favour with *Nero*, and by him assumed into power from a fellowship in all his secret debauches and revels^b.

Several charges brought against Seneca. AND now, one of the champions of virtue being removed, the many wicked and evil counsellors, who abounded in the emperor's court, attacked the other, viz. *Seneca*, with many criminal imputations; namely, that he had already accumulated wealth far above the condition of a citizen, and was insatiably accumulating more; that such was the magnificence of his gardens, such the splendor of his seats, that in these instances of grandeur he excelled even the emperor; that he was labouring to attach to his own person the veneration of the *Roman* people; that he disparaged his skill in managing horses, turned his voice into mockery whenever he sung, and to himself alone arrogated the praise and perfection of eloquence: they added, that *Nero* was no longer a child, and therefore ought now to begin to reign, to dismiss his pedagogue, and to be governed by more famous tutors, his glorious ancestors. *Seneca* was not unapprised of the efforts of his enemies, and therefore finding the emperor had withdrawn his usual affability, and shewed himself daily more and more reserved towards him, he begged an audience; and having obtained it, he besought the emperor to give him leave to retire, and apply himself wholly to the cultivation of his mind and the study of philosophy, intreating him at the same time to accept of his immense wealth, his stately seats and gardens, his ample possessions, &c. which were too great rewards for the small service he had rendered him, and administered fresh fuel to the raging envy of his enemies. *Nero* replied, that he still stood in great need of the wise rules, wholesome counsels, and useful precepts, with which he had cherished his infancy and youth, and therefore could not by any means grant him his request.

He begs leave to retire.

Nero's deceitful speech to him.

“As to your gardens, seats, and wealth, said he, there are many favourites, no-wise equal to you in worthy accomplishments, distinguished with larger possessions. I blush to quote freedmen, who are esteemed more wealthy than you; and am ashamed, that one, who is dear to me above all others, does not yet surpass all others in fortune. If you forsake your prince, and to him surrender your wealth, the treasure returned will be ascribed, not to your moderation, but to my rapaciousness, and your retreat to the dread of my cruelty. But suppose this disinterestedness of yours, this contempt of riches, be generally applauded, yet surely it will reflect no honour upon a wise man to seek glory from a proceeding, which must unavoidably bring infamy upon his friend.” To these words he added kisses and embraces, swearing several times in a most solemn manner, that he would rather perish himself a thousand times, than suffer him to be any ways injured. *Seneca* returned him thanks for his kindness and generosity; but nevertheless altered his former conduct, received few visits at home, avoided any train of attendance abroad, and appeared seldom in public, as if he were confined to his house by ill health, or the study of philosophy. The retreat of *Seneca* doubled the authority of *Tigellinus*, who diving curiously into the secret fears of the prince, and finding, that he chiefly dreaded *Plautus* and *Sylla*, the one removed lately into the east, the other into *Gaul*, persuaded him to put them both to death, hoping to bear a still greater sway with the emperor, by thus seeming to consult his defence and security. *Sylla* was dispatched while he was at table, without any apprehension of danger, by assassins, who in six days arrived express at *Marseilles*, to which city he had been confined. When his head was presented to *Nero*, its untimely hoariness is said to have moved him to unbecoming jests and derision. The sentence awarded against *Plautus* was not so successfully concealed. *Lucius Antistius*, his father-in-law, receiving private notice of it, dispatched to him a freedman of his own, who, outstriking the fatal centurion, brought him from his master the following advice; that he should be sure to shun a cowardly death; that he had yet leisure to escape, and could not fail of finding compassion from all worthy and generous men; that if he had once repulsed the sixty soldiers, for so many were sent to dispatch him, he might then, while the tidings were transmitting to *Nero*, prosecute many schemes, and lay the foundation of a war; at least he had nothing more dreadful to suffer after a brave resistance, than what he must suffer by a cowardly acquiescence. But *Plautus*, not moved by these considerations, chose rather

He avoids the court.

Sylla put to death.

a rather to die, than to preserve his life by kindling a civil war (G); so that the assassins, finding him quite unprepared for any resistance, murdered him in the middle of the day before *Pelago* the eunuch, who was by *Nero* set over the centurion and his band. When the head of the slain was carried to *Rome*, and shewn to the emperor, *I knew not before*, said he, by way of raillery, *that Rubellius had so great a nose*. Then turning to the confidants of his debauches, What can prevent me now, cried he from instantly solemnizing my nuptials with *Poppæa*, a solemnity hitherto deferred through fear of such men as this? Afterwards he wrote letters to the senate, in which he inveighed with great bitterness against *Sylla* and *Plautus*, but took no notice of their death. However, the senate, well apprised of what had happened, decreed professions, appointed thanks to be publicly returned to the gods, and degraded *Sylla* and *Plautus* from the dignity of senators. *Nero*, perceiving from the decree of the senate that his most flagrant iniquities passed for commendable actions, divorced *Octavia* without further delay, alledging that she was barren (H); and married *Poppæa*, *Nero married* who, to prevent his ever being reconciled to his former wife, suborned one of *Octavia's* domestics to accuse her of a criminal amour with a slave, named *Eucerus*, a native of *Alexandria*, and one who was famous for playing upon the flute. The maids of *Octavia* were all examined upon the rack, and, though some, overcome by the exquisite pain of the torture, favoured the forgery, yet most of them maintained, and with great firmness vindicated, the unspotted character of their lady (I). However, she was first removed from the palace, and afterwards banished into *Campania*, where a guard of soldiers was placed over her. But as the populace openly complained of this cruel treatment, *Nero*, dreading the resentment of the provoked multitude, recalled her soon after to the infinite satisfaction of the *Roman* people, who in transports of joy crowded to the temples with thanksgiving, overthrew the statues of *Poppæa*, crowned with flowers those of *Octavia*, and carrying her images, as it were, in triumph, placed them in the great forum and in the several temples. Hereupon *Poppæa*, fearing *Nero* might change his mind, and, to gratify the populace, recal *Octavia* to his bed, prevailed upon him, by a speech artfully framed to produce both terror and wrath, to resolve upon the ruin of the innocent *Octavia*. As the fiction of the unhappy princess's intrigue with *Eucerus* had been quite defeated by the testimony of her maids upon the rack, it was agreed to procure some one, who should own himself guilty with her, and against whom might be also feigned a plausible charge of meditating a revolution in the state: *Anicetus*, who had murdered *Agrippina*, was judged a proper man for this vile purpose. To him therefore *Nero* addressed himself, and what by promises, what by menaces, induced him to acknowledge that he had maintained a criminal conversation with *Octavia*; which he had no sooner done, than *Nero* issued an edict, declaring, that *Octavia*, in hopes of engaging the fleet in her conspiracy, had corrupted *Anicetus* the admiral: and forgetting that he had just before accused her of barrenness, he added, that she had concealed her secret lusts, and always defeated her pregnancy by abortion, and that these her crimes were by him fully detected. Hereupon the unfortunate princess was banished to the island of *Pandataria*, and after a few days doomed to die. Those who were charged with the execution of this cruel and unjust sentence, having tied her down with bonds, opened all the veins of her body; but as her blood was chilled through fear and issued slowly, they hastened her doom, by stifling her in the steam of a boiling bath. After her death her head was cut off by a centurion,

The affection
of the people to
Octavia.

She is banished;
and afterwards murdered.

(G) He was perhaps chiefly influenced, says *Tacitus*, by tenderness for his wife and children, whom he imagined the prince would treat with more mildness, were he not incensed by any insurrection or alarms. Some write, that the advices he received from his father-in-law were of a quite different nature, importing, that his life was in no danger. Others tell us, that two philosophers, *Ceranus* a Greek and *Musonius* a Tuscan, encouraged him to wait for death with unshaken intrepidity, since it would deliver him from a life subject to eternal anxieties and fears.

(H) *Octavia* was, as *Nero* himself owned, an easy wife, modest in her conduct, of an unblemished character, &c. but still an eye-sore to him from the affection which the people shewed her; hence he

would have divorced her soon after the death of her father *Claudius*, had not *Burrhus* opposed his design, telling him freely, that if he parted with *Octavia*, he must likewise part with what she had brought him, the empire (44). He seldom admitted her to his bed, answering his friends, who blamed him for thus neglecting a woman of her merit, that the jewels, ornaments, and title of empress were sufficient for her. *Suetonius* tells us, that he often attempted to strangle her (45).

(I) While *Tigellinus* was earnestly pressing *Octavia's* maids upon the rack to deliver themselves from their torments, by owning their lady's guilt, one of them, by name *Pythias*, returned him this answer; *Castiora sunt muliebria Octaviæ, quam os tuum.*

centurion, and carried to *Rome*, that *Poppæa* might have the satisfaction of seeing it, and diverting herself with so tragical a spectacle. *Tacitus* observes, that nothing ever filled the hearts of the people with more affecting compassion, than the cruel sufferings and untimely end of this innocent princess, inhumanly massacred in the twenty-second year of her age, under the imputation of a crime more barbarous and piercing than death itself, without having ever tasted any share of happiness or delight. But the senate, at this time under the emperors, an assembly of mean-spirited wretches, intirely devoted to corruption and servitude, for this execution, as for some notable deliverance, pompously decreed gifts and oblations to the gods. Such was the debasement of the once great and venerable *Roman* senate. Fear had stopped their mouths, or opened them only to the most scandalous strains of flattery. Our historian observes, here to their eternal infamy, that as often as any cruel sentence was pronounced by the prince, as often as murders or banishments were by him commanded, so often were acknowledgments and thanksgivings, by the authority of the senate, paid to the deities ^c. *Octavia* had been honoured, as appears from some medals ^d, with the title of *Augusta*. *Nero* killed himself six years after on the same day, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, on which *Octavia* was by his orders assassinated ^e, that is, on the eleventh of *June*. *Anicetus*, as one convicted by his own confession, was banished into *Sardinia*, where he lived in great plenty, and died at length by course of nature. This year died *Doryphorus*, *Pallas*, and *Romanus*, all three imperial freedmen of great note, and believed to have been poisoned by *Nero's* orders; *Doryphorus*, because he endeavoured to thwart the marriage with *Poppæa*; *Pallas*, because he lived too long, and prevented the prince from enjoying his immense wealth; and *Romanus*, because he brought a charge of treason against *Seneca*, which the accused retorted upon him ^f.

Pallas dies.

Poppæa is delivered of a daughter.

Senators, knights, and ladies enter the lists among the gladiators.

THE following year, when *L. Virginus Rufus* and *C. Memmius Regulus* were consuls, the city of *Pompeii*, which took its name from *Pompey the Great*, was in a great measure overturned by an earthquake, which highly damaged many other cities of *Campania*. That province had been alarmed before by frequent shocks; but this, which happened on the fifth of *February*, was so dreadful, that great numbers of the inhabitants abandoned their native country, and settled elsewhere, through fear of being one day swallowed up by the earth, a misfortune, which fifteen years after, that is, in the first year of the reign of *Titus* and seventy-ninth of the christian æra, befel those who remained, and likewise the inhabitants of *Herculanum* or *Herculanum*, as we shall relate in its proper place. This year *Poppæa* was delivered of a daughter, which filled *Nero* with unspeakable joy: she was honoured with the name of *Augusta*, and upon *Poppæa* was conferred the same title. The senate had before made public vows for her happy delivery, and now many more were added, and the whole amply fulfilled; days for solemn processions were appointed, a temple was decreed to *Fecundity*, golden images of the *Fortunes* at *Antium*, where the child was born, were ordered to be made and placed in the throne of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, &c. ^e But short-lived was the prince's joy; for within four months the infant died, which gave occasion to new sallies of flattery, since she was placed among the gods, and divine worship with a priest, altars, and sacrifices were voted to her. As for the emperor, as he had rejoiced, so he grieved beyond all measure ^g. To allay his grief, he exhibited various shews, among the rest a combat of gladiators, in which four hundred senators, six hundred knights, and, what was a sight altogether new, many ladies of great distinction entered the lists, and infamously contaminated themselves and families, to use the expression of *Tacitus*, by appearing among the common gladiators. In one of these shews a knight, of illustrious quality, rid full speed down a steep descent upon an elephant; another personated *Icarus*, but in attempting to fly, fell down so near the emperor, that he was besprinkled with his blood. A comedy was also acted, composed by *Afranius*, and intitled *incendium*, or *the burning*, in which a house richly furnished was set on fire, and permission granted to the actors to rifle it. During these shews, he did not, like other emperors, scatter money among the populace, but tickets for vast sums, for fine houses, gardens, and estates, which he faithfully consigned to those who produced the said tickets. For he believed, as *Suetonius* observes, that all the pleasure and advantage of riches consisted in profusion and prodigality, reckoned those sordid and mean-spirited, who kept any account

^c TACIT. c. 60—63. ^d SPANH. p. 619. ^e Suet. c. 57. ^f TACIT. c. 65. Dio, l. lxxii. p. 707. Suet. c. 35.

^g TACIT. annal. l. xv. c. 13. Suet. c. 35.

an account of their expences, and cried up such as squandered away and consumed Nero's prodigality. Hence he never mentioned his uncle *Caligula*, but with the highest elogiums, because in less than a year's time he had consumed, besides his ordinary revenues, the vast sum (eighteen millions of our money), which *Tiberius* had left him^b.

In the next consulship of *Caius Lecanius Bassus* and *M. Licinius Crassus Frugi*, Nero becoming every day more transported with a passion for singing and playing on the public stage, for he had hitherto exerted his skill only in the assemblies called *Juvenalia*, which were restrained to particular houses and gardens, and not daring to begin at *Rome*, resolved to repair to *Naples* to make his first essay and appearance there, and from thence pass over into *Greece*, and contend for the prize in music at the Olympic games. Accordingly, he set out from *Rome* with his usual attendance and equipage, that is, with a thousand chariots, his horses and mules all shod with silver, his grooms and muletiers clad in the richest cloth of *Canusium*, and attended by a band of prætorian guards and a body of *African* horse, most pompously attired. Soon after his arrival at *Naples*, he mounted the stage, and sang for several days together to an immense multitude, all the rabble of *Naples*, and incredible numbers flocking from the neighbouring cities and colonies, to such an extraordinary spectacle, an emperor singing on the public stage. In this exercise he passed his whole time at *Naples*, repairing to the theatre in the morning, and continuing there till night, allowing himself now and then a small respite to take breath and refresh himself, which he did publicly in the presence of the multitude, telling them, that when he had washed his throat, he would entertain them with a finer air than any they had yet heard. We are told, that though the theatre was one day, while he was singing, shaken all on a sudden with a violent earthquake and in great danger of falling, yet he would not give over till he had ended his song. When he had done, he gave the numerous audience leave to retire; and the theatre, as soon as it was empty, fell to the ground. This accident *Nero* looked upon as a providential event, betokening the immediate protection of his guardian deities, and celebrated the benignity of the gods in songs of thanksgiving composed by himself. Being much delighted with the praises which some *Alexandrians*, lately arrived at *Naples*, bestowed on his heavenly and august voice, he sent for more of them over in great haste, and was ever after attended by some of them on the stage, richly attired with a ring of great value on their left hand: as they were for the most part youths, he appointed them governors to take care of their education, and allowed them an annual pension of four hundred thousand sestercesⁱ. The emperor left *Naples* with a design to pass over into *Greece*, and display his abilities there. In his rout to the *Adriatic* he rested a while at *Beneventum*, where by *Vatinius* was exhibited a pompous shew of gladiators. *Vatinius* was one of the most baneful monsters that haunted the court, originally bred in a cobbler's stall, hideous and distorted in his person, at first taken to court as a buffoon, and afterwards by calumny, by lying accusations against every worthy man, and a sarcastical turn, raised to such a height, that in wealth, and favour, and in power to do mischief, he surpassed all the other ministers of iniquity in *Nero's* court^k (K). During the solemnity of these sports, *Nero* forbore not acts of tyranny and blood, but forced *Torquatus Silanus*, the great grandson of *Augustus*, to die, for no other crime, but because he lived with greater splendor and magnificence than became a private person, and therefore was supposed to aspire at the sovereign power. *Torquatus* opened the veins of both his arms and bled to death. After this *Nero*, for reasons that were not known, put off his voyage to *Greece* and returned to *Rome*, with a design to shew himself to the provinces of the east, especially to *Egypt*, which project he declared by a public edict, and then went to pay his oblations for the success of that journey to the several deities in the city. But as he entered the temple of *Vesta*, he was seized with a sudden dread, which shook him in every joint; and is ascribed by some writers to the awful aspect of the goddesses, by others to the remembrance of his enormous crimes,

He sings upon the stage of Naples.

He is entertained at Beneventum by Vatinius with a shew of gladiators.

^b Suet. c. 11. & 30.

ⁱ Suet. c. 20. Tacit. c. 34.

^k Idem ibid.

(K) *Vatinius* is mentioned by *Martial* and *Juvenal* as the contriver of certain cups with four long spouts, called by the *Latins* noses: says *Martial*: and *Juvenal*:

*Tu Beneventani futoris nomen habentem
Siccabis calicem nasorum quatuor, &c.*

*Vilia futoris calicem monumenta Vatini
Accipe, sed nasus longior ille fuit:*

Why he dropt
his design of
going into
Egypt.

His banquets.

One prepared
for him by
Tigellinus.

His abomina-
tions.

The burning
of Rome.

crimes, with which he was so eternally haunted, that he was never a moment free from pangs and agonies. Be that as it will, he dropped his project, giving out, that he could not prevail upon himself to deprive the *Roman* citizens for so long a time of the joyful sight of their prince. This declaration was pleasing to the populace, from their inclination to diversions, which by his residence at *Rome* they enjoyed, and from the apprehension of scarcity of provisions in his absence¹.

Nero banquetted frequently in the public places and great squares, using the whole city as his own house. These banquets were expensive and magnificent almost beyond belief, and no less infamous for the monstrous scenes of lewdness practised at them; for he was generally attended at such entertainments, whether given by himself or his friends, by the most debauched and abandoned women of the whole city. *Tacitus* describes here the feast prepared for him this year by *Tigellinus*, as a pattern of all the rest. In the lake of *Agrippa* he built a large vessel, which contained the banquet, and was towed by other vessels embellished with rich ornaments of gold and ivory, which were rowed by professed catamites, ranged according to their different age and skill in their abominable profession. The banquet consisted of great variety of wild fowl and wild beasts from remote countries, and fish from the ocean. On the banks of the lake on one side stood brothels filled with ladies of great rank, and on the other common harlots, quite naked. When night came, the neighbouring groves and houses resounded with the joyful symphony of musical instruments and songs, and appeared illuminated with a huge blaze of lights, which turned night into day. It was a few days after this memorable banquet, that *Nero*, who had already surpassed all men, as *Tacitus* observes, in every kind of abomination, was prompted by his extravagant lewdness and folly to such excesses, as would seem altogether incredible, were they not attested by historians, who lived near those times, and whose veracity cannot be questioned. He attired himself in the habit of a woman, and as such was publicly with the usual forms and solemnity married to a pathic of his contaminated crew, named *Pythagoras*. Not satisfied with such monstrous and unheard-of impiety and pollutions, as he was the wife of one pathic, so he became the husband of another, named *Sporus*, whom he married with the same solemnity, kept in his palace, and carried about with him all over *Italy* and *Greece* in the same litter, and in the attire of an empress; on which occasion it was said, that the world would have been happy, had *Nero's* father had such a wife^m. His other abominable pollutions, unknown before to the most abandoned debauchees, we shall pass over in silence, being well apprised, that a detail of such monstrous obscenities would prove no less shocking to our readers, than that which we read in *Suetonius* has proved shocking to us. We shall only observe out of that writer, that *Nero* was firmly persuaded all men were as wicked as himself; and therefore freely forgave those, who made an open profession of obscenity, all other crimes; but punished with the utmost severity, as hypocrites and impostors, such as seemed to be offended with the most unnatural impuritiesⁿ.

This year, the eleventh of *Nero's* reign and sixty-fourth of the *Christian* æra, happened the famous burning of *Rome*; but whether by chance, or the contrivance of the prince, is not determined, both being asserted by authors. The fire began amongst certain shops, in which were kept such goods as were proper to feed it, and spread every way with such amazing rapidity, that its havock was felt in distant streets before any measures to stop it could be tried. Besides an infinite number of common houses, all the noble monuments of antiquity, all the stately palaces, temples, porticos, with goods, riches, furniture, and merchandise to an immense value, were devoured by the flame, which raged first in the low regions of the city, and then mounted to the higher, with such terrible violence and impetuosity, as to frustrate all relief. The shrieks of the women, the various efforts of some endeavouring to save the young and tender, of others attempting to assist the aged and infirm, and the hurry of such as strove only to provide for themselves, occasioned a mutual interruption and universal confusion. Many, while they chiefly regarded the danger that pursued them behind, found themselves suddenly involved in the flame before and on every side: if they escaped into the quarters adjoining, or into the parts quite remote, there too they met with the devouring flames. At last, not knowing whither to fly, nor where to seek sanctuary, they abandoned the city, and repaired to the open fields. Some out of despair for the loss of their whole substance, others through tenderness for their

¹ Idem, c. 37.

^m *TACIT.* c. 37, *SUET.* c. 28.

ⁿ Idem, c. 29.

a their children and relations, whom they had not been able to snatch from the flames, suffered themselves to perish in them, though they had easy means to escape. No man durst offer to stop the progress of the fire, there being many, who had no other business, but to prevent with repeated menaces all attempts of that nature; nay some were in the face of the public seen to throw lighted fire-brands into the houses, loudly declaring, that they were authorized so to do; but whether this was only a device to plunder more freely, or in reality they had such orders, was never certainly known. Nero, who was then at *Antium*, did not offer to return to the city, till he heard, that the flame was advancing to his palace, which after his arrival was, in spite of all opposition, burnt down to the ground, with all the houses adjoining to it. However, Nero, affecting compassion for the multitude, thus vagabond and bereft of their dwell-
 b ings, laid open the field of *Mars*, and all the great edifices erected there by *Agrippa*, and even his own gardens. He likewise caused tabernacles to be reared in haste for the reception of the forlorn populace; from *Ostia* too and the neighbouring cities were brought by his orders all sorts of furniture and necessaries, and the price of corn considerably lessened. But these bounties, however generous and popular, were bestowed in vain, because a report was spread abroad, that, during the time of this general conflagration, he mounted his domestic stage, and sang the destruction of *Troy*, comparing the present desolation to the celebrated calamities of antiquity. At length, on the sixth day (M), the fury of the flames was stopt at the foot of mount
 c *Esquiline*, by levelling with the ground an infinite number of buildings, so that it found nothing to encounter, but the open fields and empty air. But scarce had the late alarm ceased, when the fire broke out anew with fresh rage; but in places more wide and spacious; whence fewer persons were destroyed, but more temples overthrown and porticos appropriated to public diversion. As this second conflagration broke out in certain buildings belonging to *Tigellinus*, they were both generally ascribed to *Nero*; and it was conjectured, that by destroying the old city, he aimed at the glory of building a new one, and calling it by his name. Of the fourteen quarters, into which *Rome* was divided, four remained intire, three were laid in ashes, and in the seven others there remained only here and there a few houses, miserably shattered
 d and half consumed^p. Such is the account which *Tacitus* gives us of this dreadful calamity. But *Suetonius* and *Dion Cassius* are positive in their relations, that it was occasioned by *Nero*. The former author writes, that one happening in a private conversation with the emperor, to say in *Greek*, *When I am dead, let the world be burnt*; nay, replied he, *Let it be burnt while I am alive*; and not long after, being displeased with the old buildings of the city, with its narrow alleys, and irregular streets, he caused it to be set on fire so publicly, that several of his officers were found in the houses of the great men with fire and flax in their hands, and nevertheless dismissed, because they openly declared, that they had one to authorize them. There being certain store-houses near his palace, which ground he desired to have, that with their walls of
 e stone withstood the violence of the flames, he caused them to be battered down with engines of war. Though in this barbarous conflagration, continues the same writer, the palaces of our ancient commanders, adorned with hostile spoils, the temples formerly consecrated by our kings, those which the piety of our ancestors raised in the *Punic* and *Gaulish* wars, and in short all the noble and stately monuments of antiquity, were consumed by the devouring flames, yet *Nero* was so far from being touched with sorrow or compassion, that he beheld the fire the whole time from the tower of *Mecenas*, and being highly pleased with the sight, he chanted a poem on the destruction of *Troy*, in the same habit which he used when he sung on the stage. He would not allow any one to attempt the stopping or extinguishing of the fire, promising to remove
 f at his own charge the rubbish and dead bodies^q. Among the many ancient and stately edifices which the rage of the flames utterly consumed, *Tacitus* reckons the temple

The despair
and miserable
condition of
the inhabit-
ants.

The fire extin-
guished, but
breaks out
anew.

^p TACIT. C. 38—40

^q SUET. C. 38.

(M) *Suetonius* tells us, that it lasted six days and seven nights; wherein he disagrees with an ancient inscription, still to be seen near *St. Peter's* church in *Rome*, according to which it continued nine days. The words of the inscription are; *Ex Voto Suscepto. Quod. Diu. Erat. Neglectum. Nec. Redditum. Incendior. Arcendorum. Causa. Quando. Urbs. Per. Novem. Dies. Arsit. Neronianis. Temporibus. Et.*

Hac. Lege. Dedicato. Est. Ne. Cui. Liceat. Intra. Hos. Terminos. Aedificium. Extruere. *Suetonius's* account cannot be reconciled with this inscription; but that of *Tacitus* may; for he tells us, that the fire, which was stopt on the sixth day, broke out anew; so that the first conflagration may be said to have lasted six days, and the second three.

Many noble
buildings ut-
terly consumed.

Nero's gol-
den palace.

Undertakes
things impos-
sible.

temple dedicated by *Servius Tullius* to the moon; the temple and great altar consecrated by *Evander* to *Hercules*, the chapel vowed by *Romulus* to *Jupiter Stator*, the court of *Numa* with the temple of *Vesta*, and in it the tutelar gods peculiar to the *Romans*. In the same fate were involved the inestimable treasures acquired by so many victories, the wonderful works of the best painters and sculptors of *Greece*, and what is still more to be lamented, the ancient writings of celebrated authors, till then preserved perfectly intire. It was observed, that the fire began the same day on which the *Gauls*, having formerly taken the city, burnt it to the ground^r. Upon the ruins of the demolished city *Nero* founded a palace, which he called his *golden house*, though it was not so much admired on account of an immense profusion of gold, precious stones, and other inestimable ornaments, as for its immense extent, containing spacious fields, vast wildernesses, artificial lakes, thick woods, gardens, orchards, vineyards, hills, groves, &c. The entrance of this stately edifice was spacious enough to receive a colossus, representing *Nero*, a hundred and twenty foot high; the galleries consisted of three rows of tall pillars, each of them a full mile in length; the lakes were encompassed with magnificent buildings, in the manner of cities, and the woods stocked with all sorts of wild beasts. The house itself was tiled with gold, and the walls covered with the same metal, and richly adorned with precious stones and mother of pearl, which in those days was valued above gold; the timber-work and ceilings of the rooms were inlaid with gold and ivory; the roof of one of the banquetting rooms resembled the firmament both in its figure and motion, turning incessantly about night and day, and showering all sorts of sweet waters. When this magnificent structure was finished, *Nero* approved of it only so far as to say, that at length he began to lodge like a man (N). *Pliny* tells us, that this palace extended quite round the city^t. *Nero*, it seems, did not quite finish it; for the first order *Osbo* signed was, as we read in *Suetonius*, for fifty millions of sesterces to be employed in perfecting the *golden palace*, which *Nero* had begun^u. The projectors of this plan were *Severus* and *Celer*, two bold and enterprising men, who soon after put the emperor upon a still more expensive and arduous undertaking, namely, that of cutting a canal, through hard rocks and steep mountains, from the lake *Avernus* to the mouth of the *Tiber*, a hundred and sixty miles in length, and of such breadth, that two galleys of five ranks of oars might easily pass abreast. His view in this was to open a communication between *Rome* and *Campania*, free from the troubles and dangers of the sea; for this very year a great number of vessels laden with corn were shipwrecked at cape *Misenum*, the pilots chusing rather to venture out in a violent storm, than not to arrive at the time they were expected by *Nero*^v. For the perfecting of this great undertaking, the emperor ordered the prisoners from all parts to be transported into *Italy*, and such as were convicted, whatever their crimes were, to be condemned only to his works. We are told, that to this bold and extravagant attempt he was likewise encouraged by a *Roman* knight, who assured him, that he could help him to the immense treasures, which queen *Dido* had carried along with her from *Tyre*, and buried in vast caves under-ground in *Africa*, whence they might without much trouble be recovered^w. *Nero*, who undertook nothing with more ardor and readiness, than what was deemed impossible, expended incredible sums in this rash undertaking, and exerted all his might to cut through the mountains adjoining to the lake *Avernus*; but not being able to remove by art the obstacles of nature, he was in the end obliged to drop the enterprise^x.

THE

^r TACIT. c. 41.
TACIT. c. 46.

^t PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 3.
^w SUET. ibid.

^u SUET. c. 31. & in Oth. c. 7.
^x TACIT. c. 42.

^v SUET. ibid.

(N) *Martial* describes the immense tract of ground on which this palace stood (46). Several lampoons were handed about upon the same subject; among the rest the following, which likewise reflected on the murder of his mother and his shameful passion for playing upon the harp:

*Quis neget Æneæ natum de stirpe Neronem?
Sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem.
Dum tendit cytharam noster, dum cornua Parthus,*

*Noster erit Pæan, ille Hecatebeletes.
Roma domus fiet; Veios migrate, Quirites,
Si non & Veios occupat ista domus.*

But *Nero*, whether he really despised such reflections, or wisely smothered his resentment, never so much as inquired after the author of these satires; nay, some of them being discovered, he would not suffer the senate to punish them with any severity.

(46) *Mart. lib. de specul. epig. 2.*

- ^a THE ground, which was not taken up by the foundations of *Nero's* own palace, *Rome rebuilt.* he assigned for houses, which were not placed, as after the burning of the city by the *Gauls*, at random and without order; but the streets were laid out regularly, spacious and strait; the edifices restrained to a certain height, perhaps of seventy foot, according to the plan of *Augustus*; the courts were widened, and to all the great houses, which stood by themselves and were called *isles*, large porticos were added, which *Nero* engaged to raise at his own expence, and to deliver to each proprietor the squares about them clear from all rubbish. He likewise promised rewards according to every man's rank and substance, and fixed a day for the discharge of his promise, on condition that against that day their several houses and palaces were finished. He moreover made the following wise regulations to obviate such a dreadful calamity for the future, *viz.* that the new buildings should be raised to a certain height *Precautions to prevent the like disaster.* without timber; that they should be arched with stone from the quarries of *Gabii* and *Alba*, which were proof against fire; that over the common springs, which were diverted by private men for their own uses, overseers should be placed to prevent that abuse; that every citizen should have ready in his house, some machine proper to extinguish fire; that no wall should be common to two houses, but every house be inclosed within its own peculiar walls, &c. Thus the city in a short time rose out of its ashes with new lustre, and more beautiful than ever. However, some believed, that the ancient form was more conducing to health, the rays of the sun being hardly felt, on account of the narrowness of the streets and the height of the buildings, whereas ^c now there was no shelter against the scorching heat. We are told, that *Nero* designed to extend the walls to *Ostia*, and to bring from thence, by a canal, the sea into the city. As *Nero*, notwithstanding all his bounties, was still universally believed to have been the author of the conflagration, in order to wipe off this aspersion, he transferred the guilt upon the *Christians*, who were already very numerous in the city, and raised the first general persecution. We shall deliver, in our historian's own words, *Nero transfers upon the Christians the guilt of burning the city.* what he writes upon this subject, mislaid, no doubt, by the accounts that were current among the *Romans*, and crediting, as he wanted an opportunity of being better informed, the calumnies, with which the enemies of truth laboured to discredit such ^d as professed it. *Nero*, says he, to suppress the prevailing rumour, that he was the author of the conflagration, transferred the guilt upon supposed criminals, subjecting to most exquisite torments those people, who for their enormous crimes were already universally abhorred, and known to the vulgar by the name of *Christians*. The author of this name was *Christ*, who in the reign of *Tiberius* was executed under *Pontius Pilate*, procurator of *Judæa*. The pestilent superstition was for a while suppressed; but it revived again, and spread, not only over *Judæa*, where this evil was first broached, but reached *Rome*, whither from every quarter of the earth is constantly flowing whatever is hideous and abominable amongst men, and is there readily embraced and practised. First therefore were apprehended such as openly owned themselves to be of that sect; then by them was discovered an immense multitude, and ^e all were convicted, not of the crime of burning *Rome*, but of their hatred and enmity to mankind. Their death and torture was aggravated with cruel derision and sport; for they were either covered with the skins of wild beasts, and torn in pieces by devouring dogs, or fastened to crosses, or wrapt up in combustible garments, *Tacitus's account of them.*

y Idem, c. 43.

z SUET. c. 16.

(O) *Tacitus* seems in this particular to confound the *Christians* with the *Jews*; for speaking of the latter in his history (28). They are immoveable, says he, in their adherence to one another, and prone to mutual acts of compassion; but towards the whole human race besides, they maintain a mortal and implacable hatred. With all others they refuse to eat; with all others they refuse to lodge; nay, though they are a people abandoned to sensuality, they avoid the embraces of all foreign women. This censure they deserved in the time of *Tacitus*, as they still do in ours, saving the last particular mentioned by our historian; for now they condescend to the embraces of foreign harlots. They had not common mercy towards the *Gentiles* and uncircumcised; and being persuaded, that the

Almighty loved only their nation, they fancied that he abhorred, and therefore they abhorred, the whole human race besides; so that it was said of them by *Tacitus* too truly, *adversus omnes alios hostile odium*. But surely the *Christians* did not, at least in *Tacitus's* time, deserve this censure: an universal and unbounded charity is the main basis and characteristic of our religion; and it is not probable, that the *Christians* were then so degenerated as to disgrace their profession, by neglecting the most essential duty of it. They avoided indeed the profane meetings of the *Gentiles*, their lewd revels, their shews and spectacles; and thence were thought, as *Arnobius* observes, by men not acquainted with their principles, to hate the *Gentiles* themselves.

(28) *Tacit. hist. l. v.*

ments, that when the day-light failed, they might, like torches, serve to dispel the darkness of the night. For this tragical spectacle *Nero* lent his own gardens, and exhibited at the same time the public diversion of the circus, sometimes driving a chariot in person, and sometimes standing as a spectator among the populace in the habit of a charioteer. Hence towards the miserable sufferers, however guilty and deserving the most exemplary punishment, compassion arose, seeing they were doomed to perish, not with a view to the public good, but to gratify the cruelty of one manⁱ. Thus far *Tacitus*, who, 'tis manifest, was quite unacquainted with the sacred mysteries and sound morals of our religion. He was himself a man of strict morality, and displays, throughout all his writings, a spirit truly virtuous and humane; no wonder therefore, if considering the *Christians* as enemies to mankind, according to the prevailing notion, and their religion as a new sect inconsistent with the laws of *Rome*, and threatening civil tumults, he painted them in such ugly colours. But, after all, he does them the justice to vindicate them from the aspersions of *Nero*, and exposes the barbarous treatment they met with from that tyrant.

Nero betakes himself to all manner of rapine.

Plunders Italy and the provinces.

Seneca is refused leave to retire.

In the mean time, *Nero* having, with the immense sums, he had expended in building his golden house, and embellishing the city, quite drained his exchequer, to supply his prodigality betook himself to all manner of rapine and extortion. Not *Italy* alone, but the provinces, the several confederate nations, and all those cities, that had the title of *free*, were pillaged and laid waste. In this general spoil were involved the temples of the gods, being stript of all their rich ornaments, of all the treasures, which the *Roman* people in every age of their state had consecrated, either as monuments of triumphs celebrated, or vows fulfilled. Through *Greece* and *Asia* the same ravages were committed, *Acratus* an imperial freed-man, and *Secundus Carinas*, two prompt instruments, as *Tacitus* styles them, to execute any iniquity, however black and flagrant, being sent into those provinces with a commission to strip every-where the temples of all their ornaments, gifts, oblations, &c. and convey them together with the statues and images of the gods themselves to *Rome*^k, where they were melted down, and turned into money^l. *Suetonius* assures us, that from this time forward he never raised any man to an office, without telling him, *You know what I want; let us make it our business, that no one may have any thing, which he can call his own*^m. *Seneca*, fearing these sacrileges and iniquitous extortions might be imputed to him, begged leave to retire to a seat of his own remote from *Rome*; but that being refused him, he confined himself to his chamber, pretending an indisposition in his nerves. Some writers tell us, that one of his freed-men, named *Cleonicus*, had, by the command of *Nero*, prepared poison for him; but that he escaped it, either by the discovery made by the freed-man, or by his own caution; for being apprised of the danger he was in, he led a most abstemious life, satisfying his hunger with wild fruit from the woods, and quenching his thirst with a draught from the common fountainⁿ. Of this wonderful temperance and sobriety, he speaks himself in one of his letters^o: I banquet, says he, upon dry bread, and dine without a table; my dinner is such that after it I have no occasion to wash my hands: and elsewhere^p; I sleep little, and watch much; I abstain from all wine, avoid batheing, and use no ointments, being persuaded, that with respect to our bodies, of all smells, no smell is the best. In the close of the year, the heads and mouths of the populace were filled with prodigies (P), said to have happened, and always looked upon as the fore-runners of some dreadful calamity. A comet too appeared, an omen ever supposed to portend misfortunes threatening some sovereign power. *Nero* was therefore under no small apprehension; but an astrologer, by name *Babilus*, having acquainted him, that among monarchs it was usual upon such occasions to avert these omens from themselves by some extraordinary massacre, he resolved utterly to exterminate the whole senatorial order, and commit the government of the provinces, and the command of the armies, to the knights and his freed-men.

THIS

ⁱ TACIT. c. 44.
c. 45.

^k Idem, c. 45.

^l SUET. c. 32.

^m Idem ibid.

ⁿ TACIT.

^o SENECA. ep. 84.

^p Idem ep. 109.

(P) In the streets and roads were found exposed several monsters with double heads, some brutes, and some of the human species: some were also taken from the bellies of victims: in the territory of *Placentia* was brought forth a calf with its head grow-

ing upon its leg; a prodigy, which, according to the interpretation of the soothsayers, foreboded, that for human kind another head was preparing, that would not remain long concealed (29).

- ^a THIS bloody design he began to put in execution the following year, when *A. Licinius Nerva Silanus* and *M. Vestinus Atticus* were consuls, a conspiracy, which was ^{Piso's conspiracy.} then discovered, affording him a plausible pretence for the mighty carnage. In this memorable conspiracy were engaged, we may say, the whole nobility of *Rome*; senators, knights, soldiers, and even women, entering into it with great eagerness and competition, partly from their detestation of *Nero*, and partly from their zeal for *Caius Piso*, who was at the head of it. He was allied to most of the illustrious families in *Rome*, and for his own virtues, or qualities, as *Tacitus* observes, that resembled virtues, highly favoured by the populace; for he was a great orator, and employed his eloquence in the defence of his fellow-citizens; generous to his friends and acquaint- ^{His character.} ance, and even to such as were unknown to him, affable and complaisant: he was of a tall stature, of a graceful countenance, and extremely popular in his language and address; but so far from being strict and austere in his life and manners, that he observed no restraint in his pleasures, abandoning himself to all manner of debauchery and luxury, a conduct, says our historian, not disapproved of by those who designed to raise him to the empire; for they did not care that the supreme head of the empire should be in his morals over severe. However, he was not the first author of the conspiracy; nay, our historian tells us, that it was never known by whom the design was first concerted, though *Subrius Flavius*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, and *Sulpicius Asper*, a centurion, seem to have been the most forward champions in it. Among ^{Many persons of distinction concerned in it.} the first who entered into it, our historian names *Lucan*, the celebrated poet, *Plautius Lateranus*, consul elect, *Flavius Scevius*, and *Afranius Quinctilianus*. *Lucan* was instigated by personal provocations, *Nero*, who was possessed with an ardent ambition of excelling in poetry, having from a ridiculous emulation forbid the publication of his poems: *Lateranus*, from whom the famous basilic at *Rome* took its name, was piqued by no injury done to himself, but engaged in a plot from a sincere affection to the republic. The other two had souls drowned in sensuality, and had till that time lived in sloth and debauchery: what prompted *Scevius* to conspire, we are not told; but *Quinctilianus* became an accomplice in order to be revenged on *Nero*, for having in a virulent satire published his scandalous and unnatural lewdness. *Rome* was surprised, ^d that two men of such characters should engage in an enterprise so great and daring. These we have mentioned drew soon into the combination *Tullius Senecio*, *Cervarius Proculus*, *Vulcatus Araricus*, *Julius Tugurinus*, *Munatius Gratus*, *Antonius Natalis*, and *Martius Festus*, all *Roman* knights. Out of the troops, besides the two officers already mentioned, were assumed as accomplices, *Granius Silvanus*, *Stattius Proximus*, both tribunes of the prætorian bands, *Maximus Scaurus*, *Venetius Paulus*, two centurions, and, as their main strength and dependence, *Fenius Rufus*, captain of the imperial guards, a man greatly esteemed by the people, and on that account hated both by his colleague *Tigellinus* and the emperor. The conspirators were no sooner assured, that *Rufus* had embraced their party, than they began more resolutely to debate about the time and place of the intended assassination. ^e *Subrius Flavius* undertook to assail *Nero*, while he was singing on the stage, or scouring the streets in his drunken revels by night, unattended by his guards; but a too great anxiety to escape with impunity, ever unseasonable in great enterprises, restrained him ¹.

^f IN the mean time, the conspirators putting off from day to day the execution of their design, a woman, named *Epicharis*, took upon her to rouse them. It was ^{freed-woman} utterly unknown by what means she came at all to be apprised of the plot; for till ^{animates the} that time she had never shewn the least regard to honour, virtue, or honesty. When ^{conspirators.} she found that all her reproaches and exhortations were to no effect, impatient of their slowness, she left *Rome*, and hastened into *Campania*, where she employed all her industry and skill to estrange from *Nero* the hearts of the chief officers of the fleet riding at *Misenum*, and to engage them in the design, which they had frequent opportunities of executing, as the emperor took great delight in sailing often along the coasts of *Misenum* and *Puteoli*. In that fleet, *Volusius Proculus*, who had been employed by *Nero* to dispatch his mother, had the command of a thousand marines. But as he did not think himself thereby sufficiently rewarded for so meritorious a murder, either from an old acquaintance with *Epicharis*, or a friendship newly contracted, he related to her his signal services to *Nero*, adding bitter complaints, that he had not been distinguished with promotion equal to his deserts. In answer to him,

Epicharis

¹ Idem, c. 48—50.

She is accused
to Nero, but
baffles her ac-
cuser.

Piso is jealous
of Silanus and
the consul Ve-
stinus.

Scevinus
claims the ho-
nour of giving
the first blow.

The conspiracy
how discov-
ered.

Epicharis urged all the crying cruelties, all the barbarous outrages committed by the tyrant, and at the same time acquainted him with the conspiracy; but had the precaution to conceal from him the names of the conspirators. The traitor was no sooner let into the secret, than he flew to *Rome*, and betrayed the whole to *Nero*. But his discovery availed nothing; for when *Epicharis* was summoned and confronted with the informer, as his charge against her was supported by no witnesses, she denied it, pretending to be greatly amazed at the impudent boldness of the accuser. However, she was detained in prison, *Nero* suspecting that the charge was not false, though not proved to be true*. The conspirators being, notwithstanding the silence of *Epicharis*, apprehensive of a discovery, came to a resolution to hasten the intended murder, and chose, as the most convenient place for the execution of their design, a villa at *Baiæ* belonging to *Piso*, whither the emperor frequently resorted to bathe and banquet, with a small number of attendants. But in this *Piso* would by no means concur, alledging the general abhorrence, which must ensue, were the sacred rights of hospitality violated, with the murder of a prince, however wicked. He thought it more adviseable to dispatch him at *Rome*, either in the detested house, which he had reared with the spoils of the unhappy city, or in the face of the public, since for the benefit of the public the design had been undertaken. Thus he reasoned openly among the conspirators; but in his heart he was influenced by secret jealousy, fearing lest *Lucius Silanus*, a man of extraordinary accomplishments, might, as he was then at *Rome*, upon the first news of *Nero*'s death, seize the vacant sovereignty for himself. He was likewise jealous of the consul *Vestinus*, not knowing but he might, as he was a man of great intrepidity, attempt the restoring of the ancient government, or bestow the empire upon some other, as a gift of his own. The conspirators, moved by the reasonings of *Piso*, unanimously agreed to execute their design, not at *Baiæ*, but at *Rome*, on the anniversary sacred to *Ceres*, and always solemnised with *Circensian* games, at which *Nero* never failed to assist, giving free access to all, during the gaiety of the sports. The design was to be executed in the following manner: *Lateranus*, who was but in slender circumstances, under pretence of imploring relief, was to fall at the prince's feet, and, while he apprehended no such attempt, throw him down, and keep him fixed to the ground. Then the tribunes, centurions, and the other conspirators, were, each according to his boldness, to rush in and dispatch him. *Scevinus* earnestly claimed the honour and satisfaction of giving the first blow; for having formerly taken a dagger out of a temple, he carried it constantly about him, as consecrated to the execution of some mighty design. It was moreover agreed, that *Piso* should wait the event in the temple of *Ceres*, and be thence brought forth by *Fenius*, captain of the guards, and conducted to the camp (Q).

THE day before that, which was appointed for the execution of the design, *Scevinus*, upon his returning home from a long conference with *Antonius Natalis*, sealed his will; then unsheathing the above-mentioned dagger, he complained it was blunt and rusty, charging *Milichus*, one of his freed men, to have it ground and sharpened at the point: next he ordered a repast, more sumptuous and profuse than ordinary, to be got ready; after which he presented his favourite slaves with their liberty, and others with sums of money: his countenance, in the midst of an affected cheerfulness, appeared clouded: in his discourse he was continually running from one subject to another, without attending to any; whence all who were present, concluded, that his mind was fraught with some great design: at last he ordered the same *Milichus* to prepare bandages for wounds, and applications for stopping blood. The freed-man, reflecting on these orders, and concluding with himself, that a conspiracy was undoubtedly carrying on, and his patron concerned in it, hastened next morning by break of day to the gardens of *Servilius*, where *Nero* then was; and being refused admittance, declared that he came to discover matters of the utmost importance.

* Idem, c. 51, 52.

(Q) *Pliny* tells us, that in order to attract the affections of the people, *Antonia*, daughter of the late emperor *Claudius*, was to accompany *Piso* to the camp. But our historian thinks it incredible, that either *Antonia* should contribute her name, and

risque her life, to promote a scheme, from which she could reap no advantage, or that *Piso*, who was universally known to be passionately fond of his wife, should engage to marry another (30).

(30) Idem, c. 44.

a importance. Hereupon he was by the porters conducted to *Epaphroditus*, one of *Nero's* freed-men, and by him forthwith to the emperor himself, to whom he related all the circumstances he had observed, shewed the dagger, and desired the criminal to be immediately sent for. Accordingly, *Scevinus* was by a band of soldiers hastily seized and dragged before the emperor; but defended himself with a spirit so undaunted, and inveighed against the informer as a treacherous wretch, still actuated by the base spirit of a slave, with such firmness and intrepidity, that the informer had been baffled, had not his wife put him in mind, that *Antonius Natalis* had held a long conference with *Scevinus*, and that both lived in close confidence with *Caius Piso*. *Natalis* was therefore immediately sent for, and both he and *Scevinus* examined apart concerning the particulars of that conference. As their answers varied, they were thrown into
b irons, and threatened with the rack, the sight of which neither of them being able to bear, they discovered the whole order and progress of the conspiracy. *Natalis* confessed the first, and declared how far *Piso* was concerned in the plot, and named also *Seneca*; but whether he had acted as an inter-agent between him and *Piso*, or whether *Natalis* impeached him only to purchase the favour of *Nero*, who was daily hunting after some specious pretence to destroy him, is uncertain, *Scevinus*, understanding that by *Natalis* a confession was made, and that no advantage could be reaped from his silence, yielded at length, and declared all the other accomplices. Of these *Lucan*, *Quintilianus*, and *Senecio*, persisted long in denying the charge; but at length
c were decoyed by a promise of impunity; and then, to atone for their backwardness, they informed against their dearest friends, *Lucan* against *Attilia*, his own mother, *Quintilianus* against *Glicius Gallus*, and *Senecio* against *Annius Pollio*. In the mean time, *Nero*, recollecting that *Epicharis* was detained in prison, and supposing, that the tender body of a woman could never endure the violence of the rack, commanded her to be rent and mangled with all sorts of torments. But her firmness and magnanimity was proof against the fury of stripes, of fire, and of all the torments the executioners could invent, though they exerted their utmost efforts in cruelty, lest they should be at last scorned and baffled by a woman. She still utterly denied every particular; and such was the issue of the first day's torture. The next day, as she was
d reconducted in a chair to suffer anew the same torments, for all her members were so rent and disjointed, that she could not support herself, with the girdle, that bound her breasts, she framed a noose for her neck, and tying it to the top of the chair, hung upon it with all the weight of her body, and put an end to the poor remains of life. Thus a woman, who was once a slave, cheerfully suffered the most exquisite torments cruelty could invent, and death itself, to protect persons, whom she scarce knew, when men born free, when *Roman* knights and senators, without once feeling the torture, betrayed their dearest friends, their nearest relations. For *Lucan*, *Senecio*, and *Quintilianus* were daily making new discoveries, and still naming more accomplices; which so terrified *Nero*, that he not only doubled his guards, but posted bands of
e soldiers upon the walls and all round the city, lined the sea-coast and the banks of the *Tiber* with numerous detachments, ordered parties of foot and horse to scour the fields night and day, to range in the public squares, in the neighbouring municipal towns, to enter the private houses, &c. With the prætorian guards *Germans* were intermixt; for in them, as they were foreigners, the prince chiefly confided.

Several of the conspirators seized.

The firmness and intrepidity of Epicharis.

She hangs herself with her girdle.

Nero's great consternation.

f AND now the accused were dragged in whole droves, numbers after numbers, to *Nero's* tribunal, which was erected in his gardens, and lay together at the gates, expecting to be successively admitted and examined. If upon their trial it appeared, that they had ever been seen smiling with any of the conspirators; that they had ever spoke with them, met them, however fortuitously, been common guests at the same table, or sat together at some publick shew; all this, or any part of it, was imputed as an unpardonable crime. The judges were *Nero* himself, *Tigellinus*, and his colleague *Fenius Rufus*, who, as he was not yet detected, proved more severe than the other two in examining his own associates, in order to persuade the prince, that he was an utter stranger to the plot. Nay, to him it was owing, that the design was not put in execution, even during the examination of the conspirators: for the brave
tribune, *Subrius Flavius*, who attended and was not yet impeached or suspected, having demanded by signs, whether he should draw his sword, and dispatch the tyrant, was by contrary signs checked and forbid, when he had already grasped the hilt.

Subrius Flavius offers to kill Nero, but is checked by the cowardly Fenius Rufus.

Idem, c. 52—58.

hilt. When the conspiracy was first discovered, there were some, who exhorted *Piso* a to proceed directly to the camp, or mount the rostrum; and try the affections of the people and soldiery, since nothing worse could befall him; though both the soldiery and people failed him, than he must already expect; nay, by losing his life in so glorious an attempt, he would approve himself worthy of his ancestors, and leave a glorious example to his posterity; whereas, if he neglected the present opportunity, he would be soon seized, committed to bonds, and condemned to an ignominious death. But *Piso*, rejecting the advice of his friends and associates, the best that could be given him at the present juncture, retired, without making the least attempt, to his own house; where, upon the arrival of a band of soldiers to seize him, he opened the veins in both his arms, and bled to death. He left a will full of fulsome flattery b towards *Nero*; and this out of tenderness to his wife *Arria Galla*, whom he had taken from *Domitius Silius*, a friend of his own, tho' she was a woman of most vicious inclinations, and, save the beauty of her person, destitute of every recommendation. Next followed the death of *Plautius Lateranus*, consul elect, inflicted with such precipitation, that he was not allowed even to embrace his children; but instantly dragged to the place allotted for the execution of slaves, and there slaughtered by the hand of *Statius* the tribune. He died with exemplary firmness and intrepidity; uttered not a syllable relating to the conspiracy; but with an undaunted spirit answered *Epaphroditus*, the emperor's freedman and secretary, who asked him some questions, *If I were mean enough to make any discoveries, it would be to your master, not to you.* c He did not even upbraid the tribune appointed to cut off his head, tho' he too was concerned with him in the conspiracy. *Arrian* tells us, that the first blow having only wounded him, he shook his head a little, and then presented his neck again to the executioner d.

Piso puts himself to death.

Plautius Lateranus dies with great intrepidity.

The particulars of Seneca's death.

THE next illustrious person sacrificed on this occasion was *Annæus Seneca*, to the infinite joy of *Nero*, who had been long seeking his destruction. *Natalis* alone had named him, and concerning him could only discover thus much, that he had been sent by *Piso* to visit *Seneca*, then indisposed, to complain in his name, that he was debarred access to him, and to represent, that it would be better if they maintained their friendship by familiar conversation; that to this *Seneca* replied, that frequent interviews and conversations by themselves were conducing to the service of neither; but that upon the safety of *Piso* his own welfare depended. *Granius Silvanus*, tribune of a prætorian cohort, was sent to *Seneca*, with orders to ask him, Whether he owned the words of *Natalis* and his own answers? *Seneca* was returned that very day from *Campania*, and had stopped at a villa of his, four miles from *Rome*. Thither arrived the tribune in the evening; and having beset the villa with his men, he entered the house, and acquainted *Seneca* with his commission, while he sat at table with *Paulina* his wife, and two friends. *Seneca* answered, That *Natalis* had in truth been sent to him, and had complained in *Piso's* name, that he was refused admittance; a complaint which he had answered by excusing himself, on account of his bodily disorder and his love of quiet. He denied to have ever declared, that his safety depended upon that of any private man, adding, that he was not at all addicted to flattery, as no man better knew than *Nero*. When this answer was by the tribune reported to the emperor, he asked, whether *Seneca* seemed determined upon a voluntary death? I have not discovered, replied the tribune, either in his words or looks, the least symptom of fear. Hereupon *Nero* commanded him to return directly, and acquaint him, that he must die. The tribune who was himself one of the conspirators, took not the same way he came; but turning aside, went first to *Fenius*, captain of the guards, and disclosing to him the emperor's orders, asked, Whether he should obey them? The cowardly commander advised him to execute his commission, and act in every respect as if he were an utter stranger to the plot. Thus *Fenius* and *Silvanus*, through a meanness and timidity hardly to be believed, contributed to multiply those very cruelties, which they had conspired to avenge. However, the tribune avoided seeing *Seneca*, and delivering in person the said message; but sent in a centurion to apprise him of his doom. *Seneca* heard the sentence without betraying the least dismay or concern, and calmly called for his will; but that being denied him by the centurion, turning to his friends, he told them, That since he was prevented from gratefully acknowledging their favours, he

^a TACIT. c. 60.

^b ARRIAN. ex Epiſt. l. i. c. i.

- a he bequeathed them that which alone was now left him, the pattern of his life. He repressed their tears, sometimes with gentle reasoning, sometimes with sharp rebukes, asking them, Where were now all the documents of philosophy? where the precepts of wisdom so many years premeditated against impending calamities? for to whom, said he, is unknown the bloody nature of *Nero*? After the butchering of his mother and brother, what remained, but to add to theirs the slaughter of his preceptor and instructor? After he had discoursed some time to the company in general, he embraced his wife; an affecting object! which somewhat abated his firmness, and seemed to soften his philosophical spirit. He besought her to moderate her sorrow, and to fortify herself against the grief arising from the loss of her husband, by the contemplation of his life spent in a steady course of virtue. *Paulina*, on the contrary, The constancy of his wife.
- b resolutely declared, that she was determined to die with him. This declaration surprised *Seneca*, who, unwilling to bereave her of so much glory, and loth to leave one, whom he tenderly loved, exposed to insults and injuries, after a short pause, *Since to the delights of a short life, you prefer, said he, the everlasting fame of a glorious death, I shall not envy you this honour. Let us share the glory of so brave an end, tho' your share will be by far the greater.* After this conversation, both had the veins of their arms opened at the same instant. As *Seneca* was aged, and his body extenuated with a slender diet, his blood issued but slowly; whereupon he caused the veins of his legs and those about the joints of his knees to be likewise cut. As he suffered cruel agonies, he persuaded his wife to retire into another chamber, lest his torments should shake her resolution, or he himself, affected with her pangs, betray weakness and impatience. As his eloquence did not fail him to the last moment of his life, he called for his scribes, and dictated to them many things, which were published after his death. As *Nero* bore no personal enmity to *Paulina*, and was well apprised, that her death would double the hatred of the public towards him, he sent orders to the soldiers to prevent her from dying; who thereupon commanded her domestic slaves and freed-men to bind up her arms and stop the blood; but whether this was done without her knowledge, or with her concurrence, is uncertain; for as men are commonly prone to believe the worst, there were some who asserted, that while she despaired of her pardon, she aspired at the glory of dying with her husband; but yielded to the allurements of life, as soon as she found the prince inclined to mercy. However that be, she outlived her husband but a few years, ever pale and in a languishing condition, and retained to the last a reverence for his memory worthy of all praise. *Seneca*, in the mean time, to hasten his death which advanced but slowly, besought *Statius Annaeus*, an intimate friend of his and well skilled in medicine, to bring him a draught of poison, which he had prepared long before, and kept by him. This he swallowed; but in vain, his limbs being chilled with cold, and his juices stagnated. He had therefore recourse to a hot bath, to hasten by that means the operation of the poison, or to make his blood flow more freely. With the water of the bath he sprinkled such of his slaves as stood near him, saying, *With this liquor I make a libation to Jupiter the deliverer.* This he did in imitation of the *Greeks*, who, in departing after a banquet, used to make libations to *Jupiter the preserver*. As the bath had not the desired effect, and the soldiers were very pressing, he was at last conveyed into a stove, and there suffocated with the steam. His corps was burnt without any funeral solemnity, pursuant to a will which he had made, even while he was in high favour with the prince^w. Thus died the celebrated *L. Annaeus Seneca*, on the twelfth, or, as others will have it, on the thirteenth, of *April*. *Dion Cassius* assures us, that he was privy to the conspiracy^x, from which charge *Tacitus* does not attempt to clear him. He tells us indeed, that *Nero* had no proof of his being engaged in the plot; but adds, that a rumour prevailed, that *Subrius Flavius*, in a secret consultation with the centurions, not without the privacy of *Seneca*, had determined, as soon as *Nero* was cut off by the aid of *Piso*, to dispatch *Piso* too, and transfer the empire to *Seneca*; nay, the very words, said to have been uttered by *Flavius* in that conference, became current, viz. That it availed nothing to depose a minstrel, if he were to be succeeded by a tragedian; for as *Nero* used to play upon the harp, so *Piso*'s chief delight was to sing attired like an actor in a tragedy. Of *Seneca*'s writings we shall speak hereafter. As to his manners, we shall only say, that many things were imputed to him, perhaps not undeservedly, altogether.
- c She is prevented from dying by Nero's orders.
- d Seneca takes poison in vain.
- e His last words
- f Is suffocated in a hot bath.

^w TACIT. c. 62, 64.^x DIO, l. lxii. p. 713.

altogether inconsistent with the philosophy which he professed. He entertained a mighty opinion of his own virtue; but few have hitherto concurred with him in the same sentiments.

Fenius Rufus
is accused and
apprehended.

HITHERTO *Fenius Rufus* had proceeded with more severity, than either *Tigellinus* or *Nero* himself, against the conspirators his accomplices; but was in the end detected: for while in the examination of *Flavius Scevius* the senator, he urged him with many menaces to a full confession, *Scevius* smiled, and told him, That no man was better acquainted with the particulars of the plot than himself. *Fenius* attempted to refute the charge; but, faltering and perplexed in his speech, he gave manifest tokens of his guilt and dismay: whereupon he was by the emperor's orders immediately seized and dragged to prison. At the same time the brave tribune *Subrius Flavius* was impeached. He at first defended himself; but being pressed by the informers, he not only owned the charge, but gloried in it; and in answer to *Nero*, who asked him, Upon what provocation he had slighted the obligation of his oath? for the soldiery, especially the officers, bound themselves by a solemn oath to protect the prince against all foreign and domestic enemies; *Because I abhorred thee*, said he, *though there was not in the whole army one more zealously attached to thee than I, so long as thou didst merit affection; but I began to hate thee, when thou becamest the murderer of thy mother, the murderer of thy brother and wife, a charioteer, a comedian, and an incendiary.* *Tacitus* tells us, that the whole conspiracy afforded nothing which proved so bitter and pungent to *Nero* as this reproach. He ordered *Flavius* to be immediately put to death, committing the execution to *Veianus Niger*, a tribune, who led him into the next field, and there ordered in the first place a funeral trench to be dug, such as served for a grave to the soldiers, who died in the camp. *Flavius* found fault with it, as too straight and shallow; and turning to the guard of soldiers, *This*, said he, without betraying the least concern, *is not even done according to the laws of discipline.* When the tribune desired him to stretch out his neck

Subrius Flavius
reviles Nero to his
face.

His last brave
words, and
contempt of
death.

Fenius Rufus
dies meanly.

valiantly, *I wish*, replied he, *thou mayst strike as valiantly*; and truly the tribune was seized with such a violent trembling, that he with difficulty cut off his head at two blows. However, he afterwards bragged to *Nero*, that he had designedly employed more blows than one. The next example of firmness and constancy was administered by *Sulpicius Asper*, the centurion; who being asked by *Nero*, Why he had conspired against him? answered in a few words, *Because there was no other relief against thy abominable enormities.* The other centurions faced death with equal bravery. But *Fenius Rufus* betrayed a meanness quite unbecoming a man of his rank and profession; nay, he even filled his last will with unmanly lamentations. *Nero* hoped to find the consul *Vestinus* likewise concerned in the conspiracy; but, as he was a man of a violent spirit and altogether untractable, the conspirators had not thought fit to impart their design to him. He had once lived in close confidence with *Nero*; but afterwards abusing the freedom which the emperor allowed him, and utterly despising him, he used frequently to insult the prince with poignant sarcasms, which left behind them a bitter remembrance, as they were for the most part founded on truth. Besides, *Nero* dreaded the haughty and violent temper of *Vestinus*; and therefore wished for a plausible pretence to get rid of him; but as no accuser appeared to charge him, since he could not satiate his rancour under the title of a judge, he had recourse to the violence of a tyrant, and dispatched *Gerellanus* the tribune, at the head of five hundred men, with orders to obviate the attempts of the consul. He had that day discharged all the functions of a consul, and was celebrating a banquet at home with great gaiety, when the soldiers entering, told him, That the tribune waited for him. *Vestinus*, without delay, rose from table, and in a trice the tragedy was begun and finished; he was shut up in a chamber; the physician attended; his veins were cut, and he, while he was still in full vigor, conveyed into a hot bath, and suffocated with the steam, without uttering a syllable that argued either grief or compassion for himself. In the mean time, the whole company that supped with him were beset by a guard, and not released, till the night was far spent, *Nero* making himself sport with the fears of men, who had passed at once, from the mirth and joy of a feast, to the deadly apprehension of their last doom. At length he ordered the guards to withdraw, saying, that the consul's guests had paid dear enough for their good cheer. *Lucan* the poet was next sentenced to die. His veins being opened, and his blood

The quick and
brave death of
the consul
Vestinus.

issuing

- a issuing in streams, he soon perceived his feet and hands to grow cold and stiff; but before his faculties were impaired, recollecting some lines of his own, in which he described a wounded soldier expiring after the same manner, he rehearsed them, and they were the last words he uttered ² (N). *Suetonius*, or whoever else is the author of his life, tells us, that his behaviour towards *Nero*, who loved him, was such as would have provoked the best of princes. His informing, and indeed falsely, if the author of his life is to be credited, against his own mother, will reflect eternal ignominy on his memory. The emperor had promised him his pardon; but the only favour he granted him, was the choice of his death, which happened on the thirtieth of *April* in the twenty-seventh year of his age ^a. We shall speak of his writings anon.
- b *Senecio*, *Quintilianus*, and *Scevinus*, suffered death with a spirit far different from the former effeminacy of their lives. The other conspirators were put to death, without speaking or doing any thing worthy of notice. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Nero*, not satisfied with the punishment of the conspirators themselves, drove their innocent children out of *Rome*, and caused them, together with their tutors, governors, and domestics, to be either poisoned, or starved to death ^b. Whole families, as that writer assures us, were cut off at one meal. During this mighty carnage, which filled *Rome* with deaths, corpses, and funerals, no one durst shew the least symptom of sorrow for their murdered relations; nay, they must testify joy, unless they had a mind to be treated like traitors and enemies to the state and emperor. Hence, as the city was filled with carcases, so was the capitol with victims: one had lost a son; one a brother; this man a friend; that a near relation: but whatever was the loss, every one paid his public thanksgiving to the gods; adorned, in token of joy, his house with laurel; fell prostrate at the emperor's feet; kissed his hand, &c. *Antonius Natalis* and *Cervarius Proculus* were pardoned, in consideration of their early confession and discovery. *Milichus* the freed-man was amply rewarded, and honoured with a Greek name signifying protector. *Granius Silvanus*, one of the tribunes of the prætorian guards, obtained his pardon; but soon after, scorning to owe his life to the tyrant, fell by his own hand. All the friends of *Seneca*, tho' rather calumniated than convicted, were condemned to banishment. *Cæsonius Maximus* and *Cadicia*, the wife of *Scevinus*, were driven out of *Italy*, and only by their punishment knew that they had been charged as criminals (O). The accusation against *Attilia*, *Lucian's* mother, was dropt; so that, without being cleared, she escaped unpunished ^c.

Nero's cruelty to the children of the conspirators.

Rewards the instruments of his cruelty.

AND now the conspiracy being utterly suppressed, and the conspirators either sentenced to death or banishment, *Nero* assembled the soldiery, distributed amongst them a largess of two thousand nummi a man, and ordered them to be thenceforth supplied with corn at the public expence. Upon *Petronius Turpilianus*, *Cocceius Nerva*, and *Tigellinus*, he bestowed triumphal ornaments, as a reward for their zeal in prosecuting the conspirators; nay, he caused triumphal statues to be erected in the forum to the two latter, and their images to be placed in the palace; a distinction seldom granted,

² Idem, c. 70.

^a Suet. in vit. Lucan.

^b Suet. c. 36.

^c Tacit. c. 73.

(N) The verses mentioned here, were, without all doubt, the following:

*Scinditur avulsus, nec sicut vulnere sanguis
Emicuit lentus, ruptis cadit undique venis;
Discursusque animæ diversa in membra meat
Interceptus aquis.*

(O) The following beautiful epigram in *Martial*, inscribed to one *Ovidius*, an intimate friend of *Cæsonius Maximus*, may give us some light into this matter:

*Maximus ille tuus, Ovidi, Cæsonius hic est,
Cujus adhuc vultum vivida cera tenet.
Hunc Nero damnavit; sed tu damnare Neronem
Ausus es, & profugi, non tua fata, sequi:
Æquora per Scyllæ magnus comes exulis isti,
Qui modo nolueras consulis ire comes.
Si victura meis mandantur nomina chartis,
Et fas est cineri me superesse meo;*

*Audiet hæc præsens, venturaque turba, fuisse
Illi te, Senecæ quod fuit ille suo (31).*

From these verses it is plain, that *Cæsonius* had been a consul, and was one of *Seneca's* most intimate friends; which was, without doubt, the motive that prompted *Nero* to banish him. As *Ovidius* accompanied him into banishment, so had *Cæsonius* in all likelihood accompanied formerly *Seneca*, when he was by *Claudius* banished into the island of *Corfica*. The subject of the present epigram is the effigies of *Cæsonius* in wax, sent either by *Martial* to his friend *Ovidius*, or by *Ovidius* to the poet. *Cæsonius* himself died, it seems, before this time in exile. After his consulship, he was sent into *Africa*, to govern that province, whither *Ovidius* refused to follow him; but, like a true friend, he attended him, when disgraced and condemned to banishment; a signal instance of fidelity and friendship, and worthy of being by so great a poet transmitted to the latest posterity.

(31) *Martial*. l. vii.

granted, and only to persons of the greatest merit. *Nymphidius* was distinguished a with the consular ornaments. He was the son of a freed-woman, who, as she was very beautiful, had long prostituted herself to the domestics of the emperors, bond and free, without distinction. *Nymphidius* boasted himself the son of *Caligula*, whom he resembled both in his countenance and the tallness of his stature; and it is not improbable, says our historian, that the emperor, addicted as he was to all manner of lewdness, had descended to gallantries with his mother. But of him we shall have occasion to speak more at length hereafter; for he too had his share in the calamities and vicissitudes of *Rome*. The emperor, having thus rewarded the instruments of his tyranny, assembled the fathers, and acquainted them with the late transactions. To the people likewise he addressed an edict upon the same subject, and published b the several evidences against the conspirators, with their own confessions, in order to confute a rumour current among the populace, that the plot was forged; and that *Nero*, merely to satiate his cruelty and out of base fear, had sacrificed so many illustrious citizens. In the senate, where the most abject flattery prevailed, every particular, the more sensibly he was affected with inward grief for the loss of his friends or relations, the more outward joy and congratulations he expressed. It was by the whole body decreed, that public thanksgivings and oblations should be paid to all the deities, and particular honours to the sun, who having a chapel in the circus, where the parricide was to be perpetrated, had brought to light the dark contrivances of the conspirators; that the circensian games should be solemnized with c extraordinary pomp; that the month of *April*, in which the conspiracy was detected, should thenceforth bear the name of *Nero*; that a temple should be erected to the goddess *Salus* or *Safety*, in the place whence *Scevinus* had taken the dagger, &c. The dagger itself was by *Nero* dedicated in the capitol, with this inscription, *To Jupiter the avenger* (P). Such was the issue of this conspiracy, which to the same moment owed, as *Tacitus* observes, its beginning, progress, and perfection, and was with faithful silence and secrecy concealed in a combination so numerous, so variously framed, amongst those of every condition, sex, and age, till it was accidentally discovered in the manner we have related.

The mean flattery of the senate..

Nero betakes himself again to his harp.

He appears on the public stage as a competitor for the prizes.

Nero, now delivered from all fear, betook himself again to his harp. As the time d approached for disputing the prizes in the quinquennial games, the senate, to prevent *Nero* from appearing there as a competitor, offered him the prize of music, and also the crown of eloquence. But the emperor answered, That he needed not their partiality; since he himself was a match for all his competitors, and would only, by the just determination of the judges, purchase the praise and recompence of his skill. He appeared therefore publicly upon the stage, and there rehearsed a poem of his own composing; but the populace applauding him, and begging he would display all his studies, for these were their words, he entered the great theatre, and there appearing amongst the common harpers and minstrels, contended with them for the prize, with such eagerness and anxiety, that he never ventured to sit down, however e fatigued, that being contrary to the established laws of the harp, nor to spit, nor to wipe the sweat from his face, save only with his arm. In the end, adoring the multitude with his knee bent and his hands lifted up, according to the custom of the common players, he waited with awe and trembling the determination of the judges. The common people of *Rome* applauded him with loud shouts and clapping of hands, from an utter insensibility, says our historian, of the crying reproach, which disgraced the *Roman* empire. But the inhabitants of the municipal cities of *Italy*, who still retained the severe manners of the ancients, and such as came from remote provinces, and attended then at *Rome* upon embassies, or their own private affairs, could not behold, without indignation, the sovereign of *Rome* thus debasing himself upon the stage, and much less join those, who applauded this his shameful debasement. They f were

(P) The dagger was inscribed to *Jupiter the avenger*, *Jovi vindici*; words, says our historian, which, at that time, were not minded. But, upon the revolt of *Julius Vindex*, which afterwards happened, an augury and presage of approaching vengeance was drawn from them. *Tacitus* tells us, that he found, in the journals of the senate, that *Cerealis Anicius*, consul elect, when it came to his

vote, moved, that a temple should in all speed be raised at the public charge, and consecrated to the deified *Nero*; a motion which he really meant as a compliment, to one who was intitled to divine worship; but from thence too was inferred an omen of his approaching fate; since to princes divine honours were not paid, till they finished their mortal course (32).

^a were therefore frequently beaten by the soldiers, who stood in several clusters among the croud to observe the faces of the spectators^d.

Nero, encouraged with the applause of the multitude, appeared thenceforth almost every day on the stage, inviting, not only the senators and knights, but likewise the populace and the whole rabble of *Rome*, to hear him, though he performed for the most part in the theatre, which he had built in the palace. He often kept the audience, not only the whole day, but the night too; for till he was tired and gave over, no one was allowed to depart upon any occasion, however necessary and urging: insomuch, that women are said to have been delivered in the theatre, and several persons so tired, that, finding the gates of the palace shut, they either leaped privately over the wall, or, in order to be carried out, pretended to be in a swoon^e; some, by never stirring night nor day from their seats, were seized with mortal distempers, which, however, they dreaded less than the prince's resentment, which they unavoidably incurred by their absence: besides the several concealed and private observers, employed to mark the carriage of the audience, there were numbers of open spies, who publicly set down the names of such as were present, observed their faces, and watched all the symptoms of pleasure or dissatisfaction in every one present: the vulgar were immediately punished by the soldiery for the least disattention; towards persons of rank the emperor's resentment was for the present smothered, but vented at last in a more dreadful manner. We are told, that *Vespasian*, afterwards emperor, was not only bitterly reproached by *Phæbus*, *Nero's* freed-man, but charged as a criminal, for having nodded while the emperor was singing: this disattention would have cost him his life, had not his friends, men of great rank and merit, employed their prayers and mediation in his behalf. This year the death of *Poppæa*, *Nero's* wife, filled *Rome* in appearance with grief and mourning, but in reality with much joy; for she was no less abhorred, than her husband, on account of her lewdness and cruelty. She was killed by *Nero* himself with a kick on the belly, while she was big with child, for finding fault with him, as *Suetonius* tells us, upon his coming home late^f; or because she ventured to rally him, as we read in *Dion Cassius*^g, upon his skill and address in chariot-driving. Her body was not burnt according to the *Roman* custom; but, after the manner of foreign monarchs, embalmed and reposed in the sepulchre of the *Julian* family. Her obsequies were celebrated with the utmost pomp, and her panegyric pronounced from the public rostrum by the emperor himself^h. *Pliny* assures us, that more perfumes were burnt at her funeral, than *Arabia Felix* produced in a yearⁱ. She constantly kept and carried about with her, if *Dion Cassius* is to be credited^k, five hundred asses, and daily bathed in their milk for the preservation of her beauty. Upon the death of *Poppæa*, *Nero* designed to marry *Antonia*, the daughter of *Claudius* and his own sister by adoption; but she declined the match, and was on that account by his orders put to death, as if she had been concerned in a conspiracy, probably that of *Piso*^l. Soon after he married *Statilia Messalina*, the widow of the late consul *Atticus Vestinus*, and descend from *Statilius Taurus*, who had been twice consul in the reign of *Augustus*. She too, as appears from some ancient medals^m, was honoured with the title of *Augusta*.

Not long after the death of *Poppæa*, *Nero* doomed to destruction two of the greatest men in *Rome*, *Caius Cassius Longinus*, a learned civilian, and *L. Junius Silanus Torquatus*, the former for his great wealth and the exemplary gravity of his manners; the latter, because he was related to the *Cæsars*, and, for his modesty and other eminent qualities, judged by the *Roman* people worthy of the empire. *Cassius* was blind, very aged, and led a retired life, as did likewise *Silanus*, though in the prime of his youth, having from the late bloody doom of his uncle *Torquatus*, who had assumed the port of a prince, learnt to shun all outward appearance of grandeur. However, the very same imputations, which had formerly been objected to his uncle, were urged against him; viz. that he aspired at the sovereign power, affected more majesty and state than became a private citizen, kept about him men with the title of principal secretaries, procurators, auditors of the revenues, treasurers, &c. names and offices of imperial grandeur, which he already personated: imputations utterly false and groundless. To *Cassius Nero* objected, that amongst the images of his ancestors he preserved in high reverence that of *Caius Cassius*, thus inscribed, *The leader* of

Appears frequently on the stage, and tires the audience.

Vespasian in danger for his disattention

The death of Poppæa.

Junius Silanus condemned.

And Cassius Longinus.

^d TACIT. annal. l. xvi. c. 5.

^e SUET. c. 23.

^f SUET. c. 35.

^g DIO, l. lxii. p.

^h TACIT. c. 6. SUET. c. 35. DIO, p. 71.

ⁱ PLIN. l. xii. c. 18.

^k DIO, l.

lx. p. 72.

^l SUET. c. 35.

^m GOLTZ, p. 46.

of the party. At the same time, he suborned certain persons to forge an accusation^a against *Lepida*, the wife of *Cassius* and aunt to *Silanus*, as if she had been guilty of incest with her nephew, and had practised magical rites of a mischievous tendency. Against *Cassius* and *Silanus* the senate pronounced sentence of perpetual banishment, but referred the punishment of *Lepida* to the judgment of the emperor. *Cassius* was transported into *Sardinia*, and, in regard of his great age, the short remains of his life were spared. *Silanus*, under colour of carrying him to the island of *Naxos*, was conveyed to *Ostia*, and afterwards confined in *Barium*, a city of *Apulia*, where a centurion, commissioned to put him to death, laying hold of him, advised him to cut his veins. *Silanus* answered, that he was not fond of life; but that no executioner should have the glory of putting him to death. Hereupon the centurion ordered his men to secure him; but *Silanus*, who was a young man of great strength, resolute and daring, though destitute of arms, made a vigorous resistance, till he fell by the sword of the centurion, under a multitude of wounds, all received before, like a brave man, who falls facing the enemy in the day of battleⁿ. With no less intrepidity died *Lucius Vetius*, and his mother-in-law *Sextia*, with *Pollutia* his daughter. *Nero* had long hated them, as standing reproaches upon him for the murder of *Rubellius Plautus*, the husband of *Pollutia* and son-in-law to *Vetus*. He therefore suborned a freed-man of *Vetus* to accuse him, and then sent a guard of soldiers to seize him at one of his seats in the neighbourhood of *Formiæ*. Hereupon his daughter *Pollutia* flew to *Naples*, where the emperor then was; and being denied access to him, watched at the gates of his house, till she had an opportunity of beseeching him to hear the defence of an innocent man, and not to sacrifice, upon the deposition of a treacherous slave, one who had formerly been his colleague in the consulship. But in the end, being convinced, that the implacable tyrant was not to be softened with supplications, she returned to her father, and acquainted him, that he must banish all hope, and with intrepidity meet a fate, which he could not avoid. At the same time, tidings arrived, that the senate was hastening his trial, and proceeding to a terrible and merciless sentence. Hereupon he distributed amongst his domestics whatever sums of money were then in his possession, and at the same time ordered them to remove and appropriate to themselves the rich furniture of his villa. Then retiring with his mother-in-law *Sextia* and his daughter *Pollutia*, into a private apartment, they all three opened their veins in one and the same chamber, with one and the same instrument; and being covered for decency with a single garment, they were conveyed into a warm bath, where they all three bled to death, the father's eyes being the whole time fixed upon his daughter, those of *Sextia* on her grand-daughter, and hers upon both: they all prayed with emulation for a speedy end; each wished to expire first, and leave behind such dear relations still alive, though hastening to die: and fortune observed the order of seniority and nature, the oldest expiring first, and the youngest last. After their death the servile senate was for pronouncing them guilty of high treason, and having their bodies dragged through the public streets, and thrown into the *Tiber*; but *Nero* interposed, declaring himself satisfied with the punishment, which they had voluntarily undergone^o. *P. Gallus*, a Roman knight, formerly intimate with *Fenius Rufus* and a friend to *Vetus*, was banished. To the freed-man the accuser a place was assigned in the theatre among the officers of the tribunes of the people. As the name of *April* had been already changed into that of *Nero*, the name of *May* into that of *Claudius*, so was the name of *June* now changed into that of *Germanicus*, *Cornelius Orfitus* moving, that the name of *June* should be abolished, since two of the *Junii Torquati*, already executed for treason, had rendered it abominable^p. This year the country of *Campania* was ravaged with dreadful tempests and violent whirlwinds; whole villages were overturned, plantations torn up, the fruits of the earth scattered, &c. At the same time, a terrible pestilence raged at *Rome*, and swept away in a short space above thirty thousand persons of all ranks and conditions. The senators and knights were less bewailed, as our historian observes, since by a contagion common to all, they escaped falling by the cruelty of the prince. *Nero*, after so many accumulated acts of tyranny, shewed this year some compassion upon the inhabitants of *Lions*, whom he presented with a large sum to repair the damage their city had suffered by accidental fire (R).

Several other persons of distinction condemned.

Campania ravaged with dreadful tempests.

ⁿ TACIT. c. 7, 8.

^o Idem, c. 10, 11.

^p Idem, c. 12.

(R) The burning of *Lions* happened, according to *Seneca* (33), a hundred years after it was founded. Hence *Lipsius* concludes, that this misfortune befel that flourishing colony in the fifty-eighth year of the *Christian*

(33) *Senec. epist.* 91.

^a IN the following consulship of *C. Suetonius Paulinus* and *C. Lusius Telesinus*, *Sofianus*, who had been condemned, as we have related above, to perpetual banishment; for certain virulent verses by him composed against *Nero*, having insinuated himself into the friendship of one *Pammenes*, who was an exile in the same place, and celebrated for his knowledge in the mysteries of astrology, observed that messengers were daily arriving to consult him, and at the same time learnt, that from *P. Anteius* a yearly stipend was allowed him. Upon this intelligence he intercepted letters from *Anteius*, and even stole the papers containing the calculation of his nativity, and a scheme drawn concerning the birth and fortune of *Ostorius Scapula*; which he no sooner had in his possession, than he wrote to the emperor, that he had mighty discoveries to communicate; for *Anteius* and *Ostorius* were meditating some sudden attempt upon the state, and diving into their own destiny, and that of *Cæsar*. Light vessels were immediately dispatched away, and *Sofianus* with all possible expedition transported to *Rome*; where, upon the first divulging of his discovery, *Anteius* sealed his last testament, being warned by *Tigellinus* to lose no time, and then swallowed a draught of poison; but growing impatient of its slow operation, he hastened his death by opening his veins. *Ostorius* was then at an estate of his on the borders of *Liguria*, whither a centurion was sent with orders to kill him with all dispatch. For *Ostorius* was a man of extraordinary valour, of prodigious strength, great experience in war, eminently qualified for the command of an army, and had been distinguished in *Britain*, while he served there under his father, with a civic crown: hence *Nero*, who ever since the discovery of the late conspiracy, lived under continual dread, fearing that brave officer should take arms against him, was glad of any pretence to get rid of him. The centurion, having beset all the avenues to the villa, acquainted *Ostorius* with his orders from the emperor, which were no sooner signified to him, than turning against himself that bravery, which he had so often exerted against the enemy, he opened all his veins without betraying the least concern or dismay; but as the blood flowed slowly, he dispatched himself with a poignard, ordering one of his slaves to hold up the weapon steadily; then grasping and strengthening the slave's hand with his own, he ran his throat upon the fatal steel. Within the compass of a few days, *Annæus Mella*, *Cerealis Anicius*, *Rufus Crispinus*, and *Caius Petronius*, underwent the same bloody doom. *Crispinus* had been captain of the prætorian guards under *Claudius*, and distinguished, though only a knight, with the ornaments of the consulship; but lately banished, as privy to the conspiracy, into *Sardinia*, where, upon notice that he was doomed to die, he slew himself. *Mella* was brother to *Gallio* and *Seneca*, and the father of *Lucan*. He was accused by one of *Lucan*'s intimate friends, named *Fabius Romanus*, who feigned, that the father and son were equally concerned in the conspiracy; and having counterfeited letters to this purpose in the hand of *Lucan*, shewed them to *Nero*, who ordered them to be carried to the accused, whose immense riches were his only crime. *Mella* no sooner saw them, than he opened his veins, and by a voluntary death anticipated his sentence: in his will he bequeathed immense sums to *Tigellinus* and his son-in-law *Cossutianus Capito*, in order to secure the remainder. *Cerealis* likewise became his own executioner, but fell unpitied, because he had formerly discovered a plot against *Caligula*. *Caius Petronius*, to whom some learned critics ascribe the fragments, equally elegant and obscene, which have reached our times, was a man intirely abandoned to all manner of voluptuousness. He wasted the day in sleep, and the night in revels: as others had by industry acquired a name and character, *Petronius* was by his signal sloth and indolence raised to notice and fame: he indulged himself in all the gaieties and delights of life; but at the same time had the prudence to keep within bounds, and not squander away, like many others, his estate. Neither was he a slave to his grosser appetites; but exceeding curious and refined in his luxury: his behaviour was extremely obliging and polite; his wit, in which he excelled all men of his time, natural and artless; and all his actions

The death of
Anteius.

Of Ostorius,
Mella, Anicius, &c.

The character
of Petronius.

Christian æra, orders for founding it having been given in the consulship of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, forty-three years before the said æra. But either these orders were not immediately put in execution, or the burning did not happen so early, since all the letters, in which *Seneca* speaks of this calamity, are by the best chronologers thought to have been writ-

ten in the sixty-fourth or sixty-fifth of the *Christian æra*. That *Nero* should defer relieving the inhabitants for the space of seven years, as *Lipsius* pretends, is altogether improbable. This city shewed its gratitude to *Nero*, by steadily adhering to his party, after all the other cities of *Gaul* had declared for the revoltors (34).

(34) *Dio*, l. xlv. p. 323. *Senec. ep.* 91. *Noris Gall.* p. 292.

tions accompanied with a certain air of negligence. However, he discharged the^a proconsular government of *Bithynia*, and soon after the consulship itself, with great reputation, shewing himself in both these employments equal to the management of the greatest affairs. Then returning to his former vices, he was by *Nero* admitted to a great intimacy, nothing appearing to the emperor elegant and polite, but what was recommended to him by the taste and approbation of *Petronius*. This *Tigellinus* could not bear, and therefore to get rid of one, who in credit was his rival, and in the science of pleasures his superior, had recourse to the cruelty and jealousy of the prince, two passions, to which all others gave room; accused *Petronius* of having lived in great intimacy with the conspirator *Scevinus*; suborned one of his slaves to confirm the charge, and precluded him from all means of defence. *Nero* happened at that^b time to be upon the road to *Campania*, and *Petronius*, having accompanied him as far as *Cumæ*, was there by his orders put under arrest: whereupon without flattering himself with vain hopes, or condescending to intreaties, he resolved to prevent his sentence by a voluntary death, which he underwent in a manner altogether new, but well suited to the life he had led; for having ordered his veins to be cut, he did not shew any eagerness to put an end to his agonies, but directed them to be closed again, and then opened by intervals, just as his fancy moved him, discoursing the whole time with his friends, not upon serious subjects, as if he aimed at the glory of constancy in braving death, but upon indifferent matters, hearkening with attention to gay epigrams, love-verses, and entertaining stories: some of his slaves he rewarded^c with bounties, others he punished with stripes: he even diverted himself with walking out, even refreshed himself with sleep, that his death, though in reality violent, might appear altogether natural. In his last will he flattered neither *Nero* nor *Tigellinus*, nor any of the great men in power, as most others had done; but, under feigned names of harlots and catamites, described the secret abominations of the emperor, transmitted to him this picture of himself carefully sealed, and then broke his signet, that it might not after his death become a snare to the innocent. *Nero*, greatly amazed to find all his nocturnal and most private impurities thus brought to light, after having long considered with himself by what means *Petronius* had come to the knowledge of them, fixed at length his suspicion upon *Silia*, the wife of a senator, one privy to^d all his debaucheries, and very intimate with *Petronius*. She was therefore doomed to banishment, for not concealing what she had seen and undergone in the prince's nocturnal revels. At the same time, *Numicius Thermus* was put to death, for no other crime, but because a freedman belonging to him accused *Tigellinus* of treason; which offence the informer expiated under the most exquisite torments^e.

AFTER the slaughter of so many illustrious men, *Nero* at length attempted, says our historian, to extirpate virtue itself, in the persons of *Bareas Soranus* and *Thrasea Pætus*, long since the objects of his hatred. *Thrasea* had withdrawn from the senate, as we have related above, when the affair of *Agrippina* came under debate there; at the sports, called *Juvenales*, he could not approve of the emperor's acting and singing upon the stage; when the senate was about to condemn to death *Antistius* the prætor, for a virulent satire by him composed against *Nero*, he proposed a mitigation of the sentence, and carried it; when divine honours were decreed to *Poppæa*, he absented himself, and declined attending her funeral; he had not now in three years once set his foot in the senate, and, though invested with the quindecemviral priesthood, had never made oblations for the safety of the prince, and the preservation of his heavenly voice, &c. These were the crimes urged against *Thrasea* by *Capito Cossutianus* and *Marcellus Eprius*, two informers of great acrimony and vehemence. *Ostorius Sabinus*, a Roman knight, took upon him the task of accusing *Bareas Soranus*: the crimes imputed to him were his friendship with *Plautus*, murdered by^f *Nero's* orders in *Asia*, and his intrigues with the *Asiatics*, while he governed them in quality of proconsul, in order to engage them in a revolt. But his real crimes were, as *Tacitus* informs us, his having governed *Asia* with signal vigilance and justice, his opening the port of *Ephesus*, a work mightily applauded by the *Asiatics*, and his leaving the inhabitants of *Pergamus* unpunished for opposing *Acratus*, one of *Nero's* freedmen, when he would have stripped their city of all its pictures and statues. The juncture *Nero* chose for destroying these two great men was, that of the arrival of *Tiridates* to receive the crown of *Armenia*, either because the public attention was then wholly

His calm and uncommon manner of dying.

Thrasea and Soranus accused.

- a wholly engaged in that new sight, or because *Nero* meant on that occasion to display his greatness and power by the slaughter of the two most illustrious men in the whole empire. While the whole city flocked out to see a foreign king, *Thrasea* received orders not to attend his entry. Hereupon he composed a memorial to *Nero*, beseeching the emperor to acquaint him with the allegations against him, and offering to vindicate himself, were he but apprised of the charge. *Nero* received the memorial greedily, hoping that *Thrasea*, under the apprehension of his impending doom, might have writ something tending to the glory of the prince and his own discredit; but finding himself disappointed, and dreading the countenance, the great spirit, and free speech of a man so generally esteemed and revered, he ordered the senate to be summoned. In the mean time, *Thrasea*, having assembled his friends and relations The firmness of Thrasea.
- b to consult with them, whether he should attempt a defence or be silent, *Rusticus* *Arulanus*, a young man of great spirit and one of the tribunes of the people, who assisted at the consultation, offered to thwart the decree of the senate, by interposing against it. But *Thrasea* would by no means allow him to pursue such methods, as would in the end prove fatal to him. The next day, two cohorts of the prætorian guards surrounded the temple of *Venus*, where the senate was to meet; all the avenues to it were beset with men in their gowns, the common dress of the city, but armed with swords, which they took no care to conceal; the great squares and several temples were filled with bands of soldiers under arms. Through these the senators passed to their assembly, where, after a speech sent to them by *Nero*, and read by his quæstor, in which he sufficiently declared what he required of them, they condemned *Thrasea*, *Soranus*, and his daughter *Servilia*, but granted them the choice of their own deaths. The charge brought against *Servilia* was, that she had consulted the magicians, which she owned; but declared at the same time, that her consultation had been confined to the conservation of her own family, whether the wrath of *Nero* might not be appeased, and whether no tragical judgment would follow the cognizance of the senate. Farther than this she had not inquired; but nevertheless she was brought into the senate, and there arraigned by *Ostorius Sabinus*, who questioned her, whether she had not turned into money all her ornaments, and even stripped from her neck her jewels, to defray the expence of magic rites and sacrifices? To this question young *Servilia*, for she was under twenty, embracing the altars with a flood of tears, answered, that the whole of her consultation had been to know, whether the emperor, and the fathers of the senate, would to her dear and indulgent parent, beset with terrors, graciously afford protection and safety. With this view, said she, I presented the diviners, men till now utterly unknown to me, with my jewels, apparel, and the other ornaments peculiar to my quality, as I would have presented my blood and life, had my blood and life been required. But whatever this my proceeding was, my unfortunate father was an utter stranger to it; and, if it is a crime, I alone am the delinquent. These words alarmed *Soranus*, who interrupted her while she was yet uttering them, crying out, that as she was not supposed to be guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, her cause ought to be disjoined from his; that his own fate, whatever it should prove, he was ready to undergo, but hoped, that in the danger of the father they would not involve the innocent daughter. Having thus spoken, he was hastening to embrace his daughter, who flew to meet him; but the consul's lictors stepped between and prevented them.
- c
- d
- e
- f
- They are both condemned by the senate.
- The affecting speech of Servilia in the senate.

SENTENCE was no sooner pronounced against the pretended criminals, than the quæstor was dispatched to acquaint *Thrasea* with it, who was then in his gardens, reasoning there with *Demetrius*, a *Cynic* philosopher, about the nature of the soul, and its departure from the body. While he was intent upon this discourse, *Domitius Cecilianus*, one of his most intimate friends, arrived, and related to him what the senate had decreed. *Thrasea* heard him without betraying, either in his voice or countenance, the least concern; only turning to his friends, who came with *Cecilianus*, he embraced them, took his last leave of them, and pressed them forthwith to retire, lest they should for their unseasonable compassion be involved in the same fate. His wife *Arria* was very earnest to follow the example of her mother, who bore the same name, and was wife to *Cecina Pætus*, with whom she died, as we have related elsewhere. But *Thrasea* would not by any means allow her to share in his lot, beseeching her to preserve her life, and not deprive her daughter of her only remaining refuge. He then

Thrasea's magnanimity in death.

then went forth into a gallery, and there the quæstor found him, and delivered to him in form the sentence of the senate, which he immediately put in execution, retiring into his chamber with *Helvidius* his son-in-law, *Demetrius*, and the quæstor, in whose presence he ordered the veins of both his arms to be cut. As the blood sprung, he called the quæstor nearer, and sprinkling the floor with it, *Let us*, said he to him, *make this libation to Jupiter the Deliverer. Behold, young man; may the gods avert the omen! but you are born in such times as require you to fortify your mind with examples of constancy.* After this, falling into grievous torments, occasioned by the slow approaches of death, he turned towards *Demetrius*; but of the last words and particulars of this great man's death we are bereft, by a lamentable chasm in this last annal of our historian, and by the same misfortune robbed of the detail, which that inimitable writer left of the other remarkable incidents that happened during the remainder of this, and the whole two last years of *Nero's* reign. This loss we shall supply in the best manner we can with the accounts which have been transmitted to us by other writers, especially *Suetonius* and *Dion Cassius*; but as neither of them has described the particulars of the death of *Thrasea*, *Soranus*, and his daughter *Servilia*, we cannot therein satisfy the curiosity of our readers.

Tiridates
crowned king
of Armenia
by Nero.

Soon after the death of *Thrasea*, *Nero*, to divert the attention of the public from their domestic calamities, received *Tiridates* with all the pomp of majesty and grandeur imaginable, and crowned him in one of the great squares king of *Armenia*. This was the most magnificent and pompous ceremony that had ever been seen in *Rome*; but as we have already described it in our history of the *Greater Armenia*, we shall only add here, that *Nero* allowed him, during his stay at *Rome*, eighty thousand nummi a day, and loaded him, upon his departure, with presents of immense value. The *Armenian*, who was a good courtier, had flattered the vain prince, and pretended to be ravished with his harmonious voice, and the skill he displayed in chariot-driving. After the coronation of *Tiridates*, *Nero* shut up the temple of *Janus*, in token of an universal peace, as appears from a medal dated the thirteenth year of his reign, which did not begin till the month of *October*, before which time, that is, in the month of *May*, the *Jews*, grievously oppressed by their governor, especially *Florus*, had taken arms^r. *Nero* solicited *Vologeses*, brother to *Tiridates*, still king of the *Parthians*, to come likewise to *Rome*; but in vain, *Vologeses* returning no other answer, than that *Nero* might, with less trouble, cross the *Mediterranean* and come into *Asia*, where he would endeavour to meet him. The emperor, piqued with this answer, resolved to make war upon the *Parthian*; and with this view made mighty preparations; ordered the flower of the armies in *Illyricum*, *Germany*, and *Britain*, to begin their march towards the kingdom of *Albania*; and raised a new legion of *Italians*, each man six foot tall, which he called the *legion of Alexander the Great*^s. Thus was size first required in a soldier by a prince brought up amongst minstrels, songsters, and charioteers, who, it seems, had no real design of employing his chosen legion, or any others, in military feats: for upon intelligence, that the *Parthian* king was inflexible, and prepared on his side for a vigorous defence, he thought it adviseable to leave the glory of conquests and warlike exploits to others, and confine his ambition to the unprincely honour of playing, singing, and acting upon the stage. As the time therefore of the *Olympic* games approached, he left *Italy*, and passed over into *Greece*, with no other design, but to gain the reputation of the best harper, singer, actor, and charioteer, in the whole *Roman* empire. The *Greeks*, who surpassed all other nations in flattery, understanding that the emperor piqued himself upon his skill in playing upon the harp, had dispatched two ambassadors to him with all the crowns designed by their several cities for such players; which was so acceptable to *Nero*, that he not only gave their ambassadors audience before any others, but admitted them to an entertainment, which he had prepared for his most intimate friends. On this occasion one of them having begged him to sing them a song; he immediately complied with his request, and was so taken with their extravagant flattery, that he cried out, *The Greeks alone have a good ear; none but they understand music!* and a few days after set out for *Greece*, leading with him, says *Dion Cassius*, such multitudes, as might have easily reduced the *Parthians* and all the nations of the east, had they not, like their general, been destitute of all courage, and armed only with harps, fiddles, masques, buskins, and such-like theatrical implements. With this army he imbarqued, and landing.

Nero passes
over into
Greece.

^r Vide P. PAGI, 22, 71.

^s DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 719. SUET. c. 19.

a landing at *Cassiope*, he immediately began to sing before the altar of *Jupiter Cassius*. Thence he advanced into the heart of *Greece*, playing, singing, and acting in all the cities, through which he passed. But he chiefly exerted his skill at the *Olympic* games, where, to the eternal ignominy of the *Roman* name, the head of the empire was not ashamed to appear, as a competitor, among the common harpers, players, and charioteers. He won the prize of music, by corrupting, as was commonly believed, with large presents, either the judges, or his competitors. The prize of chariot-driving he evidently forfeited; for having attempted to drive with ten horses, he was thrown off, and so hurt, that though he remounted, yet he was constrained to give over before he had finished the career. However, as he insisted with the judges upon their excluding all casual events and misfortunes, the prize was to b his unexpressible satisfaction decreed him. When the games were over, *Nero* not only rewarded the judges with the rights of *Roman* citizens and rich presents, but restored the whole province of *Achaia* to its ancient liberty, taking upon himself the office of crier, and solemnly proclaiming the freedom of the *Achaëans* at *Corinth* on the day of the *Isthmian* games: so that from this time the *Greeks* continued free from all manner of taxes, impositions, and tributes, governing themselves by their own laws, till the reign of *Vespasian*, who revoked all the privileges and exemptions granted them by *Nero*, as *Galba* obliged the judges to refund the vast sums, with which the chanting emperor had presented them. As the province of *Achaia* belonged to the senate and people, *Nero*, when he declared it free, bestowed upon them in its room the island of *Sardinia*. c After this he travelled all over *Greece*, not prompted by the commendable curiosity of visiting the antiquities of that once celebrated country, but by the unprinciply ambition of displaying his skill and art in singing and playing upon the harp. He challenged every-where the best performers, and never failed, as we may well imagine, being declared victor; insomuch, that he is said to have gained in this progress above eighteen hundred prizes. He transmitted a particular account of each victory to the senate, injoining them to acknowledge the favours of the gods towards him with victims, oblations, and public processions, and to take care, that the same devotions were practised throughout the whole empire. That there might remain no monuments of other victors, he commanded all their statues to be pulled d down, to be dragged through the streets, and to be either dashed to pieces, or thrown into the common sewers.

THE *Greeks*, notwithstanding the favours he bestowed upon them, longed for his departure, his numerous train occasioning a great dearth of provisions, and almost a general famine. *Philostratus* assures us, that *Xerxes*, who entered *Greece* in a hostile manner, putting all to fire and sword, did not so grievously afflict that unhappy country, as *Nero*, who came as a friend, and with no other view, but to divert the inhabitants. He every-where stripped the cities and temples of the few pictures, statues, and other ornaments, which his officers had left them. The unfortunate province felt the effects, not only of his avarice, but likewise of his cruelty, of which *Philostratus* gives c us the following instance: An actor in a tragedy at the *Isthmian* games having sung, so as to deserve the chief applause, and refusing, as he was better skilled in music than in the courtly art of flattery, to lower his voice, which quite drowned *Nero's*, the emperor, transported with rage, caused him to be strangled on the stage in the sight of all *Greece*. No wonder that his art every-where triumphed; when it was backed by so much cruelty. Loaded with the crowns and prizes he had won, he went to consult the oracle at *Delphos*, and was warned by the pretended deity of the place, To beware of seventy-three, which, not reflecting on *Galba's* age, he imagined to be the term of his life, and conceived so great assurance of his living and enjoying an uninterrupted happiness till that age, that having soon after lost many things of great value by shipwreck, he confidently told his friends, that the very fish would bring them again; nay, he was so possessed with this notion, that two years after, when the first tidings were brought him of the insurrections in several provinces, he was so far from being alarmed, that he seemed rather to rejoice at those disturbances, since they furnished him with a plausible pretence of seizing the estates of the inhabitants. The pythoness he presented with a large sum, which *Galba* not long after obliged her to pay back. Thus *Dion Cassius* and *Suetonius*; but *Lucianus Samosatensis*, Themistius,

^a SUET. l. vi. c. 22. DIO, l. lxxiii. p. 719. PAUSAN. in Cor. ^u APOLL. THY. l. v. c. 3. DIO, l. vi. p. 323. PAUSAN. ibid. ^w SUET. c. 24. ^x PHILOS. strat. ibid. & PAUSAN. in Boeot. ^y SUET. c. 40. DIO, p. 634. ^z LUCIAN. SAM. Nero dialog.

Themistius^a, and the emperor *Julian*, surnamed the *apostate*^b, assure us, that the pythonefs reviled him as an *Orestes*, an *Alcmæon*, two parricides who had murdered their mothers, without deigning to return him any further answer; which so provoked him, that he caused all the issues from the oracle to be stopt up; commanded several persons to be murdered in the temple, in order to profane it; stripped *Apollo*, or rather his priests, of the lands he posselt at *Cyrrha*, in the neighbourhood of *Delphos*; and carried away with him five hundred statues of brass, which no tyrant before him had offered to remove. We are told, that, as he departed, *Apollo* snatched the crown from off his head, signifying thereby, as was afterwards interpreted, that he was not to wear it long^c. He declined visiting *Athens*, which city was said to be haunted by the furies, and likewise *Lacedæmon*, abhorring the very name of *Lycurgus*^d and his laws^e. This year, *Cestius Gallus*, governor of *Syria*, being defeated on the eighth of *November* by the *Jews*, after he had raised the siege of *Jerusalem*, acquainted *Nero* with his overthrow; who thereupon appointed *Mucianus* governor of *Syria* in his room, and named *Flavius Vespasianus* to the command of the troops in that province, though he had not long before forbid him his presence, and threatened him with destruction, for having nodded while the emperor was singing on the stage^f.

Vespasian
sent against
the Jews.

Nero under-
takes to cut
through the
isthmus of Co-
rinth.

BEFORE he left *Greece*, he undertook to cut the *Isthmus*, in order to open a communication between the *Ionian* and *Ægean* seas, and by that means prevent the frequent wrecks that happened on the coast of *Peloponnesus*. As the isthmus, or neck of land which parts the two seas, is scarce six miles over, *Julius Cæsar*, *Caligula*,^g and *Claudius*, had formed the same design; but dropt it, as we are told, upon their being assured, that by their undertaking, if it succeeded, whole countries would be drowned, by reason that the *Ionian* sea was much higher than the *Ægean*. Besides, at the first breaking of the earth, blood was said to have issued, groans to have been heard, and frightful spectres seen^h. But *Nero*, not crediting such reports, and always ready to attempt what was generally deemed impossible, assembled his prætorian guards, encouraged them with large promises to undertake the work cheerfully, and having solemnly prayed that the design might turn to his advantage, and to the advantage of the commonwealth, without so much as mentioning the senate, he ordered the trumpets to sound, and advanced at the head of his guards,^d singing and dancing, to the place where the work was to begin. There, with a golden pick-ax, which the governor of the province presented to him, he pretended to set an example to others; but being tired after three strokes, he carried away in a basket the handful of earth he had moved, and posted away to *Corinth*, as proud as if he had undergone the labours of *Hercules*. He ordered the prisoners from all parts to be transported into *Greece*, and such as were convicted, whatever their crimes were, to be condemned only to this work^e. *Vespasian* sent him six thousand *Jews*, whom he had already taken prisoners. These were, according to *Josephus*, employed in the laborious work of hewing the rocks, while the prætorian guards only removed the rubbishⁱ. But either the insurmountable difficulties that occurred, or the troubles, which began to break out, or were apprehended, about this time, obliged *Nero* to drop the enterprize, though he was with such ardor and eagerness bent upon the execution of it, that he had rather have renounced the harp for ever, than seen his favourite project thus defeated^j.

Drops that en-
terprize.

He plunders
Greece.

THE following year, *L. Capito* and *C. Rufus* being consuls, *Nero*, continuing still in *Greece*, and wanting money to supply his prodigality and defray his exorbitant expences, plundered first the province of *Achaia*, putting, under various pretences, such of the *Greeks* to death as were thought wealthy, and seizing their estates. From *Achaia* he extended his rapines to *Italy* and *Rome*, where all the riches of the known world centred, injoining *Helius*, a freedman of the emperor *Claudius*, whom he had left governor of the city, to seize, under some pretence or other, the estates of all the wealthy citizens, to confiscate their effects, and turn them into money. *Nero* had taken with him into *Achaia*, such of the senatorial and equestrian order as were any ways considerable for their birth, virtue, or fortunes, with a design to dispatch them at a distance from *Rome*, and consequently with more safety and less noise; so that tidings were daily brought to the city of the death of some of her most illustrious

^a THEMIST. orat. quinque, p. 226. ^b JULIAN. p. 492. ^c PAUSAN. in Phoc. ^d DIO, l. lxiii. p. 721. ^e JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. ii. c. 40. ^f TACIT. annal. xvi. c. 31. ^g PLIN. l. vi. c. 4. ^h DIO, p. 722. ⁱ SUET. c. 31. ^j LUCIAN. Nero, p. 143. ^k JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 36. ^l LUCIAN. Nero dial. seu de Fossione Isthmi, p. 143.

- a illustrious citizens, and orders to *Helius* to seize their estates. For this year *Nero* issued an edict, declaring, contrary to the custom which had hitherto obtained, the estates confiscated even of those who anticipated their sentence by a voluntary death. Of the many great men who suffered this year, none was more generally lamented than the brave *Domitius Corbulo*. He was equal, says *Tacitus*, in courage, prudence, and experience, to the most renowned commanders of ancient *Rome*, and at the same time a true pattern of the modesty, virtue, and integrity of the primitive *Romans*. He was adored on account of his unbounded generosity, beneficence, and good-nature, even by the most inveterate enemies of the *Roman* name, who would readily have submitted to *Rome*, had *Rome* been governed by a *Corbulo*. *Nero*, well acquainted with his commendable qualities, honour, and integrity, reposed in him an intire confidence, and invested him with an unlimited power in the east, where he performed those feats, which we have described at length in our history of *Armenia*. Though he commanded a powerful army, intirely at his devotion, was by all judged the most worthy of the sovereign power in the whole *Roman* empire, and might have easily seized it, as he was equally adored by *Romans* and foreigners of every rank and condition; yet he never entertained the least thought of assuming it. This inviolable fidelity to so cruel a tyrant, so worthless a prince, was the only thing, which either *Romans* or foreigners ever blamed in him. To this *Tiridates* alluded, when speaking of him to *Nero*, he told the emperor, that in *Corbulo* he had an excellent slave. But this year, *Nero*, having resolved to extirpate virtue from off the face of the earth, wrote a letter to *Corbulo*, filled with the most tender expressions of friendship imaginable, styling him his father, his benefactor, his only refuge, &c. In the letter he invited him into *Greece*, pretending an eager desire to see one, to whom he was so highly indebted. *Corbulo*, judging of the emperor's sincerity from the uprightness of his own heart, immediately set out for *Greece*. But *Nero*, the instant he was informed of his arrival at *Cenchreæ*, the port of *Corinth* on the side of the *Ægean* sea, dispatched orders for his immediate execution; which were no sooner communicated to the brave general, than drawing his sword, he plunged it into his breast, saying, that he well deserved to die, no doubt, on account of his credulity and inviolable attachment to so vile a monster¹. Such was the end of the greatest commander and the best man in the whole *Roman* empire. He was beloved by the emperor, says *Dion Cassius*, for his unshaken fidelity; but hated for his virtue, of all crimes the greatest. He left behind him an account of his wars and other transactions in the east, which are frequently quoted by *Pliny*, but have not reached our times^m. The same year, *Annæus Cornutus*, one of the most learned men in *Rome*, was banished and confined to a desert island, for no other crime, but the study of philosophy and profession of virtue. The famous poets *Lucan* and *Persius* had been his disciples; for he took great pleasure in instructing the *Roman* youth in the principles of the philosophy of the *Stoics*, of which sect he was himself. *Persius* had a great veneration and esteem for him; whence he left him by his last will, for he died in the ninth year of *Nero's* reign, seven hundred volumes, and a considerable sum of money, which he restored to the heirs of the deceased, being satisfied with the books. He is said to have advised *Persius's* mother to suppress some poetical compositions, which her son had wrote in his youthⁿ (S). *Nero*, upon his leaving *Rome*, had committed the government of the city,

The character of Corbulo.

His death.

¹ Dio. p. 690. ^m Vide Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 25. & NORRIS. de Cænotaph. Pisana. p. 334. Ven. 1681. ⁿ Dio, p. 715. Pers. vit. p. 495.

(S) *Dion Cassius* tells us (35), that *Nero* having a mind to write the *Roman* history in verse from the foundation of the city to his own time, for he had some genius for poetry, and being told, that he could not comprise it in fewer than four hundred books, consulted *Cornutus* upon that subject, who answered, that the number of books was too great, and that no one would read them. This *Nero* did not relent, believing *Cornutus* only meant, that no one would read them on account of their number. But one urging, that the books of *Chrysippus* were more numerous, and yet generally read, *The books of Chrysippus*, replied *Cornutus*, contain many useful precepts,

which serve to improve both our manners and understanding. This answer provoked *Nero* to such a degree, that he was for having him immediately put to death; but, several of *Cornutus's* friends and disciples interposing in his behalf, he was only banished. *Aulus Gellius* quotes certain comments upon *Virgil* done by *Annæus Cornutus*, whom he styles an illustrious and learned grammarian (36), and likewise his second book upon the figures of rhetoric (37). *Macrobius* too speaks of *Annæus Cornutus* as a man well skilled in the *Greek* tongue. *The treatise of the theology of the Greeks*, which has reached our times, and passes under the name of *Phormutus*, is by *Theodoret* and others

(35) Dio, l. xlii. p. 715.

(36) Aul. Gell. l. ii. c. 6.

(37) Idem, l. ix. c. 10.

Cruelties exercised in Rome by Helius the freedman.

city, as we have hinted above, to *Helius*, a freedman of the late emperor, investing him with an absolute power over all persons, senators not excepted, whom he was allowed to banish, condemn, and execute, without so much as acquainting the emperor with the crimes laid to their charge, or waiting for his consent. And truly *Helius*, assisted by *Polycletus*, another freedman, made no less dreadful havock of the Roman nobility at Rome, than his master did in *Achaia*. Virtue, quality, or wealth were unpardonable crimes, and punished with death. Few noble families escaped the cruelty of the emperor, or the imperial freedman. The latter, more cruel, if possible, than *Nero* himself, cut off the nearest relations, and even the children of those he condemned; which alarmed the city to such a degree, that a general insurrection was apprehended. Hereupon *Helius* dispatched messengers after messengers to the emperor, representing to him the state of affairs, and pressing him to return to the capital with all possible expedition. As *Nero* put off his departure from day to day, and returned no other answer to *Helius*, than that if he truly loved him, he could not envy him the glory he was daily acquiring in *Greece*; but would rather wish, that *Nero* might return worthy of himself; the freedman left Rome unexpectedly, and arriving in seven days in *Greece*, so terrified the emperor with the exaggerated account he gave him of the general discontent that reigned in the city, that he immediately left *Greece*, where he had stayed at least a year, and imbarqued for *Italy*. In his passage his fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, the ships, laden with all the wealth of *Greece*, cast away, and he himself in imminent danger of being lost with them. But with much ado he escaped, and upon his landing caused many of his numerous retinue to be inhumanly massacred, for having imprudently betrayed joy while he was in danger of perishing. He entered *Naples* through a breach in the wall, according to the custom of the victors in the *Olympic* games, and in the same manner *Antium*, *Albanum*, and *Rome*. He made his entry into the latter city in the triumphal chariot of *Augustus*, pompously attired, having with him in the same chariot another player upon the harp, by name *Diodorus*, wearing an *Olympic* crown on his head, and carrying a *Pythic* crown in his hand. Before him marched in great pomp and richly dressed, eighteen hundred persons, each of them with a crown in his hand, and under it an inscription, signifying where it had been won, the name of the person whom the emperor had overcome, the subject and title of the song, and such-like important circumstances. His chariot was followed by the whole rabble of the city, crying out by way of derision, that they were the soldiers of *Augustus*, and claimed a share in the glory of the triumphant victor. From the *via sacra* the procession turned to the circus, which *Nero* entered through a breach, having caused one of the arches to be thrown down. Thence they proceeded through the *Velabrum* and the forum to the palace, and from the palace to the temple of *Apollo*, where he displayed all his crowns, and ordered them to be carried from thence to his golden house, and there hung up round his bed, upon the many statues which he had erected to himself in the habit and attire of a harper. The remaining part of the year he spent in playing upon the harp, singing, and acting upon the stage, no one of the nobility daring to absent themselves, upon any pretence whatsoever, from his theatrical representations, though they often lasted, not only the whole day, but the night too. We are told, that he personated with great art *Canace* in labour, *Orestes* murdering his mother, *Ædipus* pulling out his own eyes, and *Hercules* phrenetic; in which last representation a raw soldier, then upon guard, seeing the emperor bound in chains, as the argument required, and supposing it real violence, ran in, sword in hand, to his relief, and cleared the stage, which did not a little divert the weary and tired out multitude. While he was acting in a tragedy, the battoon happening to fall out of his hand, he betrayed such concern, and fear of forfeiting the reputation of an able

Nero returns to Italy.

His entry into Naples, Rome, &c.

Spends the remaining part of the year in acting upon the stage.

° DIO, p. 723. Suet. c. 23.

others ascribed to *Cornutus*. From this work *Porphyrius* pretends, that *Origen* learnt to explain the scripture by allegories (38). It is certain, that *Origen* often makes use of the writings of *Cornutus* to prove the tenets of the *Christian* religion (39). But whether this be the *Annæus Cornutus*, who was banished by *Nero*, is much questioned by the critics

(40). *Suidas* likewise mentions a philosopher, named *Cornutus*, and born at *Leptis* in *Libya*, who, according to him, came to *Rome* before the reign of *Nero*, and wrote several philosophical tracts. This we take to be the *Annæus Cornutus* mentioned by *Dion Cassius*; but *Suidas* is mistaken in supposing him to have been put to death by *Nero*.

(38) *Euseb. l. vi. c. 19.*

(39) *Vide Hier. ep. 84.*

(40) *Vide Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 26.*

a able actor, that he could not pursue his part, till one of his fellow actors assured him upon his oath, that not one of the audience had taken the least notice of so small a fault, and merely casual. To preserve his voice, he used to lie constantly on his back, with a thin plate of lead upon his stomach, took frequently vomitory and purging potions, and abstained from all sorts of fruit, and meats reputed prejudicial to his voice: nay, he gave over at length, through fear of hurting his voice, making speeches to the soldiery or senate, contenting himself to signify his pleasure to them in writing, or by the mouth of some of his friends or freedmen. After his return from *Greece*, he established a new employment, charging one, whom he called, with a name borrowed from the *Greek* tongue, his *phonasus*, to take care of his voice. He would never speak but in the presence of this new officer, who was first to admonish him, when he talked too loud, or strained his voice, and afterwards, if the emperor, transported with any sudden emotion, did not hearken to his admonitions, to stop his mouth with a napkin. The most effectual means of courting his favour was to commend his voice, to pretend raptures while he sung, to appear dejected, and be very importunate, if he took a fancy, as he sometimes did, like other singers, not to do what he was most ardently desirous of doing^p. Thus he trifled away his time, not forbearing, however, in the midst of diversion and pleasures, to pursue feats of cruelty and blood, till the next year, the fourteenth of his reign, when a bloody doom overtook at length this man of blood. Either this, or the preceding, year, a conspiracy was formed against him by *Vinicius*, and discovered at *Beneventum*; and this is all we find concerning it in the histories of those times, which have reached ours. Of this conspiracy, *Plutarch*, we conjecture, speaks in his treatise of *talkativeness*, where he tells, that a plot formed against *Nero* was discovered in the following manner, when it was ripe for execution: One of the conspirators, seeing a prisoner dragged to *Nero's* tribunal, accosted him, as he was bewailing his misfortune, and whispered him in the ear, If by the favour of the gods you escape to-day, you will be to-morrow indebted to me for your safety. The prisoner understood him, and as he was chiefly solicitous about averting his own doom, he immediately acquainted *Nero* with what had been told him. Hereupon the conspirator was forthwith seized, and being put upon the rack, owned the conspiracy and discovered his associates^q. Of this conspiracy we find no further account in the ancients, which makes us the more sensible of the irreparable loss we have suffered by the chasm in this part of *Tacitus's* annals.

He takes particular care of his voice.

A conspiracy discovered.

THE next consuls were *Silius Italicus*, the celebrated poet, and *Galerius Trachalus*^r. These were the last consuls named by *Nero*. *Pliny*, in one of his letters^s, gives us a succinct account of the life and death of *Silius*, for he died in the reign of *Trajan*; and tells us, that under *Nero* he accused, not by constraint, but choice, several persons of great distinction, and procured their destruction; but adds, that under the succeeding emperors he led a life free from all blemish. We shall have occasion to speak of him in the reign of *Domitian*, when he wrote his poem on the *Punic* war. *Trachalus* was an orator and civilian of great note^t, and nearly related to *Galeria*, the wife of *Vitellius*, who saved his life, as we shall relate hereafter. This year, *Nero*, after having long wallowed in the blood of human race, and made spoil, we may say, of the creation, was at length overtaken by the bloody doom, which his enormous and crying iniquities well deserved. His raging fury had quite tired out and exhausted the patience both of *Romans* and foreigners, who were equally disposed to a general revolution, and only wanted a person of credit and experience to head them. The first, who had courage enough openly to declare his generous resolution of redeeming the world, from the no less ignominious than tyrannical yoke, under which it had now groaned for thirteen years and upwards, was *Julius Vindex*, descended from the ancient kings of *Aquitain*, and at this time governor of *Celtic Gaul*. He was a true lover of his country, had on several occasions signalized his courage, prudence, and experience in the military art, bore an utter aversion to slavery, and was possessed with an ardent ambition of transmitting his name to posterity by some commendable action^u. We are told, that before he openly declared his design, he communicated it to *Galba*, then governor of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, who neither countenanced nor discovered it to *Nero*, as did several of the governors of other provinces,

Julius Vindex revolts in Gaul.

^p SUET. c. 25. ^q PLUT. de garrulitate. ^r PLIN. l. iii. ep. 7. FRONT. AQUÆDUC. p. 119. IDATIUS, &c. ^s PLIN. ibid. ^t TACIT. hist. l. i. c. 90. ^u DIO, l. lxiii. p. 724. SUET. c. 40. TACIT. hist. l. i. c. 16.

provinces, to whom *Vindex* had imparted it by letters, which they immediately sent a to *Nero* ^w. *Philostratus*, in his life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, writes, that the governor of *Bætica*, now *Andalusia*, coming to *Gades*, or *Cadiz*, to visit *Apollonius*, conferred with him in private for three days together; and that it was afterwards believed, that *Apollonius* had encouraged the governor to revolt from *Nero* and join *Vindex*, whose design was not yet publicly known ^x. Whether *Philostratus* speaks here of *Galba*, or of some other, we know not. *Galba* indeed was not governor of *Bætica*; but in *Philostratus* such mistakes frequently occur. Though *Galba* did not at first shew himself inclined to favour the revolt, yet the brave *Vindex*, having about the beginning of *March*, assembled the *Gauls*, harassed and reduced to beggary, by heavy tributes and impositions, openly declared to them his design, encouraged them to concur b cheerfully in his measures, and in a long speech displayed their many grievances, from which he said there were no hopes of relief, so long as their tyrannical and cruel oppressor lived or reigned. His design was universally applauded by the *Gauls*, who immediately flocked to him from all parts; insomuch, that though he had no *Roman* troops under his command, yet he found himself in a short time at the head of a hundred thousand armed men. Hereupon he wrote once more to *Galba*, exhorting him to espouse the common cause of mankind, and put himself at the head of the *Gauls*, who were already a body of a hundred thousand armed men, and could, upon occasion, raise a greater force. At the same time arrived an express from the governor of *Aquitain*, demanding succours against *Vindex*. Upon the receipt of these important dispatches, *Galba* called a council of his friends to advise with them, before he returned an answer to either of the messengers. In the council they were almost all c of opinion, that he ought to wait, and see how *Rome* stood inclined before he declared. But *Titus Vinius*, tribune of the only legion in the province, standing up, “What room, said he, is there here for deliberation? It is a crime even to question, whether or “no we shall continue faithful to *Nero*, and as such it will be punished by him. There “is no medium; you must either hearken to the overture of *Vindex*, and look on *Nero* “as your declared enemy, or march this instant against a person, who had rather have “*Galba* for emperor than *Nero*.” This speech made a deep impression upon the mind of *Galba*, who was likewise animated by several favourable omens, and above all by a d prediction, which was uttered about this time by a young virgin of great distinction in *Spain*, and answered exactly another, which had been delivered two hundred years before, viz. that *Spain* should one day give a prince to *Rome*, and to the world a sovereign. He therefore hesitated no longer; but by an edict appointed a certain day for the *Spaniards* to meet at *New Carthage*, now *Carthagena*. The *Spaniards*, who had heard of the revolt in *Gaul* and suspected his design, obeyed the summons with great alacrity; for they abhorred the very name of *Nero*, and flocked from all quarters to *Carthagena*, where *Galba*, ascending the tribunal, round which were placed the images of several illustrious persons, whom *Nero* had caused to be inhumanly massacred, openly declared his design in the following speech: “Fellow-soldiers and friends, we are assembled to bestow on mankind the great benefit of liberty and freedom, a benefit, “which indeed is our birth-right, though we have not these many years been allowed “to taste the sweets of it. For what slave has endured greater hardships, has suffered a “more cruel servitude, than we under the inhuman tyrant, whom the evil fortune of the “*Roman* empire had placed over us? What kind of extortions has he not used to supply, “with rapine and injustice, what he has spent, with ignominy and shame? What kind “of cruelty has he not practised? Has he not wallowed in the blood of his father, his “brother, his mother, his wife, his instructor, and of all, who, in the senate, city, or “provinces, were any-ways considerable for their birth, wealth, courage, or virtue, “without distinction of sex or age? The blood of so many innocent victims cries aloud f “for vengeance. Let us therefore appease the manes of our deceased friends and relations with the blood of the tyrant, by whom they have been thus inhumanly butchered. “Let us rouse our courage, and so long as we have arms, and ability to manage them, “be ashamed tamely to obey, like so many slaves, not a prince, but an incendiary, “a parricide, a sinner, a minstrel, a player, a charioteer, nay one who is not even a “man, but a monster of mankind, having a man to his husband, and a man to his wife. “The *Gauls* have already shaken off the ignominious yoke, and the whole empire “is ready to follow their example and join us and them. For myself, I have never “entertained

And raises a
powerful
army.

*Galba revolts
in Spain.*

*His speech
against Nero.*

^w PLUT. vit. Galbæ.

^x PHILOSTRAT. vita Apoll. Tyan. l. v. c. 13.

a “ entertained any ambitious or aspiring designs, and heartily wish I were allowed to
 “ spend the small remainder of my days in privacy and retirement; but since some
 “ have imposed upon me a part, which I never designed to act, and least of all at
 “ this age, I will not decline, with your approbation, the heavy task, but chearfully
 “ sacrifice my own inclinations to the good of my country, not with the awful title
 “ of *emperor* or *Augustus*, which sacred names I adore” --- Here he was interrupted by
 the loud shouts, and joyful acclamations of the numerous assembly, saluting him with
 one voice, *emperor* and *Augustus*. But *Galba*, declining these specious titles, declared, *He declines*
 that he devoted himself to the service of his country only as lieutenant to the senate and *the title of*
 people. This happened nine months and thirteen days, as we read in *Dion Cassius*, *emperor.*
 b before *Galba*’s death, and consequently on the third of *April*; for he was assassinated
 on the fifteenth of *January* of the following year. After this *Galba* ordered levies to
 be made throughout the whole province; selected a certain number of persons of
 known prudence and experience, and with them formed a kind of senate; appointed
 a band of young knights, whom he called *evocati*, to be as a guard at the door of
 his chamber; and caused edicts to be fixed up in every city of the province, inviting
 all to join him, and lend what assistance they could towards the recovery of their
 liberty, and the success of an enterprise, which so nearly concerned them. We are
 told, that as he was fortifying a town, which he designed for a place of arms, a ring
 was found of great antiquity, on the stone whereof was engraved a *Victory*; and
 c that about the same time a ship from *Alexandria* came into the port of *Dertosa* or
Tortosa, laden with arms, without either pilot, mariners, or passengers. *Otho*,
 who still governed *Lusitania*, was the first of all the governors of provinces who
 declared for *Galba*, sending him all his gold and silver plate to turn it into money,
 and likewise his domestics, who were more accustomed to a court, and knew better
 than *Galba*’s how to serve an emperor.^a

THE first tidings of the revolt of *Vindex* and the *Gauls* came to *Nero* at *Naples*, *Nero is not*
 on the same day, on which he had caused his mother to be murdered, that is, on the *affected with*
 19th of *March*. But he was so far from being affected with it, that he seemed rather *the tidings of*
 to rejoice at the news, as having a plausible pretence to plunder those wealthy pro- *the revolt of*
 d vinces; so that he continued to sing, play, and act upon the stage, as usual, for *Vindex.*
 eight days together, without issuing any orders for suppressing the revolt, or even
 writing or speaking to any one about it: he was only once heard to say, upon receiving
 letters of a fresher date, exaggerating the impending danger, that he would make
Vindex and the *Gauls* pay dear for disturbing his pleasures. At length the edicts of
Vindex, filled with most bitter invectives, roused him so far as to prompt him to write
 to the senate, recommending to the fathers the revenging of the injuries offered to
 him, and in him to them and the whole republic, and excusing his absence with the pre-
 tence of an inflammation in his throat. But he resented nothing so much as *Vindex*’s
 calling him in one of his edicts an *unskilful harper*, and *Abenobarbus* instead of *Nero*. *What he*
 He declared, that he would quit his adopted name, and resume that of his family *chiefly re-*
 e since they reproached him with it, as if it were a name to be ashamed of. The other *sented.*
 imputation affected him still more; he could not bear it: but in the transports of his
 passion broke out into bitter invectives against *Vindex*, abusing him as one intirely
 ignorant of an art, which he had, with his own industry and indefatigable pains,
 refined and brought to the greatest perfection: to refute this calumny, he played
 more frequently than ever, observing with great attention the countenances of the
 spectators, and asking them whether they had ever heard or known a more skilful
 player upon the harp than himself? But, the alarm increasing, and messenger after
 messenger arriving with dismal accounts, he at length left *Naples* in a great fright, and
 f repaired to *Rome*. However, his fear was greatly abated by his observing on the road
 a tomb, on which was engraved a *Gaul* overcome by a *Roman* knight, who dragged
 him on the ground by the hair. This frivolous presage so revived him, that he
 returned thanks to the gods for such an auspicious omén. Upon his arrival in the
 city, instead of assembling the senate or people, he only summoned some of the prin-
 cipal men to his palace, and after a short consultation, in which no resolution was taken,
 he spent the rest of the day in shewing his counsellors certain musical instruments *His unconcern*
 lately invented by himself, and so contrived as to play by water. Here, intirely
 forgetful of the danger that threatened him, he discoursed of the nature and work-
 manship

^y Suet. in Galba, c. 10. Dio, l. lxiv. p. 730. Plut. in Galb.
 10. ^a Idem ibid. & Plut. in vit. Oth.

^z Suet. in Galb. c.

Complains of
Vindex to the
senate.

Is alarmed at
the news of
the revolt of
Galba.

His desperate
resolution.

Deposes both
the consuls.

His meanness.

manship of each of them, promising to produce them, ere it was long, upon the stage, ^a provided Vindex would give him leave. The following night he sent in haste for the chief men of the senatorial and equestrian order, who immediately flew to the palace, not doubting, but the emperor designed to advise with them in the present most urging juncture, and come to some speedy resolution. But they were greatly surprised to find, that they had been summoned in the dead of the night to be entertained with a farther account of the instruments, which had been shewn them the day before, and some new improvements, which had since occurred to Nero^b. However, he wrote a letter to the senate, complaining of Vindex, set a price upon his head, called back the troops that were on their march towards *Albania*, and ordered the legions in *Illyricum* to be ^b forthwith transported into *Italy*. We are told, that when news was brought to Vindex, that Nero had promised ten millions of sesterces to any one who should bring him his head, he answered with great calmness, *Whoever shall bring Nero's head to me, shall, if he pleases, have mine in exchange*. Nero seemed to despise Vindex, and to be under no apprehension of the Gauls; but intelligence being brought him of the revolt of Galba, just as he was sitting down to supper, he was so struck with it, that he remained a long time motionless, without being able to utter a single word; and when he came to himself again, he overturned in a violent rage the table, tore his garments, broke in pieces two cups of great value, and dashing his head against the wall, cried out, he was undone; his misfortunes were without example; his empire was seized, while he was still alive, and become the prey of an usurper. ^c However, he could not, even in the height of his consternation and fear, refrain from his usual debaucheries; but pursued his former course of life, feasting, revelling, and, upon his receiving news out of the provinces that seemed any-ways favourable to his affairs, jesting and ridiculing the heads of the rebellion. He even appeared in the theatre, and because one of the actors performed his part so as to deserve an extraordinary applause, he sent him word, that he invaded the rights of the emperor^c. In the mean time, the senate, out of fear and flattery, declared Galba a traitor and an enemy to the state; whereupon Nero immediately seized his estate, and commanded it to be put up to auction; which Galba no sooner understood, than he in his turn exposed ^d to sale Nero's estate in *Spain*, and found a great number of purchasers^d. This enraged Nero to such a degree, that, in the first transports of his fury, he resolved to send persons into all the provinces to murder the governors and commanders of the armies, under pretence of their being privy to the conspiracy, to order all the exiles to be massacred, lest they should join the revolters, to cut the throats of all the Gauls in *Rome*, as accomplices and favourers of their countrymen, to poison the whole senate at an entertainment, to set fire to the city, and at the same time let loose the wild beasts kept for the public spectacles, that the people being thus diverted from extinguishing the flames, their destruction, and the destruction of the city, might be the more inevitable. But dropping, upon farther thoughts, these barbarous designs, not ^e out of remorse, but despair of effecting them, he resolved to march in person against the rebels; and deposing the two consuls, *Silius* and *Trachalus*, entered alone upon the consulship, pretending an ancient prediction, importing, that when *Rome* had but one consul, by him the Gauls should be overcome. Having therefore assumed the fasces and other marks of the consular dignity, he ordered levies to be made throughout *Italy*, named the officers who were to command under him, and caused an immense number of waggons to be got ready for conveying with safety, not the engines of war, but his musical instruments and the decorations of the stage; for ^f he was so mean-spirited as to declare to his intimate friends, that he did not intend to try his fortune with the rebels in the field, but upon his arrival in the province, to present himself without arms before the armies, to weep, and with sighs and tears beg forgiveness of his former conduct; which if, touched with compassion, they should grant him, as he hoped they would, he designed to engage and fix their affections, by diverting them with plays and songs of triumph, which, he said, it was high time for him to begin to compose. That he had no design of facing the enemy in the field was manifest from his other preparations; for he ordered all the players upon instruments, singers, and actors to attend him; and arming his concubines, like *Amazons*, with battle-axes and shields, appointed them to guard his person^e.

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^b Suet. c. 40, 41. Dio, p. 694—697.

^c Suet. c. 42.

^d Plut. vit. Galb.

^e Suet. c. 44.

IN the mean time, *Galba's* party gained daily new strength, all the governors of the provinces declaring for him, except *Clodius Macer*, who commanded in *Africa*, and *L. Rufus Verginius*, or *Virginus*, governor of *Upper Germany*, where he had under his command some of the best legions in the whole empire. The latter even marched against *Vindex* with all his forces, and being joined by the inhabitants of *Treves*, capital of *Belgic Gaul*, and powerfully assisted in *Celtic Gaul* itself by the cities of *Langres* and *Lions*, he advanced as far as the city of *Besançon*, which he besieged. Upon this intelligence, *Vindex* hastened to the relief of the place; but upon his arrival, *Virginus* desiring an interview with him, the two generals had a private conference, in which they agreed, as was commonly believed, to act against *Nero*; but *Verginius* could not by any means be prevailed upon to declare for *Galba*. After they had long conferred together, *Vindex* returned to his troops, and with them advanced to *Besançon*, in order to take possession of the place, pursuant to the private agreement of the two chiefs. But *Verginius's* men, believing that *Vindex* designed to attack them, marched out without their general's orders, fell upon the *Gauls*, who expected nothing less and were quite unprepared for an engagement, and with great slaughter put them to flight. Thus *Dion Cassius*^f; but *Plutarch* tells us, that the two armies engaged in defiance of the orders of their commanders, who did all that lay in their power to divert them from that wild resolution. Be that as it will, it is agreed on all hands, that the two armies engaged, that twenty thousand *Gauls* were killed upon the spot, and that *Vindex* after the battle laid violent hands on himself. After the death of *Vindex*, the victorious legions tore the images of *Nero*, and importuned *Verginius* to accept the empire, saluting him *Cæsar*, emperor, *Augustus*, &c. *Verginius* was descended of an equestrian family; but had on many occasions signalized his prudence, valour, equity, and such virtues and endowments as are requisite in a brave commander and excellent citizen^h. *Dion Cassius* assures us, that he might have easily seized on the empire, had he but seconded the ardent wishes of the troops under his command. But, either out of a greatness of soul truly heroic, or a lively apprehension of the evil consequences, which would inevitably accrue from allowing the soldiery to chuse the emperor, he not only rejected their offer, but resolutely declared, that he would neither take upon himself the sovereign power, nor suffer any one else to assume it, who was not named to it by the senate, to whom alone the disposal of the empire belonged. The same answer he returned to the soldiery, when, upon the news of *Nero's* death, they importuned him anew to accept of the empire^k. This refusal says *Dion*, gained him higher renown than the empire itself could have done, and filled the world with the fame of his name^l. He lived thirty years after this glorious and generous action, revered by all men; and having escaped the fury of so many princes, by whom he was both suspected and hated on account of his virtue, he died at length under *Nerva*, being then consul for the third time, in the eighty-third year of his age and ninety-seventh of the *Christian æra*. *Tacitus* tells us, that, in the following troubles and seditions, no one was exposed to greater dangers, no one so often threatened and assaulted by the soldiery as he; for though they admired his magnanimity, till then without example, yet they hated him, as having despised them by refusing the empire. In how great esteem he was held by the good princes, we may judge from the opinion which *Vitellius* entertained of him; a prince suspicious, distrustful, and open to every alarm. For though a slave of *Verginius* was charged as one employed to assassinate the emperor, though the soldiers had, upon the death of *Otho*, declared for him the third time, yet *Vitellius* never seemed in the least to question his fidelity^m. Before he died, he ordered an epitaph, composed by himself, to be engraved on his tomb, importing, that he had overcome *Vindex*, and thereby acquired the empire to his country, not to himself. *Cluvius Rufus*, who wrote the history of those times, begging him one day to excuse him, if the laws of history obliged him to relate something that he might not like, As to my actions and conduct, replied *Verginius*, I desire you would relate them, such as they are; for I am not conscious to myself of having ever done any thing but with a view to the applauses and approbation of posterityⁿ. This was the only time he was ever heard to speak of his own actions, however great and glorious. *Cornelius Tacitus*, the celebrated historian, was consul, when he died, and pronounced his funeral oration. *Pliny* the younger, who had received innumerable favours at his hands,

Rufus Virgi-
nius marches
against Vin-
dex.

Vindex de-
feated.

Lays violent
hands on him-
self.

Verginius re-
fuses the em-
pire.

His conduct
and unblemish-
ed character.

^f DIO, l. lxiij. p. 725. ^g PLUT. vit. Galb. ^h TACIT. hist. l. i. c. 52. DIO, p. 726. PLIN. l. ii. ep. 1. ^k DIO, p. 727. PLUT. ibid. ^l DIO, in excerpt. Val. p. 697. ^m TACIT. ibid. ⁿ PLIN. l. vi. ep. 10 & l. ix. ep. 19.

hands, bestows on him the following elogium; *No tongue can sufficiently commend a Rufus Verginius, or answer the opinion I entertain of his virtue*^b. To resume the thread of our history.

The bad situation of Galba's affairs.

THE death of *Vindex* and declaration of *Verginius* not to suffer any one to assume the sovereignty, without the consent of the senate, exceedingly perplexed *Galba*. Besides, it was reported, that the legions commanded by *Verginius*, finding they could not persuade their general to accept of the empire, threatened to return to *Nero*; nay some of *Galba's* own troops, repenting the new oath they had taken, attempted to abandon him; and certain slaves, whom one of *Nero's* freedmen had presented him with, formed a conspiracy against him, and would in all likelihood have dispatched him, had they not discovered themselves, by exhorting one another, as *Galba* was passing through a narrow-street to his baths, not to let slip so favourable an opportunity. The new emperor therefore, in the utmost consternation, wrote to *Verginius*, earnestly soliciting him to act in concert with himself against *Nero*, the common enemy of mankind, and to lend a helping hand to the great work of restoring *Rome* to her ancient liberty. What answer *Verginius* returned him, we are no-where told; but it seems to have been no-ways favourable to his design, since he retired a few days after with his friends to a city in *Spain* called *Clunia*, quite disheartened, repenting what he had done, and ready to lay violent hands on himself^c. In the mean time, at *Rome* the levies commanded by *Nero* went on but slowly; for though he summoned all the tribes to take the military oath, yet no one appeared who was fit to bear arms; insomuch, that he was obliged to issue an edict, ordering all masters to send him a certain number of slaves, whom he enfranchised and listed among his troops. He likewise obliged persons of every rank and profession to contribute the greatest part of their yearly income towards the intended expedition, according as they were rated in the books of the censors. These heavy impositions, together with his foolish and unseasonable niceness, for he would receive no money but what was new coined, incensed the people to such a degree, that they openly opposed the collectors, telling them, that the best and most ready means of supplying the prince with money, was to oblige the informers to refund the immense sums they had earned with their infamous practices^d. As a famine began to be felt in the city, the fury of the populace was heightened by the arrival of a ship from *Egypt*, at that time the granary of *Rome*, laden not with corn, at was expected, but with sand for the gladiators and wrestlers. Upon this the people rose in a tumultuous manner, overturned in the night most of the emperor's statues, tore his images, plundered the houses of his friends and favourites, and committed innumerable disorders, no one offering to appease or restrain them. At the same time, news arrived of the revolt of the legions in *Germany*, which

Nero provokes the people at *Rome*.

Is alarmed at the news of the revolt of the German legions.

so affected *Nero*, that calling for poison, he inclosed it in a golden box, and went immediately into the *Servilian* gardens, whence he dispatched the freed-men, in whom he chiefly confided, to *Ostia* to prepare his fleet, being resolved to sail to *Egypt*, whither he had already sent some *German* troops. He was prompted to this resolution by the predictions of some astrologers, who had foretold him long before, that he would one day be abandoned by all; but at the same time assured him, that in the end he would obtain the empire of the east, or the kingdom of *Jerusalem*. However, before he left the palace, he sounded the tribunes and centurions of his guards, asking them whether they were disposed to accompany him in his flight? But some of them shifting, others positively refusing to attend him, and one of them crying out, *Usque ad eone mori miserum est? Is it so sad a thing to die?* he was quite distracted and confounded in his thoughts; resolving at one time to fly to the *Parthians*, at another to address *Galba* as a suppliant, to appear in public clad in deep mourning, and, with all possible humility and dejection, implore the forgiveness of the people for his former conduct; and, if he found them inflexible, to beg the government of *Egypt*. To this purpose an oration was found after his death among the rest of his papers; but he was deterred from delivering it by an apprehension of his being torn in pieces by the outrageous multitude, before he could reach the rostra. He therefore put off the taking of any resolution till the next day; and in the mean time his ruin was completed by one, whom he least of all suspected, *Nymphidius Sabinus*, who, though of a mean descent, had been by *Nero* upon the death of *Fenius Rufus* appointed colleague of *Tigellinus* in the command of the prætorian guards, and now entertained thoughts of seize-

^b PLIN. l. ix. ep. 9.

^c SUET. c. 10. DIO, p. 698. PLUT. in Galb.

^d SUET. c. 44.

a ing the sovereignty for himself. However, he did not immediately declare his ambitious views ; but, pretending to espouse the cause of *Galba*, assured the guards, that *Nero* was fled, and promised them in *Galba's* name such sums, as neither *Galba* nor any other was able to discharge. This promise secured for the present the empire to *Galba*, occasioned afterwards the loss of it, and in the end produced the destruction of *Nymphidius* and the guards themselves. For the soldiery, thus deceived and tempted with the mighty promises of *Nymphidius*, abandoned *Nero*, notwithstanding their long and sworn fealty to the house of the *Cæsars*, and proclaimed *Galba* emperor : even *Tigellinus*, the chief author of the crimes that rendered *Nero's* name so odious and detestable, forsook and betrayed him in his extremity. The emperor, altogether unacquainted with the treasonable practices of *Tigellinus*, awaked about midnight ; and understanding, to his unspeakable surprize, that his guards were retired, he leapt out of his bed, sent in great haste for his friends, and none of them obeying the summons, went at last in person, attended by a few domestics, to their several houses ; but finding the doors every-where shut, and no one deigning even to return an answer to his prayers and intreaties, he hastened back to his chamber, which he found rifled and stript even to the coverings of his bed. The golden box, in which he kept the poison prepared by the famous *Locusta*, being likewise carried off, he sent for *Spicillus*, a celebrated gladiator, to dispatch him ; but neither he, nor any other being found who would undertake that task, he cried out in a fit of despair, *What !*

b *have I in this forlorn condition neither friends nor enemies ?* Which words he had scarce uttered, when he left his room in a great hurry with a design to throw himself into the *Tiber* ; but changing his mind, he stopt all on a sudden, and desired some private place to recollect himself and resume his courage. Hereupon *Phaon*, one of his freedmen, offered him his country-house, which stood between the *Salarian* and *Numentan* roads, about four miles from the city. He accepted the offer, and, without further delay, attended by four persons, of whom *Sporus* was one, left *Rome* meanly apparelled and worse mounted, hiding his face, through fear of being discovered, with a handkerchief. Upon his setting out, he was terrified and dismayed by dreadful flashes of lightning, and a violent earthquake, as if the ghosts of the many persons

c he had murdered were rising up, says *Dion*, against the unmerciful tyrant. As he passed by the camp of the prætorian guards, he heard them cursing him, and wishing prosperity and success to *Galba*. A passenger, whom he met on the road, in seeing him and his attendants, *These*, said he, *are no doubt in pursuit of Nero* ; another asked him, *What news of Nero in the city ?* His horse starting at the sight of a carcass that lay in the way, the covering of his face was shaken off, and he known by a soldier of the prætorian guards, named *Missicius*, who saluted him with the title of emperor ; which so alarmed *Nero* and his attendants, that at the first turning they quitted their horses, and, betaking themselves to a narrow path, crept with much difficulty through bushes and briars to the wall, which inclosed *Phaon's* grounds, who intreated the emperor to conceal himself in a sand-pit, till he found means of conveying him in with more secrecy : but *Nero* answered, that *he would not be buried till he was dead* ; and lay concealed among the briars, while *Phaon*, examining the wall, was considering how he might introduce him undiscovered. In the mean time, *Nero*, being prest with drought, took up water out of a ditch with his hands, saying, *To this liquor is Nero reduced* : he likewise cleared with his own hands his garments of the briars that had stuck to them. In order to procure a more private access for him to the house, a hole was opened in the wall, through which he was dragged, and conveyed into a room very indifferently furnished, where he passed the remainder of the night and part of the following day, in such agonies as can hardly be expressed,

d alarmed at the least noise he heard, as if assassins were come to murder him, and not daring to speak through fear of being discovered. He now repented the many crimes he had committed, wished he had pursued a quite different conduct, was sensible, that those, who had put him upon the measures he had followed, were his greatest enemies ; and had constantly in his mouth the following words, taken out of a tragedy, entitled, *Œdipus banished*, the last in which he had acted ; *My father, mother, and wife, doom me to destruction*^c. As those who attended him were constantly soliciting and importuning him to prevent with a voluntary death the dangers that threatened him, he at last ordered his grave to be dug, and wood and water to be

e *His forlorn condition.*

f *Flies from Rome.*

be provided for the washing and burning of his body, bemoaning himself, while he gave these orders, in a manner altogether unmanly, and often repeating with many sighs and tears, *What an artist will the world lose!*^f

*Is declared by
the senate an
enemy to the
state, and con-
demned to die.*

THE news of *Nero's* flight filled the city with joy; the senate assembled early in the morning and proclaimed *Galba* emperor; and, having taken the usual oaths to him, declared *Nero* an enemy to the state, and doomed him to be punished *more majorum*. One of *Phaon's* friends immediately dispatched a messenger to him with a letter, acquainting him with the transactions of the senate. As soon as the messenger appeared, *Nero* snatched the letter out of his hand; and finding by it, that he was declared an enemy to the state, and doomed to be punished *more majorum*, he asked, what kind of punishment that was? *Phaon* told him, that, pursuant to the sentence of the senate, he was to be stript naked, his head was to be fastened in a pillory, and he in that posture to be whipt to death; which so terrified him, that he snatched up two daggers, which he always carried about with him, as if he were determined to anticipate in that instant the execution of so cruel a sentence by a voluntary death; but, after trying their points with a trembling hand, he put them up again,

*Betrays great
meanness.*

saying, that *his fatal hour was not yet come*: then turning to *Sporus*, he desired him to begin his complaints and lamentations, since the fatal moment approached. He betrayed such meanness as to desire with many tears, that some of his attendants would by their example encourage him to die with resolution and intrepidity. But none of them shewing the least inclination to animate him at the expence of their own lives, he strove to raise his drooping spirits with the following words; *Courage, Nero, courage; such pusillanimity in an emperor is base and dishonourable; the pains of death are but short and momentary; strike boldly, &c.* Thus he continued animating himself, but to no effect; till hearing the noise of some horsemen, sent by the senate to seize him and bring him alive to *Rome*, he cried out in a *Greek* verse, *A dismal noise of horses sounds in my ears*; and drawing one of his daggers, he put it to his throat; but his heart failing him, he begged *Epaphroditus* his freedman and secretary to lend him his assistance; which he did with great reluctance, and paid dear for it, being afterwards put to death by *Domitian*, for imbruing his hands in the blood of the *Cæsars*. Before he was quite dead, the centurion, sent by the senate to apprehend him, entered the room, and, pretending he was come to his relief, endeavoured to stop the blood: *Nero* gave him no other answer, but, *'Tis too late: Is this your fidelity and allegiance?* With which words he expired, his eyes staring in a frightful manner, and ready to start out of his head, to the great terror and amazement of all who were present^g.

His death.

*The joy of the
Roman people.*

Upon the first rumour of his death, one of *Galba's* freedmen, not trusting to common report, flew to the place where his body lay, and having with his own eyes beheld the lifeless carcass extended on the ground, and all covered with gore, hastened away to *Spain* with the important tidings^h. Many others, prompted by the like curiosity, flocked to *Phaon's* country-house; so that his death being no longer questioned, the joy of the *Roman* people was so great and universal, that they ran up and down the streets, with such caps on their heads as were worn by manumitted slaves, congratulating one another upon their deliverance from so hard a bondage, overturned and dashed in pieces most of *Nero's* statues, knocked out the brains of as many of his friends as fell into their hands, &c. Amongst others they fastened the gladiator *Spicillus* to one of *Nero's* statues, which they dragged along the streets, and crushed the unhappy favourite to pieces: they laid a famous informer, named *Aponius*, flat on the ground, and drove carts heavy laden with stones over him. Many others were seized by the outrageous and undistinguishing multitude, and by them torn in pieces, though they had no share in *Nero's* crimes: insomuch, that *Mauriscus*, who was deservedly esteemed one of the best men in the city, declared in full senate, that he was afraid they should soon have cause to wish for *Nero*ⁱ. Such was the miserable end of *Nero*, the sixth emperor of *Rome*, who by his unheard-of iniquities well deserved all the misfortunes which befel him. He died in the thirty-first year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years and eight months complete, according to some, or eight months wanting two days, according to others: for *St. Jerom*, *Eusebius*^k, and *Zonaras*^l place his death on the eleventh of *June*; whereas the learned archbishop *Usher*, father *Pagi*, and cardinal *Noris* alledge strong arguments to prove, that he died on the ninth of the said month. We need not

inlarge

^f SUET. c. 49.
EUSEB. in chron.

^g SUET. ibid.
^l ZONAR. p. 190.

^h PLUT. vit. Galb.

ⁱ PLUT. ibid.

^k HIER. &

a inlarge on his character, since the name of *Nero* is by most nations made use of emphatically to express a barbarous, raging, and abandoned tyrant. *Pliny* calls him the common enemy and fury of mankind^m, and most writers propose him as the pattern of a complete tyrant; and truly his whole life seems to have been a constant struggle, to shew how abandonedly wicked, how execrably bad a human creature can be, when vested with great power. The only thing he earnestly commended to his attendants before he died was, that his head might not be cut off, but his body burnt intire. His request was readily granted by *Icelus*, one of *Galba's* freedmen, who likewise allowed his obsequies to be performed with the usual solemnity. His ashes were carefully gathered, and deposited in the stately monument of the *Domitian* family, by his concubine *Acte*, and two other women, who in his infancy had been charged with the care of his education. He was no eloquent speaker, *Seneca* having diverted him, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, from perusing the works of the ancient orators, lest he should despise his style and compositions. He had a genius for poetry, and wrote verses with great ease: some indeed accused him as a plagiarist; but from this imputation *Suetonius* clears him, assuring us, that from the tablets on which he wrote, according to the custom of those times, and which our author narrowly examined, it evidently appeared, that the verses were neither transcribed by him, nor dictated by another, being effaced, interlined, and corrected, as thoughts or expressions occurred to him, which he liked betterⁿ. Though he died generally hated and abhorred, yet the vulgar, abandoned to debauchery and inured to the idle amusements of the theatre and circus, began soon to regret the loss of a prince, by whose infamous vices they subsisted. Hence they flocked to his tomb, adorned it with flowers, carried his images, as it were, in triumph, &c. *Vologeses* likewise, king of the *Parthians*, shewed a particular respect for *Nero* after his death, and by the ambassadors, whom he sent to the senate to renew his alliance with the *Roman* people, earnestly begged, that the memory of *Nero* might be revered, and a monument erected to him^o. Some even gave out, that he was not dead, but would soon appear again and take vengeance of his enemies: edicts were publicly hung up as issued by him, and soon after a slave, who greatly resembled him, and was no less skilled in singing and playing upon the harp, attempted to pass himself upon the provinces of *Asia* and *Achaia* for the deceased prince; but was seized and executed in the island of *Cythrus*^p. Several counterfeit *Neros* appeared afterwards; one especially in the reign of the emperor *Domitian*, near twenty years after the true *Nero* was dead, created great disturbances in the east, where he was followed by vast crowds. *Artabanes*, who then reigned in *Parthia*, espoused his cause, and sent him powerful succours; but was at length, with much ado, prevailed upon to abandon the impostor, and deliver him up to the *Romans*^q. But what above all to us seems surprising is, that, towards the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, an opinion prevailed in the church, that *Nero* was to appear again at the end of the world, and either to be himself the antichrist, or to reign in the west and re-establish idolatry there, while the antichrist reigned in the east. This opinion is by *Sulpicius Severus* ascribed to *St. Martin*^r. Some believed, that *Nero* was to be raised from the dead under another name; others, that he did not really die; but, his wound being cured, was conveyed to some private place, where he is to lie concealed, till the time appointed for the appearance of the antichrist. This opinion, which some pretended to prove from the *Revelations*, is taken notice of by *Lactantius*^s; but what were his sentiments upon that subject is hard to determine, all the copies of his works being in that place strangely corrupted. It is, however, manifest, that he supposes with *Sulpicius Severus*, *Nero's* body never to have been found, notwithstanding the account which both *Suetonius* and *Plutarch* give us of his obsequies. *St. Austin* expresses no small surprize, that such an absurd, and, as he styles it, ridiculous, opinion should have found partizans amongst men of knowledge and learning^t. But what opinion has hitherto been broached, that has not found some zealous profelytes among the learned? The family of the *Cæsars*, properly speaking, ended in *Caligula*, who had been adopted by *Tiberius*; but nevertheless, as *Nero* was, as well as *Claudius*, descended from *Augustus* by his mother *Agrippina*, the house of the *Cæsars* is said to have ended in

^m PLIN. l. vii. c. 8.ⁿ SUET. c. 50---52.^o SUET. c. 57.

AUR. VICT. epit.

^p DIO,

l. lxiv. p. 732.

^q SUET. c. 57.

TACIT. hist. l. i. c. 2.

^r SULP. SEVER. hist. sacr. l. ii.^s LACTAN. de morte persecutor. c. 2.^t AUG. de civit. Dei, l. xx.

the people, but to lead them astray (74). In the above-mentioned book he disapproved of the *Jewish* ceremonies; but never once mentioned the christians; which, in the opinion of St. *Austin*, plainly shews, that he found nothing in their religion but what he judged commendable, though he durst not commend it, through fear of disobliging the prince and the misled multitude. Some letters of his to St. *Paul*, and of St. *Paul* to him, were published very early, which St. *Austin* and St. *Jerom* seem to have thought genuine; nay, the latter was by them induced to place *Seneca* among the ecclesiastic wri-

ters (75). But these letters are now universally rejected as spurious, and altogether unworthy of St. *Paul*, and even of *Seneca*; which inclines us to believe, that the letters, which have been conveyed down to us, are not the same with those which were handed about in the time of St. *Austin* and St. *Jerom*. *Lipsius* is of opinion, that the supposed letters from *Seneca* to St. *Paul*, and from St. *Paul* to *Seneca*, were written by one and the same impostor (76); and *Baronius* discovers in them some enormous mistakes (77). And thus much of the writers who flourished under *Nero*.

(74) *Idem ibid.* & in *psal.* cxi.
in *proleg.* in *Senec.*

(75) *Aug. epist.* liv. *Hieron. de vir. illust.* c. 12.
(17) *Vide Baron. ad ann.* 66. art. 11---13. & *Godeau hist. eccles.* ad ann. 6c.

(76) *Lips.*

C H A P. X.

From the death of Nero, to the death of Vitellius, when the empire became hereditary a second time.

S*ervius Sulpicius Galba*, the seventh emperor, was, by his father, descended from the *Sulpician* family, one of the most ancient and illustrious in *Rome*. *Sulpicius Galba* governed *Spain* in quality of prætor in the year of *Rome* 602, and was the chief cause of the war with *Viriatius*, the celebrated leader of the *Lusitanians*. He was afterwards created consul; but required greater renown by his eloquence, than by the offices he bore, being reckoned the most eloquent orator of his time. His grandson, *Sergius Galba*, served with great reputation under *Julius Cæsar*, and distinguished himself in the *Gaulish* war; but afterwards, imputing the loss of the consulship to the ill offices of the dictator, he joined *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and was on that account condemned by the *Pedian* law. His son, *Servius Galba*, was more famous for his studies, than his employments; for he was not advanced above the degree of a prætor, when he published several histories, which are greatly cried up by the ancients. His son, *Sergius Galba*, married *Mummia Achaica*, the grand-daughter of the celebrated *Q. Lutatius Catulus Capitolinus*, and great grand-daughter of *L. Mummius*, who took and razed *Corinth*. By her he had two sons, *Caius* and *Servius Sulpicius Galba* the emperor. *Caius*, having in his youth squandered away his estate, led a retired life in the country, till the twenty-second year of *Tiberius's* reign; when, upon his receiving a letter from that prince, forbidding him to draw his lot for a province, he laid violent hands on himself. *Tacitus* supposes him to have been consul^u; but *Suetonius* tells us, that he fell by his own hand, upon his being by *Tiberius* forbidden to stand for the consulship^w. The emperor was born on the twenty-fourth of *December*, the fifth year before the common christian æra, that is, the eve of the nativity of our Saviour. His mother, *Mummia Achaica*, dying while he was yet an infant, his father soon after took to his second wife *Livia Ocellina* (U), a lady of great quality and wealth. She adopted young *Galba*, who thereupon took the

^u *TACIT.* annal. vi. c. 40.

^w *SUET.* in *Galb.* c. 3.

(U) *Suetonius* tells us, that *Galba*, apprised of the passion which she had conceived for him, called her one day aside, and pulling off his robe, shewed her the imperfections of his shape, for he was strangely distorted; which, instead of lessening, heightened

her esteem for him to such a degree, that though she was courted on account of her wealth and beauty by the chief nobility of the city, she constantly declared, that if she could not marry *Galba*, she would not marry at all (78).

(78) *Suet.* c. 3.

a the name of *L. Livius Ocella*; which, however, he seems to have retained but a short time. We are told by *Suetonius*, that while he was one day amongst other noble youths of his own age saluting *Augustus*, the emperor laying his hand upon his head, *And you too, my son*, said he, *shall one day taste of empire*. The same writer adds, that *Tiberius*, who was greatly addicted to the study of astrology, foresaw the future grandeur of *Galba*; but at the same time knew, that he was not to attain the sovereign power till he was stricken in years; so that he never betrayed the least uneasiness or concern about his distant promotion*. *Livia Augusta*, the mother of *Tiberius*, to whom he was related, shewed a great kindness and esteem for him while she lived, and at her death left him an immense sum of money; which *Tiberius* never paid

b him, he being without that legacy one of the most wealthy citizens of his time. He was well versed in all the liberal sciences, especially in the civil law. He married *Lepida*, descended of an illustrious family; but she, and the two sons he had by her, dying, he led ever after a single life, withstanding even the solicitations of *Agrippina* the mother of *Nero*, become a widow by the death of *Domitius*. She had conceived a great passion for him in his wife's life-time; which occasioned a quarrel between her and the mother of *Lepida*, who publicly upbraided her with her scandalous conduct. He was, by the interest of *Livia*, preferred to employments before the age required by the laws. During his prætorship he diverted the people at the sports called *Floralia*, with a new kind of entertainment, viz. elephants walking upon the rope. When his prætorship was expired, he was appointed governor of *Aquitain*,

c and about a year after raised to the consulship, in which office he succeeded *L. Domitius*, the father of *Nero*, and was succeeded by *Salvius Otho*, the father of *Otho*, who was emperor after him. *Caligula* named him to the command of the legions in *Germany*, in the room of *Getulicus*; which trust he discharged with great reputation, having in a short time restored the ancient discipline, which his predecessor had entirely neglected. Besides, he repulsed with incredible expedition the *Germans*, who had made an inroad into *Gaul*; which gained him the favour and esteem of *Caligula*. Upon the death of that emperor, he was earnestly solicited by many persons of great interest and power, to lay hold of that opportunity, and seize the empire for himself; but he, without hearkening to their proposals, obliged his troops to take the usual oaths to *Claudius*, who thereupon received him into the number of his most intimate friends, and ever after shewed so great esteem for him, that being upon the point of setting out on his expedition into *Britain*, he put off his journey for some days, on account of a slight indisposition which seized *Galba*. Some time after, *Africa* being strangely harassed with intestine troubles and the invasions of the neighbouring barbarians, he was, without drawing lots according to custom, sent into that province in quality of proconsul, and distinguished himself there even above those, who had gained the greatest reputation in that government. He remained there two years, during which time he restored, with great prudence and necessary

e severity, the province to its former tranquillity. *Suetonius* tells us, that one of his soldiers having sold, while provisions were very scarce, his allowance of corn for a hundred denarii, the proconsul, to punish his avarice, forbade his comrades to supply him; by which means he was starved. Upon his return from *Africa*, he was honoured with the triumphal ornaments, and admitted among the *Titian* priests and the priests of *Augustus*. From this time to the middle of *Nero's* reign, that is, the sixtieth year of the christian æra, he led a retired life, dreading to give the tyrant any umbrage. During his retirement, he never stirred out, even to take the air, but attended by a chariot with a vast sum of money in it, that he might not be reduced to want, in case he found it necessary to consult his safety by a sudden flight.

f Thus he lived, till *Nero*, of his own motion, named him to the government of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, that prince not having yet learnt, as *Plutarch* observes, to fear, and exclude from the great employments, men of interest and power. He governed that province for the space of eight years, at first with excessive rigor, of which authors give us several instances: a banker being convicted of fraud in his profession, he ordered both his hands to be cut off and nailed to his counter. He caused a guardian to be crucified for poisoning his ward, whose next heir he was. The criminal urged, that he was a *Roman* citizen, and, as such, exempted from that ignominious death; upon which *Galba* commanded, by way of distinction, a white cross to be prepared

* SUET. C. 4.

y Idem, c. 5.

prepared for him much higher than usual, but would not revoke his former sentence. However, by degrees he abated of his rigor, through fear of giving *Nero* occasion of jealousy, and abandoned himself, contrary to his inclination, to sloth and idleness, saying, that no man could be called to an account for doing nothing: Nevertheless he took no care to suppress the many bitter lampoons, which were handed about against *Nero* and sung throughout his province, or to inquire after or punish the authors of them. He could not check the cruelties and extortions practised by the imperial procurators, whose province it was to collect the taxes and other duties belonging to the revenue; but openly shewed a tender concern for the sufferings of the oppressed people, which gained him the hearts of the natives, but provoked the emperor's officers to such a degree, that, at their instigation, *Nero* had already ordered him to be privately dispatched. But, before these orders could be put in execution, he openly revolted in the manner we have related above^a.

Galba receives the news of Nero's death.

Assumes the title of emperor.

Virginus refuses the empire.

WE left *Galba* at *Clunia*, a city of his province, whither he had retired with his friends, in the utmost consternation, upon the news of the death of *Vindex*, and the declaration of *Virginus* not to seize the empire himself, nor suffer any one else to assume it, who was not chosen by the senate. While he was deliberating with his friends what measures to take, and in the utmost despair ready to lay violent hands on himself, his freedman, by name *Vicellius*, of whom we have spoken above, arriving in seven days from *Rome*, and understanding upon his arrival, that *Galba* was reposing in his chamber, opened the door, and, entering in spite of his guards, acquainted him, that *Nero* was dead, and he, by the army, the senate, and people, declared emperor; adding, that not trusting to common report, he had gone himself to the place where the tyrant lay, seen his lifeless carcase extended on the ground, and heard *Galba*, in the camp of the prætorian guards, proclaimed emperor. We may well imagine, how great was the joy of *Galba* upon this intelligence; it flew in a trice through the neighbouring cities, and drew vast crowds to *Clunia*: *Galba* received them in the most obliging manner, communicated to them the news he had received, and assured them of the truth of it, tho' the expedition used by the messenger rendered it almost incredible. Two days after, *Titus Vinus*, tribune of the only legion then in the province, having received from his friends in *Rome* a distinct account of what had passed in the capital, came from the camp and imparted it to his general. Nor was it long, ere messengers arrived from the consuls *Silius* and *Trachalus*, who, tho' deposed by *Nero*, had, it seems, upon his death, resumed the fasces, with the decrees of the senate, declaring *Galba* emperor and vesting him with the sovereign power^b. *Suetonius* writes, that he no sooner received these dispatches, than laying aside the title of lieutenant to the senate and people, he assumed that of emperor^c; but *Zonaras* tells us, that he would not suffer himself to be styled emperor or *Cæsar*, till he was acknowledged as such by the deputies, who were sent to him by the senate and met him at *Narbonne*^d. Be that as it will, he no sooner received the decrees of the senate, than he left *Spain* and set out for *Rome*, attended by his Spanish guard, by his chief friends, and by *Otho*, proprætor of *Lusitania*, the first governor who had declared for him; but advanced slowly, being, on account of his age, carried the whole way in a litter. *Suetonius* tells us, that on his journey he dispatched assassins into *Judea*, with private orders to murder *Vespasian*, whose power and abilities he dreaded. But *Tacitus*^e and *Josephus*^f assure us, that *Vespasian* entertained not the least thought of revolting from *Galba*; but, on the contrary, upon the first news of his assumption to the empire, he dispatched his son *Titus* to perform fealty and homage in his name, and to receive his orders concerning the war he was carrying on against the Jews. With *Titus* king *Agrippa* set out from *Judea*, in order to assure the new emperor of his submission and obedience; but they proceeded no farther than *Achaia*, where they received news of *Galba's* death. The only person whom *Galba* seemed to dread and suspect was *Virginus Rufus*, who was at the head of a powerful army in *Germany*, and acquired great reputation by the defeat of *Vindex*, and was greatly beloved by the soldiery. But he, tho' earnestly pressed to assume the sovereignty, not only by the troops under his command, but likewise by deputies from the legions, which, by *Nero's* orders, had from *Illyricum* crossed over into *Italy*, continued firm to his first resolution of reserving

^a Suet. c. 6—9.

^d ZONAR. p. 190.

^b Suet. c. 9, 10.

^e Tacit. hist. l. i. c. 10.

Dio. l. lxiii. p. 725.

^f PLUT. ibid.

^c Suet. c. 11.

^f JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 29.

a ing to the senate the power of electing an emperor; nay, when certain news was brought him of *Nero's* death, he still persisted in refusing the title of emperor, tho' his soldiers bound themselves by a solemn oath to stand by him to the last drop of their blood, and one of the tribunes, forcing his way into his tent, with his drawn sword, threatened to kill him upon the spot, if he continued to withstand the ardent wishes of the whole army. When he received from *Rome* a certain account of the resolutions of the senate, he immediately took the oath of fidelity to the new emperor, and persuaded, not without much difficulty, the troops under his command to lay aside all thoughts of raising him to the empire, which by the senate had been decreed to another. *Galba* was so taken with his loyal and generous conduct, b that he immediately sent for him, with a design to have him near his person, and confer upon him such rewards as his fidelity well deserved. *Virginus* received with the utmost respect *Flaccus Hordeonius*, who was appointed to command in his room, resigned the army to him, and set out without delay to meet the emperor, who already approached the frontiers of *Gaul*. Upon his arrival, he was received very coldly by *Galba*, without the least token, says *Plutarch*, of affection or hatred, of gratitude or resentment. The emperor had a personal value and esteem for him, and would have raised him, had he followed his own inclination, to the chief employments in the state. But *Titus Vinius*, who had already gained a great sway over the emperor and was jealous of *Virginus*, did all that lay in his power to estrange from him the mind of the emperor, and to put a stop to his promotion. c But herein he was more his friend, as *Plutarch* observes, than he intended, and contributed to that happiness which he thought he was opposing: for, by preventing his preferment, he preserved him from those calamities, in which the other officers of the army were involved, and secured to him a life of quiet and tranquillity, which he enjoyed to an advanced age^s. *Galba*, upon his arrival at *Narbonne*, found there the ambassadors sent to him from the senate, received them in a most obliging manner, and invited them to an entertainment, at which he refused to make use of the silver and gold plate which belonged to *Nero*, and had been sent him from *Rome*, contenting himself with his own, which shewed, that he utterly despised all pomp and outward appearances of grandeur. However, he was soon d persuaded by *Vinius* to alter his conduct in this particular, and put upon other measures, which hastened his ruin. He treated with the utmost severity some cities of *Spain* and *Gaul*, that had been backward in acknowledging him, published threatening edicts against them, and deprived some of them of great part of their territories, loading them with heavy taxes, and causing their walls to be beaten down^b. In *Gaul* he ordered *Vettius Chilo*, and in *Spain* *Obultronius Sabinus* and *Cornelius Marcellus* to be put to death, and with them, if we believe *Suetonius*ⁱ, even their wives and children, for having refused to join him, when he first revolted from *Nero*. As *Galba* was known to be a man of an humane temper, and naturally averse to all manner of cruelty, these executions were generally imputed, and not e undeservedly, to *Vinius* and his other favourites, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the course of the present reign.

Obliges his
legions to
acknowledge
Galba.

Is received
coldly by
Galba.

Galba's severity.

Nymphidius
Sabinus
aspires at the
empire.

His power in
Rome.

In the mean time, at *Rome*, *Nymphidius Sabinus*, of whom we have spoken in the preceding reign, having, by his immense largesses, gained the affections of the prætorian guards, and persuading himself, that *Galba*, by reason of his infirmities and old age, would never reach the capital, usurped all the authority there. Presuming upon his interest, he obliged *Tigellinus*, who commanded, jointly with him, the prætorian guards, to lay down his commission. After this, he made several magnificent and expensive entertainments, inviting to them such as had been consuls or had commanded armies, distributed large sums among the people, and with f shews and other diversions, which he daily exhibited, gained so great an interest with all ranks, that he already looked upon himself as sovereign. The senate, dreading his power, conferred extraordinary honours upon him, styled him their protector, attended him when he appeared in public, and had recourse to him for the confirmation of their decrees, as if he had been already invested with the sovereign power. This base compliance puffed him up to such a degree, that he usurped, not leisurely and by degrees, but all at once, an absolute authority. *Plutarch* tells us, that he was so provoked against the consuls for sealing the dispatches,

^s PLUT. *ibid.*

^b TACIT. *hist.* l. i. c. 53.

ⁱ SÆT. c. 13.

Attempts to
stir up the præ-
torian guards
to a revolt.

The speech of
one of the tri-
bunes against
him.

He goes to the
camp.

Is there mur-
dered.

patches, which they sent to the emperor, with their own signets, and not with his, ^a that he would have deposed them, had they not studied to appease him with sub-
missions quite unbecoming persons of their rank and station. Tho' he acted as sove-
reign, he had not yet openly declared his design of seizing the sovereignty; but
when he understood, that *Galba* was already in *Gaul* and approached the borders
of *Italy*, that *Cornelius Laco* was appointed commander of the prætorian guards,
and *Titius Vinius* the new emperor's chief favourite, he summoned the officers under
his command, and, after having bitterly inveighed against *Galba's* favourites, who,
he said, would exercise the same power and authority, which had been usurped by
Tigellinus, if they were allowed time to establish themselves, he exhorted them to
send ambassadors to the emperor, and beg, in the name of the whole army, that ^b
he would discharge from his service *Laco* and *Vinius*. If *Galba* complied with their
request, he did not doubt, but the whole power would devolve upon him, since he
had contributed more than any other to the ruin of *Nero* and promotion of *Galba*;
and this power he designed to make use of against *Galba* himself: if the emperor
rejected the petition of the army, that, he hoped, would estrange their minds from
him, and dispose them to a revolt. But the officers did not approve of the motion;
on the contrary, they thought it absurd and unreasonable to direct an emperor of
Galba's years and experience, and tell him who of his friends were to be trusted,
and who discharged. Hereupon *Nymphidius* changed his measures, and, contrary
to the advice of *Clodius Celsus*, a native of *Antioch*, his intimate friend, resolved to ^c
conceal no longer his design. Accordingly he imparted it, without disguise, to some
of the officers, and they to the soldiers under their command; and it was agreed,
that *Nymphidius* should be conveyed that very night into the camp, and there
proclaimed emperor. But *Antonius Honoratus*, one of the tribunes, touched with
remorse, assembled his men in the evening, signified to them his repentance, and
encouraged them to continue steady in their allegiance to *Galba*. *We had, indeed,*
said he, *some colourable pretence to revolt from Nero, whose cruelty and tyranny*
we could no longer bear. But what can prompt us to abandon and betray Galba?
Can you reproach him with the murder of his wife and mother? did he ever dis-
grace the imperial dignity by debasing himself to act upon the stage? Notwith-
standing all the provocations that monster had given us, we thought ourselves
bound to continue faithful to him, to defend and protect him, till we were assured
by the traitor Nymphidius, that he had abandoned us and was fled into Egypt.
What, but some evil genius, can thus hurry us on from one treason to another?
Must Galba fall a victim to appease the ghost of Nero? must one of Livia's family
be sacrificed to make way for the son of Nymphidia? Let us rather call him to
an account for the Death of Nero, and approve our fidelity to Galba by inflicting
on the base traitor the punishment he deserves. The discourse of the tribune brought
all who heard him over to his sentiments; so that they resolved to maintain invio-
lable the oath which they had taken to *Galba*. Most of the other cohorts joined ^e
them, and with loud shouts proclaimed a-new *Galba* emperor. *Nymphidius* hearing
the noise, and either imagining they proclaimed him, or fearing some insurrection,
hastened to the camp, attended by a great number of lights, and holding a speech
in his hand composed by *Ciconius Varro*, which he intended to pronounce to the
army. Upon his arrival at the camp, he found the gates shut and the soldiers
under arms on the ramparts. This greatly alarmed him; but nevertheless advancing
nearer, he asked them, *What they designed, and by whose orders they had taken*
arms? To this question they answered with one voice, *We are determined to ac-*
knowledge no other emperor but Galba. *Nymphidius*, pretending to concur in their
sentiments, commended their fidelity; and, not yet despairing of being able by large ^f
promises to gain them over to his interest, ordered them to open the gates to their
general. They obeyed; but *Nymphidius*, upon his first entering the camp, was
saluted with a dart, which *Septimus*, who marched before him, received on his
shield. The traitor immediately betook himself to flight; but being closely pur-
sued by the soldiery, was overtaken and slain. His body was dragged through the
camp, and next morning exposed to public view in an inclosure made for that
purposeⁱ. For this account we are indebted to *Plutarch*; for *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*
only tell us, that *Nymphidius* embarked in measures to seize the sovereignty, but
perished

ⁱ PLUT. *ibid.*

^a perished in the attempt. *Nymphidius* boasted himself, as we have related above ^k, the son of the emperor *Caligula*; but was commonly thought, according to *Plutarch*¹, to be the son of a celebrated gladiator named *Martianus*, to whom he bore a greater resemblance than to *Caligula*; for his mother *Nymphidia* was a public prostitute. *Galba* being at the same time informed of the treason and the punishment inflicted on the traitor, dispatched orders to the senate, injoining them to put all his accomplices to death without distinction. Among these were executed *Cingonius* ^{His accomplices punished by Galba's orders.} *Varro*, consul elect, who had composed his speech, and *Mithridates* of *Pontus*, the same, as we conjecture, who having been by the *Romans* stript of his dominions twenty years before, had delivered himself into their hands, and had by them been conveyed to *Rome*. They were both, without all doubt, privy to the conspiracy; ^b nay, *Mithridates* had said publicly, while men of all ranks were with emulation testifying their joy for the promotion of *Galba*, that while he was at some distance, they entertained mighty expectations of him; but the moment he appeared, they would think it a disgrace to the present age, that he had ever been styled *Cæsar*. But, notwithstanding their guilt, they were deemed to perish as innocents, because they died without being heard in their own defence. Every one expected, from a man of *Galba's* years and experience, a quite different conduct; and therefore the whole city was greatly alarmed at such illegal and arbitrary proceedings, against persons of their rank and quality^m. But what occasioned a far greater surprize was, ^c his ordering *Petronius Turpilianus*, who had been consul in the eighth year of *Nero's* reign, to be forthwith put to death, for no other crime, but because he had been faithful to that prince, and commanded as general under him. As *Turpilianus* was broken with age, and had no longer any troops under his command, the emperor, ^{Galba's unseasonable severity.} as was publicly said, ought to have put off his execution, till his arrival at *Rome*, and heard him himself. From these hasty and illegal executions it was generally concluded, that the new prince would not observe that moderation in his actions, which he had promised in his speeches.

AFTER a long and bloody march, *Galba* reached at length the *Milvian* bridge, within twenty-five furlongs of the city, and was there met by a numerous body of ^d marines, who by *Nero* had been formed into a legion, and were come to address the new emperor for a confirmation of their establishment. But *Galba* either rejecting their petition, or putting off the affair to another time, they grew mutinous, beset the emperor, stopping up the way to all others who came to wait upon him, and with a tumultuous noise, required an eagle and legionary ensigns. Hereupon *Galba* ordered his horse to ride in among them, who put many of them to the sword and the rest to flight. The emperor, not satisfied with this severity, com- ^{He causes a great number of marines to be massacred.} manded every tenth man of those who had escaped to be decimated; so that, according to *Tacitus*, several thousands fell, either by the swords of the horse, or those of the executionersⁿ. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that seven thousand of the disarmed ^e multitude were cut in pieces upon the spot. Such, as had the good luck to outlive the massacre and execution of their companions, were, by *Galba's* orders, committed to prison, where they lay till his death, when they were by *Otho* set at liberty, and anew formed into a legion^o. The entrance of the new emperor into the capital, through so much blood and slaughter, was looked upon as an omen portending greater calamities, than the city had suffered even under *Nero*; and the populace were confirmed in their apprehensions by several prodigies, especially by an earthquake, attended with a dreadful noise, which happened upon *Galba's* first entering the palace^p. But what most of all rendered him both odious and contemptible was, his suffering himself to be entirely governed and blindly controuled by his three ^f favourites, *Titus Vinius*, *Cornelius Laco*, and *Marcianus Icelus*, who, as they lodged ^{Is governed by his favourites.} in the palace, and were continually about the emperor, were commonly styled his pedagogues. *Titus Vinius* was descended of an illustrious family, but disgraced it by his infamous conduct, being, according to *Tacitus*, of all men the most notoriously ^{The character of Titus Vinius.} wicked. In his very first campaign under *Calvisius Sabinus*, he was branded with infamy; for the wife of that general, led with a preposterous curiosity to view the disposition of the camp, entered it in the night, disguised in the habit of a soldier; and, having there ventured into the place where the guard was kept, was debauched by

^k Hist. Univers. vol. V. p. 558. ¹ PLUT. ibid. ^m TACIT. hist. l. i. c. 5. ⁿ TACIT. c. 6.
^o DIO, l. lxiv. p. 729. TACIT. c. 87. ^p SUET. c. 18.

by *Vinius*, in the very quarter which was sacred to the *Roman* eagles and banners. For this crime he was by the emperor *Caligula* put in irons, and kept under close confinement; but being soon after set at liberty by *Claudius*, he discharged several public employments with a character free from reproach. Upon the expiring of his prætorship, he was preferred to the command of a legion, and acquitted himself in it with applause. Afterwards he was guilty of a crime, altogether infamous and worthy only of a slave; for being invited by *Claudius* to an entertainment, he purloined a golden cup of great value. But the only punishment which the emperor inflicted upon him for so scandalous an action was, to invite him again to his table the very next day, and to distinguish him from the rest of his guests, by ordering, that *Vinius* alone should be served in an earthen cup. Yet he ruled the province of *Narbonne Gaul*, in quality of proconsul, with unbiaſſed justice and eminent integrity. He was, upon the close of his proconsulship, appointed to command, under *Galba*, the legion which was quartered in *Spain*; where, contrary to the opinion of the other officers, he encouraged his general, in the manner we have related above, not to let slip the opportunity that offered to seize the sovereignty. He was a man of great boldness and address, and, according as he chose to apply his talents, capable of performing great things for the public welfare, or plunging the state in endless calamities. *Cornelius Laco*, the other favourite, whom *Galba* had appointed captain of the prætorian guards before he left *Spain*, was a man of slender parts, of no courage or activity, but mightily conceited with his own talents, a certain enemy to every counsel, however excellent, if not suggested by himself, and headstrong in opposing every man eminent for ability and discernment. *Icelus* was a manumised slave, but not inferior to the other two in favour and authority. *Nero* had vested him, by the gold ring, with the order of knighthood, and he was now every-where called by an equestrian name, that of *Martianus*. He was a man of insatiable avarice, and is said, by spoil and rapine, to have amassed more wealth in the seventh months that *Galba* reigned, than the most rapacious freedman of *Nero* had done during the fourteen years of his reign. As the aged emperor reposed an entire confidence in these ministers, without ever inquiring into their conduct, they prostituted the credit and character of their master to their own vile gain and wicked passions. By them all things were set to sale; offices, provinces, public revenues, public justice, and the lives of men both innocent and guilty. He was old; they were insatiable, and eager to make the most of a short reign; so that in the court of *Galba* appeared all the evils and excesses lately seen and abhorred in that of *Nero*: they were equally grievous, says *Tacitus*, but not equally excused, in a prince of *Galba*'s years and experience. He had himself a heart altogether upright and well-meaning; but, as the numberless iniquities of his ministers were imputed to him, he was no less hated, than if he had committed them himself. This, says *Dion Cassius*, is the unhappy condition of princes: it is not enough for them to abstain from all violence; they must restrain others, especially their ministers, from committing any: no prince will be reckoned good, when his ministers are known to be bad; nor to be much beloved, when they are much hated. Ministers, it must be owned, are often doomed to suffer imputations altogether groundless, as proceeding rather from envy and the nature of their post, than from their evil conduct; in which cases it is but reasonable and generous to protect them. But here the guilt was notorious, and manifest to all men but *Galba*. He, whom of all men it most imported to know it, knew it not; and hence, without check or controul, they abused the power with which he too blindly entrusted them, and sacrificed his life, his glory, and diadem to their own private views, to sordid interest, which was the smallest thing they ought to have sacrificed for so good a master. But the measures, which they took, proved in the end no less fatal to them, than to the emperor, as we shall have occasion to relate.

Galba's first care, after his arrival in the capital, was to call to an account, and punish, according to their deserts, such as had borne the chief sway in the late tyrannical administration. Among these, *Elius Polycletus*, *Petinus*, *Patrobius*, *Narcissus*, all *Nero*'s freedmen, and *Locusta*, the famous poisoner, were publicly executed, to the infinite satisfaction of the people, who, with loud shouts of joy, attended them as they were led to the place of execution. No one doubted, but

Tigellinus

a *Tigellinus* would suffer the like doom. He had been the chief author and promoter of all *Nero's* iniquities, had perpetrated many unknown to him, and at last forsaken and betrayed him. Hence the execution of no man was more ardently wished for, more vehemently urged, by such as hated, by such as lamented, *Nero*; both concurring from opposite passions, in the same antipathy and request. But he had, with immense presents, purchased the favour of *Vinius*, who protected him with his mighty authority, on pretence that his daughter had been saved by *Tigellinus*; and truly he had saved her, says *Tacitus*, not from any clemency of his, after such numbers murdered by him, but purely to purchase means of shelter and escape in time to come. For this is the policy, continues our historian, of every desperate offender, from distrust of present fortune and dread of change, to arm himself betimes with private favour against the public hatred. Hence it comes, that for the protection of innocence no regard is shewn, but the guilty combine for mutual exemption from punishment. Of this scandalous partiality the people loudly complained: *Turpilianus*, said they, without having been guilty of any iniquity, or been polluted with the crimes of *Nero*, has been put to death for no other guilt, but because he would not betray his prince and master; whereas he who plunged his prince into those abominations, for which he deserved to die, and afterwards treacherously forsook and betrayed him, is not only suffered to live, but to enjoy the immense wealth, which by all manner of rapine he has accumulated.

b As often as the emperor appeared abroad, the people crowded about him, demanding the execution of *Tigellinus*. This they earnestly begged, in the theatre, in the circus, at the gates of the palace, &c. As the execution of this execrable instrument of *Nero's* tyranny was thus demanded by the universal voice of the *Roman* people, it had been but just, as well as politic and popular, to have sacrificed him, though he had been less guilty than he really was, to the manes of so many illustrious *Romans* murdered by him, and to the honest rage of the public. This would have obliged both the friends and enemies of *Nero*, gained the affections of the people, and strengthened *Galba's* party. But these were small considerations with *Vinius*, in comparison of filling his coffers. In order, therefore, to oblige

d *Tigellinus*, who had engaged to pay him an immense sum, in case he escaped unpunished, he persuaded *Galba*, who reposed in him an entire confidence, not only to withstand the ardent wishes and earnest solicitations of the whole *Roman* people, but to check them with an edict, wherein he reproached them with cruelty, and begged they would not make his government appear tyrannical, nor insist upon the execution of an unhappy man, who was dying of a consumption. Nothing so much provoked the indignation of the people as this edict; for it was afterwards known, that *Tigellinus* had that very day made a sacrifice to the gods for his recovery, which was followed by a magnificent entertainment; and that *Vinius*, after having supped with the emperor, had spent the whole night in revelling with *Tigellinus*: it was moreover known, that *Vinius* had carried his daughter with him to the entertainment; and that *Tigellinus*, after having thanked the father for the edict, presented the daughter, first with two hundred and fifty thousand drachmas, and afterwards with a necklace, which he took from the neck of the chief of his concubines, valued at one hundred and fifty thousand more. *Halotus*, another of *Nero's* ministers, and perhaps no less hated, on account of his enormous cruelties and extortions, than *Tigellinus*, (for with equal ardour the *Roman* people demanded his execution) was in the same manner, and from the same motives, protected by the authority of *Vinius*; nay, in consideration of an immense sum, which he paid to that wicked minister, he not only escaped unpunished, but was preferred to a most honourable and profitable employment. Thus were criminals, notoriously guilty of the most crying iniquities, but possessed with wealth enough to purchase the favour of the reigning minister, screened from the punishment due to their crimes, while others, less guilty, were by droves hurried to execution. This scandalous and barefaced partiality gained to the minister what he chiefly aimed at, immense treasures, but derived upon the prince infinite public hatred; for, by not restraining his minister, he incurred the same censure and blame, as if he himself had done the evil, or authorized it.

Tigellinus is protected by Vinius.

The people demand his execution.

Galba checks them with an edict.

Halotus is likewise pardoned and preferred.

Which derives public hatred upon Galba.

THE

9 TACIT. C. 72.

1 PLUT. *ibid.* SUET. C. 15.

1 PLUT. *ibid.* TACIT. C. 4.

THE example of *Vinius* was followed by the other ministers and favourites of the new emperor; for being indulged in immoderate power, they exposed to common sale all the honours and emoluments of the state. His bondmen too were greedy to profit by their sudden sunshine, and eager to convert into hasty gains the short reign of a master already enfeebled with age. So that the people began loudly to complain: Why, said they, was *Nero* deposed, if things are not mended under *Galba*? Why a new prince chosen, but for the ease of the public, after a reign of violence and tyranny? The public hatred, which the numberless iniquities of the new emperor's ministers derived upon him, was heightened by his ill timed strictness and unpopular parsimony; though his parsimony was chiefly ascribed to *Vinius*, who was said to have checked the emperor's generosity to others, that he might the better gratify his own avarice. However that be, while the emperor endeavoured to reform the abuses, and retrench the exorbitant expences that had prevailed in the preceding reign, he ran into the other extreme. No man's money, says *Tacitus*, did he ever covet, but was sparing of his own, and of the public money greedy and tenacious. Authors relate several instances of his unseasonable parsimony, altogether unbecoming a person of his rank and station. *Plutarch* tells us, that one *Canus*, a celebrated player upon the flute, having one night entertained him while he was supping, the emperor, after having highly commended the excellence of his performance, sent for his purse, and presented him with five denarii, about three shillings of our money, telling him, that he made him that present out of his privy purse, and not out of the public money. *Suetonius* adds, that when his table, upon any extraordinary occasion, was more splendidly served than usual, he could not refrain from sighing and expressing his dissatisfaction, in a manner inconsistent with common decency. As the public treasure had been quite exhausted by *Nero*, who had consumed above seventeen millions in profuse pensions and donations, *Galba*, after examining every expedient to find the necessary supplies, preferred to all others, as the most just, that of supplying the public at the expence of those, for whose sake the public had been impoverished. All the partakers, therefore, in the late emperor's extravagance were called to account; and it was enacted, that they should retain only a tenth of that wild liberality, and restore the rest. But, as they had scarce a tenth left unwasted, having lavished the plunder of the public and of their fellow-citizens, in the same riot and prodigality in which they had squandered away their own private fortunes, the emperor obliged those who had had any dealings with them, who had bought or received any thing from them, to refund the whole. For these searches and exactions a new court was instituted, in which presided according to *Tacitus* thirty, according to *Suetonius* fifty, Roman knights; who extended their inquiries even into *Greece*, and there obliged the players upon instruments, the actors, wrestlers, charioteers, the judges at the *Olympic* games, the priests of *Apollo Delphicus*, &c. to restore nine tenths of *Nero's* donations. As this was an affair without bounds, and many were affected by it; as on all hands were seen open sales and the public crier, and this court was new in its institution, and from the multitude of officers, from the numerous suits, heavy and vexatious, the whole city, nay, the whole empire, was in a ferment. The soldiers of the prætorian guards were kept quiet a while in expectation of the mighty donative, which had been promised them by *Nymphidius* in *Galba's* name, supposing, that though they did not receive the full, yet the emperor, notwithstanding his parsimony, would not scruple to bestow upon them the same sum that had been given them by *Nero*. But when he refused to fulfil the promise which had been made in his name, and ordered only a small sum, less than had yet been given by any prince, to be distributed among them, they could not refrain from seditious invectives, vilifying the emperor for his old age and avarice. This disaffection was heightened by a saying of *Galba*: a saying, according to *Tacitus*, worthy of the primitive virtue of the Romans and the commonwealth, but to himself dangerous; *That he chose his soldiers, and did not buy them*. His severity too in exacting a strict observance of military discipline, a quality so admired of old, and by the armies ever distinguished with applause, was very grievous to a slothful soldiery, scorning the ancient discipline, and for fourteen years so accustomed to the base reign of *Nero*, that at this time they no less admired

Galba's parsimony.

He orders nine tenths of Nero's donations to be restored.

Refuses the soldiery the usual donative

^a admired the vices of their princes, than of old they had adored their virtues^u. Though the rest of his conduct did not, according to *Tacitus*, answer his severity in keeping the soldiery to their duty, yet he performed, as *Suetonius* informs us, many things worthy of so great a prince^w. That writer does not descend to particulars; but *Zonaras* tells us, that he punished with the utmost severity those who had, by false accusations, occasioned the ruin of innocent persons; that he delivered up to all masters such of their slaves as had borne witness against them; and that he recalled from exile those, who had been banished by *Nero* upon the law of majesty^x. *Casaubon* thinks it plainly appears from an ancient inscription, that he suppressed the tax of the *quadragesima* or fortieth penny, which had been first taken off, and afterwards restored by *Nero*^y. He discharged several of the prætorian guards, who had been engaged in the conspiracy of *Nymphidius*; and dismissed, without the usual rewards, the German cohort, which had served the other *Cæsars* with unshaken fidelity, ordering them to return to their country, because he suspected them more inclined to *Cn. Do-* ^{Discharges the German cohort.} *labella* than to him^z. However, he took particular care of some other cohorts of *Germans*, who having been sent by *Nero* before him to *Alexandria*, while he meditated a journey thither, and soon after recalled, were returned sickly, and greatly fatigued with so long a course of sailing^a.

ABOUT the same time that *Julius Vindex* revolted in *Gaul*, *Clodius Macer*, who governed *Africa* in quality of proprætor, took up arms against *Nero*, levied new forces, and even a legion, which from him was called the *Macrian* legion, but was soon after disbanded by *Galba*, whom he refused to acknowledge, through fear of being called to account for the numberless murders and extortions, to which his unbounded avarice and cruelty had prompted him. *Plutarch* tells us, that, without either accepting or rejecting the imperial title, he strove to maintain himself in possession of *Africa*, and to furnish the city, by stopping the vessels which thence conveyed corn to *Rome*. He was instigated to this revolt, according to *Tacitus*^b, chiefly by *Galvia Crispinilla*, who had been to *Nero* the directress of his lusts, and afterwards, passing over into *Africa*, had insinuated herself into the favour of the proprætor *Macer*. According to this account, *Macer* seems not to have revolted till after *Nero*'s death. Be- ^{Clodius Macer killed in Africa.} that as it will, he was slain at the command of *Galba* by *Trebonius Garucianus*, the imperial procurator in *Africa*. As for *Crispinilla*, she returned to *Rome*; and though it was notorious, that she had suggested to *Macer* the pernicious counsel of furnishing the *Roman* people, and on that score capital punishment was demanded against her by the universal voice of *Rome*; yet, by the connivance of the prince and the favour of his ministers, (for she was both opulent and childless) she escaped her doom, and lived in perfect impunity during the reigns of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*^c. About the same time, was assassinated *Fonteius Capito*, who commanded in *Lower Germany*, by *Cornelius Aquinas* and *Fabius Valens*, two tribunes, without staying for the emperor's command. There were who believed, that *Capito*, however abominable he was, ^{And Fonteius Capito in Lower Germany.} however stained with avarice and immersed in impurities, had yet declined engaging in any turbulent counsels; that having rejected the solicitations of *Aquinas* and *Valens* to rebel with them, he was by them charged with their own ill faith and treason; and that *Galba*, either imposed upon or afraid of making further inquiry, ratified the execution. However it was, both these executions, that of *Macer* as well as that of *Capito*, were ill received, this being, as *Tacitus* well observes, the usual fate of a prince under public hatred, that every action of his, whether good or evil, is generally disapproved, perversely construed, and contributes to his ruin^d. *Suetonius* tells us, that, after the death of these two commanders, *Galba* at length quitted his military habit, and a dagger, which till then he had worn fastened to his neck, and hanging down on his breast, tho' he was not in a condition to make use of it, being enfeebled with age and infirmities^e. *Capito* was succeeded in the government of *Lower Germany* by *Aulus Vitellius*, afterwards emperor, who was raised to that post chiefly by the interest of *Vinius*, whose favour he had gained, by supporting the same faction in the circus. *Galba*, in conferring upon him that command, openly declared, that he did not prefer him out of any esteem he had for him, or opinion of his abilities, but because he believed those to be less feared, who were most addicted to gluttony, and that his keen appetite might be satiated with the plenty of that province; so

^u PLUT. *ibid.* TACIT. c. 5. SUET. c. 16. DIO, p. 729. ^w SUET. c. 14. ^x ZONAR. p. 190. ^y Vide SPANH. l. ix. p. 793. ^z SUET. c. 12. ^a TACIT. c. 31. ^b Idem, hist. l. i. c. 7. ^c Idem *ibid.* ^d Idem *ibid.* ^e SUET. c. 11.

so that his preferment was owing to the contempt, and not to the esteem, the emperor had for him †. *Philostratus*, in his life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, tells us, that this year was born at *Syracuse*, and exposed to public view, a child with three heads; which monstrous birth denoted, according to the interpretation of his *Apollonius*, the three heads or emperors, *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, by whom the *Roman* state was for some time governed in one and the same year. He adds, that the cities of *Sicily* were then in arms against each other, and strangely harassed with intestine divisions ‡. But of these disturbances we find no farther account in that writer, nor any mention of them in others.

The legions in
Upper Ger-
many revolt.

Galba delibe-
rates concern-
ing the adop-
tion of a suc-
cessor.

He adopts Piso
Licinianus.

THE following year on the calends of *January*, *Galba* entered on his second consulship, having his favourite minister, *Titus Vinus*, for his colleague. He had scarce assumed the fasces, when an express arrived from *Pompeius Propinquus*, procurator of *Belgic Gaul*, informing him, that the legions in *Upper Germany*, in open violation of their oaths and allegiance, demanded imperiously another emperor, and referred the free election of one to the pleasure of the senate and people of *Rome*. *Verginius* had been removed from them, as we have related above; and as he had neither been restored, nor preferred to any other command or employment, but treated, in a manner, like a criminal, they conceived themselves to be charged as delinquents, for having offered him the empire. *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who had been sent to succeed him, they utterly contemned; and truly he was a man void of firmness, void of authority, and, from his lameness and the infirmities of his age, unequal to the direction of the most orderly and peaceable army. Hence, under their present frenzy, they were further inflamed by his impotent endeavours to restrain them. This intelligence ripened the design, about which *Galba* had been for some time deliberating with himself and in concert with his friends, concerning the adoption of a successor; for he imagined himself to be despised, not so much on account of his age, as for want of issue. But his favourites, already at variance and pursuing each his own private views, were divided into two factions: *Vinus* was for *Otho*; *Laco* and *Icelus* were combined together, not so much to favour the interest of any particular, as to exclude him. As *Vinus* had a daughter, who was a widow, and *Otho* was not married, no one doubted but an alliance between them was intended. But *Galba*, moved with a concern for the commonwealth, which, he thought, was in vain rescued from *Nero*, were it to devolve upon *Otho*, the chief confident of that prince's impure pleasures; did not, in this particular, suffer himself to be blindly guided by *Vinus*; but, hearing him favourably, referred the farther consideration of the affair to another time. However, out of complaisance to his chief minister, he appointed him and *Otho* consuls for the ensuing year. Hence it was generally taken for granted, that *Otho* would, upon his entering the consulship, be by *Galba* declared his successor; which caused an universal joy among the soldiery, who, for the most part, favoured *Otho*, and among the courtiers and creatures of *Nero*, who were passionate for a prince so resembling their former. But while *Galba* was deliberating about the choice, and putting it off from day to day, dismal tidings were daily brought from *Upper Germany*; for the legions there, being summoned, according to custom, on the calends of *January*, to take the usual oath of fidelity to the emperor, had torn his images, broken his statues, and openly declaring, that they would never acknowledge *Galba*, sworn allegiance to the *Roman* senate and people. Hereupon the emperor, beset with anxieties, as not knowing whither the fury of the revolters might tend, and not trusting to the faith of the troops in *Rome*, applied what to him seemed the only remedy, and held a council for declaring a successor, to which, besides *Vinus* and *Laco*, he summoned *Marius Celsus*, consul elect, and *Ducennius Geminus*, governor of *Rome*. On this occasion *Vinnius* promoted anew with great zeal the adoption of *Otho*, and *Ducennius Geminus* that of *Dolabella*, who was nearly related to *Galba*. But the emperor, preferring the welfare of the publick to all other regards, after a short speech concerning his great age, ordered *Piso Licinianus* to be sent for, and, to the great surprize of all, named him his successor. *Piso* was the son of *Marcus Crassus* and *Scribonia*, and both by father and mother nobly born, being by his father descended from the celebrated *Marcus Licinius Crassus*, who was slain in the fatal battle of *Carrhæ*, and by his mother from *Pompey the Great*. He was at this time in the thirty-first year of his age, and by all highly esteemed on account of his extraordinary parts, his

† Suet. in Vitell. c. 7.

‡ Phil. vit. Apoll. Tyan. l. v. c. 4.

a his engaging behaviour, and singular modesty. His gravity, resembling that of the ancient *Romans*, was, says *Tacitus*, by those who judged censoriously, accounted melancholy and austere; but that part of his temper, which alarmed the discontented, pleased the person adopting^b. *Suetonius* tells us, that *Galba* had always shewn a great esteem for him, and named him in his last will for his heir, before he was raised to the empireⁱ. Some, however, believed, that he was by *Laco* prevailed upon to adopt him for his successor; for *Laco* had, unknown to *Galba*, held private conferences with him at the house of *Rubellius Plautus*, but artfully recommended him to *Galba*, as one to whom he was an utter stranger. *Galba*, after having declared to him, in the presence of his friends and counsellors, his design of adopting him, and naming him for his successor in the empire, is said to have taken him by the hand, and to have spoken thus: “ Were I as a private person to adopt you for my son, glorious
 b “ even then would be the adoption to us both, since my family would receive new lustre
 “ from the blood of the great *Pompey* and of *Marcus Crassus*, and yours from that of
 “ the *Sulpitian* and *Lutatian* families. I am now a publick person, called to the em-
 “ pire by the united consent of the gods and men; and of this sovereignty, for which
 “ our ancestors have often exposed their lives, I offer you the possession, while you
 “ are neither seeking nor pursuing it. To this I am urged only by the love of my
 “ country, and your excellent qualifications. *Augustus*, who would intail the empire
 “ upon his own house, in his own house sought a successor. I chuse out of the common-
 “ wealth an heir to the commonwealth: not that I am reduced to this choice by any
 c “ want of relations of my own; but them I overlook, as well as your relations, because
 “ I do not judge them so well qualified for so important a charge as yourself. You
 “ have a brother, in nobility your equal, in age your superior, a man worthy of this
 “ fortune, did I not find in you one still more worthy. You have passed your youth
 “ without reproach, and such hitherto has been your course of life, that nothing in
 “ your conduct thus far is subject to blame: but you have yet only had adverse fortune
 “ to contend with. Prosperity is more ensnaring; it tries the temper of the soul, and
 “ exposes its weaknesses: calamities we often bear with patience; but are utterly sub-
 “ dued and corrupted by a flow of felicity. I do not doubt but you will, with your
 d “ usual firmness, still retain the same integrity, faith in friendship, candour, and free-
 “ dom of spirit, endowments, which, above all others, adorn the mind. But in
 “ others, you will find a different conduct towards you: by false complaisance they
 “ will endeavour to weaken your fortitude, and, by deceitful flattery and soothing
 “ speeches, poison every honest affection of your mind; and to his own sordid gain
 “ will every particular be wresting your honour and good inclinations. You and I,
 “ upon this occasion, converse with hearts perfectly sincere; but others will make their
 “ addresses to our fortunes, rather than to us: and indeed, to reason princes into their
 “ duty is a dangerous task; but easy is the art of flattering any prince whatsoever.
 “ Could this immense empire subsist without a single ruler, I should glory in resigning,
 “ glory in being the first emperor, who resigned the power of the republic into her
 e “ own hands; but such long since has been the unhappy situation of the state, that all
 “ the good, which my old age allows me to do the *Roman* people, is, to leave them a
 “ good successor; nor can you, with all your youth, do more for them, than afford
 “ them in yourself a benevolent prince. Under *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, and *Claudius*, we
 “ were all the inheritance of one family. That the empire has begun in me to be
 “ elective, is some equivalent for our ancient liberty, and the only liberty we are capa-
 “ ble of enjoying. Now the *Julian* and *Claudian* families being extinct, the best men,
 “ by this way of adoption, will become the greatest. To be descended from princes is
 “ the effect of chance; but, in the work of adoption, the judgment is exercised;
 “ and whenever you want to chuse, the general consent will direct you to the person
 f “ most worthy to be chosen. Have always before your eyes the example of *Nero*,
 “ who, elated with the glory of his race and a long genealogy of the *Cæsars* was not
 “ in reality dethroned by *Julius Vindex*, the governor of a province, unprovided with
 “ forces, nor by me assisted with one legion, but by his own cruelty and infamous de-
 “ baucheries; nor was there, till then, any instance of an emperor by public sentence
 “ condemned and deposed. It was my lot to be called to an unsettled state; nor must you
 “ be alarmed, if while the whole world continues in this general uproar, there are
 “ two legions which yet remain unreclaimed to obedience. As to my old age, the
 “ only objection to my government, it is no longer one, since when it comes to be
 known

His speech to
him on that
occasion.

^b TACIT. C. 14. PLUT. in Galb.

ⁱ SUET. C. 17.

“ known that I have adopted you, I shall seem young in my successor. *Nero* will
 “ ever be regretted by the most abandoned and profligate: to you and me it belongs
 “ to govern, that he may not also be regretted by the good. To say more in this
 “ way of instruction the present conjuncture does not allow me. One certain rule you
 “ have to observe, which is, so to behave yourself towards your subjects, as, were you
 “ a subject, you would wish your prince to comport himself towards you. This rule
 “ comprehends the whole art of reigning with justice and equity; for you must re-
 “ member, that it is not with us as with other nations, where a particular family rules
 “ with absolute sway, and all besides are slaves; but you are to govern a people in-
 “ capable of complete liberty, and impatient of absolute bondage.”

*Piso's modest
behaviour.*

*His adoption
declared to
the soldiery.*

*And to the se-
nate.*

*Otho resolves
to attempt the
sovereignty.*

WHEN *Galba* had done speaking, *Piso* returned him thanks for the extraordinary
 and unexpected honour conferred on him, addressing him, now both his father and
 emperor, with a speech full of reverence, and, where he mentioned himself, full of
 modesty. He betrayed no symptoms of joy, no change in his countenance, none
 afterwards in his behaviour, as if he had been insensible of so mighty a favour; mani-
 fest indications, says *Tacitus*, that he was more capable of reigning, than desirous to
 reign. The next thing that came under debate in the council was, where to declare
 the adoption, whether to the people assembled, to the senate, or to the army. The
 result was to do it in the camp; and thither he immediately repaired, tho' that day,
 the tenth of *January*, was rendered unusually terrible by heavy rains, frequent claps
 of thunder, and incessant lightning; which, in ancient times, would have proved
 sufficient ground for dissolving public assemblies, but were looked upon by *Galba*, and
 contemned, as fortuitous and unmeaning. Upon his arrival in the camp, he declared
 to a full assembly of the soldiers, with the brevity becoming an emperor, that he
 adopted *Piso* after the precedent of the deified *Augustus*, and according to the custom
 of the army, where every one chuses his man. And lest the revolt of the *German*
 legions might, if by him concealed, be thence thought more formidable, he frankly
 told them, that the fourth legion and the eighteenth, at the instigation of some few
 incendiaries, had departed from their duty, but would soon return to their allegiance.
 As no mention was made of the distributions usual on such occasions, only the soldiers
 who stood next to him applauded his speech, and through all the rest was observed a
 fullen sadness and silence for having thus lost the donative, which custom and their
 own insolent claims had, in some degree, rendered necessary. *Tacitus* tells us, that
 with any liberality, however small, *Galba* might have gained the affections of the sol-
 diery; but suffered by practising, out of season, the rigorous purity of ancient times,
 which they were no longer able to bear^k. From the camp *Galba* proceeded to the
 senate, where he spoke with the same brevity and bluntness as to the soldiery. The
 speech which *Piso* made was better received. In the mean time, *Otho*, who had been
 the foremost to espouse the cause of *Galba*, had promoted it with vigor, and thence
 conceived hopes of being adopted and named by him for his successor, enraged at
 his disappointment, and burning with anger against *Galba*, with envy towards *Piso*,
 determined to make a resolute effort, while the authority of the one was daily decay-
 ing, and that of the other not yet confirmed. Many concurring motives inspired
 him with this resolution. As he had consumed his fortune in a course of riot and
 expence, and contracted immense debts, in the quiet establishment of the state he saw
 nothing but despair, and only upon public confusion founded his hopes. Besides, he
 looked upon his being thus put by, as a certain sign of the displeasure and ill-will of
Galba towards him, and thence thought resignation and acquiescence more threatening,
 than boldness and temerity. His favourite freed-men too and his slaves, inured to
 a licentiousness and riot inconsistent with the œconomy of a private family, were to
 their lord continually displaying the alluring advantages attending the sovereign
 power, and representing them as his own, if he roused himself, and made them so.
 The astrologers at the same time urged him by their predictions, while they were
 confidently averring, that the stars presaged approaching revolutions and a year of
 great glory to *Otho*. Of this tribe *Ptolemy* was one, who having accompanied *Otho*
 into *Lusitania*, and foretold him that he should survive *Nero*, had gained mighty
 credit from the event. Now he persuaded him, that, if he exerted his might and
 laid hold of the present opportunity, he would certainly attain the accomplishment
 of his wishes, the sovereign power. Hereupon *Otho*, with whom these predictions
 passed

ⁱ *TACIT. c. 15.*

^k *Idem, c. 18, 19.*

a passed as uttered by a prophetic spirit, and as the propitious warnings of the fates, Gives credit to an astrologer.
 resolved to make a bold push and try his fortune. The direction of the treasonable
 design he committed to one of his freed-men, by name *Onomastus*, who introduced
 to him two men as proper instruments in it, *Veturius*, a soldier of the life-guard, and
Barbius Proculus, tesserarius of the same band; that is, one whose office it was to
 receive the parole from the tribune in writing, and carry it to the tents of the soldiers.
Otho, having first in a long conversation tried their temper and capacity, and found
 them to be men of great address and resolution, imparted to them his design, loaded
 them with mighty presents, promised them more ample rewards, and furnished them
 with vast sums to bribe and debauch the inclinations of as many of the rest as they
 were able. Thus two common soldiers undertook to transfer the Roman empire Two common soldiers undertake to transfer the empire.
 b from one prince to another, and transferred it effectually. They admitted very few
 into the secret; the minds of the rest, already uneasy and wavering, they estranged
 from the emperor by various artifices, especially by filling them with utter despair of
 the donative, which had been promised, and so often put off. This, said they, is
 not only defrauding us of our deserved rewards, but blasting our expectations for
 ever, and giving a bad precedent to other emperors, who will not fail to follow an
 example so prejudicial to us, so advantageous to themselves. Rome was at this time
 filled with troops; *Galba* had brought with him a Spanish legion; the legion, which
 had been raised by *Nero*, still remained in the city; and besides these forces, there
 were many from *Germany*, *Britain*, and *Illyricum*, such as had been thence detached
 c by *Nero's* orders, and sent forwards to the *Caspian* streights, for the war which he
 meditated against the *Parthians*, but recalled to suppress the revolt of *Vindex* in *Gaul*.
 These, dreading the severity of discipline, which in this reign began to be revived,
 were all ready to revolt; and though not combining in favour of any particular, yet
 prepared for the first daring spirit. The prætorian guards indeed, transported with
 a fondness for *Nero*, were entirely addicted to *Otho*, who, they hoped, would recal
 the licentiousness which they had enjoyed under that prince; nay, some of them
 were so impatient to see him invested with the sovereign power, that on the four-
 teenth of *January* they were prepared, as he returned home from supping abroad, to
 d have hurried him away and declared him emperor; only they apprehended, that,
 during the dark, whoever chanced to be presented to the *German* or *Pannonian* army,
 might by them, for the most part unacquainted with the person of *Otho*, be, instead
 of him, saluted emperor. The execution of the design was therefore put off till
 the next day, when *Otho* early in the morning went to attend the emperor, and was,
 according to custom, received by him with a kiss, and admitted to be present at a
 private sacrifice, which *Galba* offered in the temple of *Apollo*. We are told, that
Umbricius the soothsayer had no sooner viewed the intrails of the victim, than he Galba is warned of a treasonable plot.
 warned the emperor of dismal presages, of treasonable plots just impending, and a
 domestic foe, all in the hearing of *Otho*, who stood next to him, and, by a different
 construction, understood it all as propitious to himself, and a successful issue foretold
 of his own machinations. However, he was not a little disconcerted at the disco-
 c very, and could not help betraying some dismay and confusion. But, in the mean
 time, *Onomastus*, his freed-man arriving, acquainted him, that *the surveyor and builders*
waited his coming. This was the signal before settled amongst them, to intimate
 that the soldiers were assembling, and the conspiracy ripe for execution. He there-
 fore immediately withdrew, feigning to those who asked him the cause of his depar-
 ture, that he was about purchasing certain houses, which being old, and thence
 suspected to be decayed, it was necessary first to examine them. Then, leaning on
 his freedman, he proceeded through the palace of *Tiberius* to the *Velabrum*, and
 f from thence to the gilt pillar by the temple of *Saturn*, where the several highways in
Italy terminated. There he was received by a party of the guards and proclaimed
 emperor; but as they were not above twenty-three, though his soul was not of the same Otho is saluted emperor by a small party of the guards;
 soft temper and effeminacy with his person, but, on the contrary, bold and daring,
 yet he was so dismayed at the smallness of their number, that he desired to retire
 and drop his design. This the soldiers would not suffer; but putting him in great
 haste into a chair, hurried him away with their drawn swords. *Plutarch* tells us,
 that he pressed them to make all the haste they could, crying out, *I am a lost man*.
 The party that attended him was soon joined by much the like number of soldiers,
 and these, in their progress to the camp, were followed by others, who came in,
 g three and four at a time, till at last they made up a considerable body. Upon their
 arrival

And carried
to the camp.

arrival at the camp, *Julius Martialis* the tribune, who that day commanded the main guard, suffered them to enter, either overcome with surprize at so daring an undertaking, or privy to the conspiracy, or else believing the camp to be generally infected, and that it was in vain to resist. In the camp they met with no opposition, those who were not privy to the design being incompassed by such as were; so that some out of fear, others by choice, joined the revolt, and at last all with one voice saluted *Otho emperor* and *Cæsar*¹.

Measures taken
by Galba
to suppress the
revolt.

In the mean time, *Galba*, utterly unacquainted with the revolution, was still bent upon the sacrifice, and tiring, says *Tacitus*, with his supplications, the guardian gods of the empire, already under the sway of another head. News was first brought him, that a senator, it was uncertain who, was by a party of the guards hurried away to the camp, there to be presented to the soldiery; and soon after word was brought, that *Otho* was the senator thus hurried thither. Instantly from all parts of the city people crouded to *Galba* with the same tidings, each relating them his own way. Some exaggerated every thing beyond measure; others, not laying aside, even at so desperate a juncture, their wonted flattery, soothed him with relations far short of facts. In this sudden alarm *Galba* hastily summoned his friends, and in a consultation held with them it was resolved, that the temper of the cohort then upon duty in the palace should first of all be sounded, not by *Galba* in person, whose authority was reserved as the last remedy upon the highest emergency, but by *Piso*; who having caused them to be assembled at the foot of the stairs of the palace, exhorted them with great eloquence and energy, to continue steady in their allegiance, displayed the vices and debaucheries of *Otho*, and assured them, that they should receive from *Galba* and him as large a donative for their fidelity preserved, as was offered them by *Otho* for dipping their hands in the blood of their sovereign. When he had ended his speech, some of the cohort stole away; but the major part displayed their ensigns, and prepared their arms to defend their emperor. *Celsus Marius* was immediately sent to secure the troops that had been detached from the army in *Illyricum*, and were then posted in the *Vipsanian* porch. To *Amulius Serenus* and *Domitius Sabinus*, centurions of the first rank, orders were given to bring away from the court of the temple of *Liberty* the band of *German* soldiers there. To the camp of the prætorian guards repaired the tribunes *Cerius Severus*, *Subrius Dexter*, and *Pompeius Longinus*, to try, whether, by reason and exhortations, the mutiny, then in its infancy, might not be quelled and obedience restored. Two of these tribunes the soldiers only terrified with threats, but laid violent hands on *Longinus*, stripped him of his arms, and ignominiously drove him out of the camp, he being, above the rest, obnoxious to them, on account of his known fidelity and invincible attachment to *Galba*. The band detached from the *Illyrian* army drove *Celsus* from amongst them with flights of darts. The second legion of marines, eager to revenge the blood of their brethren, massacred by *Galba* on his first entry as emperor into *Rome*, joined, without hesitation, the prætorian bands. The *German* troops continued a great while wavering and irresolute, being in their bodies still feeble, (for they were lately returned from *Alexandria* sickly and fatigued) and in their minds entirely peaceable, and rather inclined to *Galba*, out of gratitude for the care he was taking to cherish and restore them². *Suetonius* tells us, that they immediately hastened to the assistance of *Galba*; but not being acquainted with the streets, they mistook their way and came too late³. *Galba*, in the mean time, was held in suspense between two different counsels. *Vinius* was of opinion, that the emperor should remain in the palace, arm his slaves in his defence, fortify the avenues, and by no means issue forth amongst men mad with rage. All the rest alledged the necessity of dispatch and instant measures, before the conspiracy of a few, yet weak and unsupported, had gathered strength and numbers. *Galba* yielded to the advice of the latter, their counsels appearing to him more plausible. *Piso*, however, was sent away before to the camp, as a young man of great fame and reputation, and one who was generally looked upon as an enemy to the hated minister *Titus Vinius*. Scarce had he left the place, when it was rumoured about, that *Otho* was slain in the camp; and soon after there appeared persons who averred, that they themselves had been upon the spot when the traitor was killed, and beheld his dead body extended on the ground. It was by many conjectured, that this rumour was first framed, and afterwards heightened, by the partizans of *Otho*, with no other view,

The troops re-
fuse to obey the
officers sent to
them.

Galba is in
suspense what
to do.

Receives false
information
from the
crowd.

¹ PLUT. *ibid.* SÆT. in *Oth.* c. 6. TACIT. c. 23—28. ² Idem, c. 31, 32. ³ SÆT. in *Galb.* c. 20.

a view, but to entice *Galba* from his retirement. However that be, upon this occasion, not only the simple and thoughtless vulgar broke out into loud shouts and extravagant demonstrations of zeal; but the greater part of the *Roman* knights and senators, now divested of their fears, and therefore void of caution and reserve, forced the gates of the palace; and rushing in, presented themselves before *Galba*, complaining, that the vengeance, by them meditated in his behalf, was now snatched out of their hands. The most cowardly, such as had not courage enough to face the least danger, as the event well proved, were at this juncture profuse of words and boasts, and in tongue valiant and daring. No man knew the fact, and all averred it; so that *Galba*, deprived of true information, put on a breast-plate; and
b finding himself unable, through age and infirmities, to sustain the pressing crowd, he was put into a chair. Before he left the palace, *Julius Atticus*, one of the guards, And from Julius Atticus pressing through the crowd, presented himself before the emperor, and, displaying a sword all over bloody, declared with a loud voice, that by his hand *Otho* had been slain. *Galba* returned no other answer, than, *Fellow soldier, whose orders hadst thou?* Such was his firmness in restraining the licentious insolence of the soldiery, without being dismayed by menaces, or corrupted with the most soothing flattery ^m.

In the mean time, they had to a man declared for *Otho* in the camp; and placing him amidst the ensigns upon that very tribunal, where a little before stood the golden statue of *Galba*, encompassed him round with banners displayed. The common
c soldiers refused to the tribunes and centurions access to his person; nay, they gave him caution to beware of all who were in command or authority among them. First the prætorian guards, and then the legion of marines, unanimously swore allegiance to him, and, with loud shouts, saluted him *emperor, Cæsar, and Augustus*. After this, *Otho*, now confiding in his strength, inflamed them with a long speech, filled with bitter invectives against *Galba* and his favourites; and then ordered the common armoury to be thrown open, whence arms were instantly snatched at random, without any regard to the custom of war, or the different orders and ranks of men. *Galba*, in the mean time, having left the palace, was approaching the
d forum, when he was overtaken by *Piso*, who, hearing the cries of the rebellious soldiery resounding quite to the city, had thought it adviseable not to proceed to the camp. At the same time, *Celsus Marius*, who had been sent to the *Illyrian* army, returned with a melancholy account. In this conjuncture, some advised *Galba* to retire back to the palace; others proposed seizing the capitol; and several were for taking possession of the place where the people used to assemble. In this contest, as in a storm, *Galba's* chair was borne, sometimes one way and sometimes another, according to the different movement and fluctuation of the multitude; when on a sudden appeared first a party of horse, and then a body of foot, rushing furiously into the forum. At this sight, the standard-bearer to the cohort, which had remained with *Galba*, rent from his standard the effigies of the emperor, and
e dashed it against the ground. Upon this signal, the whole cohort abandoned him, and joined the detachments from the camp. Hereupon, those who carried *Galba*, seized with dread and trembling, flung him from his chair prostrate upon the ground, and there left him to the mercy of his enemies. His last words are differently reported, as he was hated by some, or admired by others. By several it was spread abroad, that he asked in the style of a suppliant, What evil he had merited? and begged time, only for a few days, to discharge the donative, which had been promised in his name. But most agree, that of his own accord he presented his throat to the assassins, bidding them strike resolutely, if the good of the commonwealth so required. Of the very person, who gave him the mortal
f blow, we have no clear account. Some hold it to have been one *Terentius*, an *evocatus*, or resumed veteran; others one *Lecanius*. The more current tradition in *Tacitus's* time was, that *Camurius*, a common soldier of the fifteenth legion, cut his throat with his sword. The rest hacked and mangled in a dreadful manner his legs and arms (for his breast was covered with armour); nay, they were transported with a spirit so brutal and inhuman, that even after they had cut off his head, they satiated their rage by disfiguring with numberless wounds his lifeless body. Upon *Titus Vinius* they next discharged their rage. Some writers tell us, that through fear
Galba abandoned by all.
He is murdered
With Titus Vinius.
had

The fidelity
and bravery
of Sempronius
Densus.

Piso murdered

The senate and
people flatter
the new emperor.

Otho saves
Celsus.

The soldiery
act arbitrarily.

had no such orders from *Otho*; whence they conclude, that he was privy to the conspiracy, and had imbarqued in that treason, for which he had administered cause. Before the temple of *Julius Cæsar*, he was wounded in the knee; and presently after, by one *Julius Carus*, a legionary, pierced quite through the body. Among the many persons who had first made boast of their inviolable faith and attachment to their sovereign, one was found who performed what he had promised. This was *Sempronius Densus*, centurion of a prætorian cohort, and by *Galba* appointed to guard the person of *Piso*. He had not received any particular favour of *Galba*; but only from a principle of honour, and in compliance with the oath he had taken, he placed himself before the emperor's chair, commanding those who were advancing against him, to spare the emperor. As they still advanced, he threw away the vine branch, which he held in his hand as the badge of his office; and drawing his sword, singly encountered them all, boldly upbraiding them as detestable parricides; insomuch, that, partly by his blows partly by his reproaches, he drew upon himself the swords of the assassins; and though he could not save the emperor, yet procured to *Piso*, who was already wounded, opportunity to retire. He was himself killed; but *Piso* escaped to the temple of *Vesta*, where he was by a bondman of the state received through compassion and concealed in his chamber; which *Otho* no sooner knew, than he dispatched *Sulpitius Florus*, belonging to the British bands, a man just before presented by *Galba* with the privilege of a Roman citizen, and *Statius Murcus*, one of his guards, with orders to dispatch *Piso*. By them therefore *Piso* was dragged forth, and butchered near the gate of the temple. His head was immediately cut off and carried to *Otho*, who beheld it with unspeakable joy, thinking himself now relieved from all fear and perplexity. The bleeding heads of the emperor and his adopted son were stuck upon long poles, and thus carried along amidst the banners of the military bands, close by the eagle of a legion. Many, who had not the least share in the murder either of *Galba* or *Piso*, displayed their swords and hands all embrued with blood, and demanded of the new emperor a gratuity. *Tacitus* and *Plutarch* tell us, that above an hundred and twenty petitions of this nature, presented in one day to *Otho*, fell afterwards into the hands of *Vitellius*, who commanded search to be made after the authors, and punished them all with death, not from any tenderness for *Galba*, but out of policy, looking upon their punishment as a wholesome method of securing himself against such traitors^a.

THE news of *Galba's* death was no sooner divulged, than the senate, the Roman knights, and the people earnestly crowded to the camp, striving to out-run each other, and to overtake and pass such as were before them. To a man they condemned the conduct of *Galba*, magnified the judgment and choice of the soldiery, kissed the hands of *Otho*; and the more counterfeit their indications of zeal were, the more loud were their protestations. The senate, as if they were not the same men, says *Plutarch*, or had other gods to swear by, took the same oath to *Otho*, which *Otho* had not long before taken to *Galba*, and had just then violated. The new emperor received all who presented themselves to him with great demonstrations of kindness; and at the same time endeavoured to pacify the soldiery, breathing menaces and ravage. They demanded, that *Manius Celsus*, consul elect, and a faithful friend to *Galba* even in his last distress, might be instantly put to death. They hated him on account of his integrity and unshaken fidelity; but what they chiefly aimed at was, to have their hands let loose to general pillage and massacre, and to destroy every worthy and able man in the Roman state. But, as *Otho* had not sufficient authority to check the fury of the licentious soldiery, he personated great wrath against *Celsus*, ordered him to be put in irons, as if he reserved him for some more severe punishment; and by that means redeemed him from a violent death just impending. From this moment all things were transacted by the arbitrary will of the soldiers. By them were chosen the captains of the prætorian guards, namely *Plotius Primus*, once a common soldier, thence preferred to command the watch, and during the reign of *Galba*, a chief man among the partizans of *Otho*. With *Plotius* they joined *Licinius Proculus*, one in high confidence with *Otho*, and thought to have been employed by him to promote his intrigues. To the government of Rome they advanced *Flavius Sabinus*, partly in deference

^a TACIT. C. 38—42. PLUT. *ibid.*

a to the judgment of *Nero*, in whose reign he had administered the same office, and partly out of regard to his brother *Vespasian*. They then demanded, that the fees, wont to be by them paid to their centurions, for exemption from certain military burdens, should be utterly abolished; for under this name every soldier paid, as it were, an annual tribute. Hence the fourth part of a legion used to be absent at once, roaming like vagrants up and down the countries, where they were quartered, and robbing and plundering, in order to raise money wherewithal to purchase a dispensation from military toils. As most of the soldiers were debauched by such wild immunity, and reduced to beggary by the fees they paid for it, they were always ready to run headlong into sedition, dissention, and civil wars. *Otho*, therefore, readily granted them their request: but that he might not estrange from him the affections of the centurions, he undertook to pay out of his own revenue the fees for such exemptions and furloughs, when they were judged necessary; a regulation, which, by his successors, was perpetuated as part of the military establishment. In the close of the day, *Laco*, captain of the guards to *Galba*, was seized, and soon after by *Otho* condemned to an island, where, by his orders, he was murdered by a veteran, whom the emperor had sent before him for that purpose. *Laco* and *Icelus*, as he was only a manumised slave, was publicly executed. The day, thus spent in black and tragical iniquities, was concluded with public rejoicings. The next day, the city prætor assembled the senate, when to *Otho* were decreed the tribunitial authority, the title of *Augustus*, and all the honours enjoyed by other emperors. From the senate, the new emperor was carried in a kind of triumph cross the forum, still flowing with blood, and over heaps of dead bodies to the capitol, and thence to the palace, where at length he granted leave to burn and bury the slain. The remains of *Piso* were, by his wife *Verania* and his brother *Scribonianus*, committed to the grave, as were those of *Titus Vinius* by his daughter *Crispina*, after they had found out and redeemed, at a great price, their heads, which their murderers had retained, in order to sell them to their relations. The body of *Galba*, after it had lain long neglected in the streets, and suffered, during the licentiousness of the night, insults without number, was, by *Argius* one of his principal bondmen, bearing the office of steward, deposited in a mean grave within his own gardens. His head, miserably mangled and stuck upon a pole by the vile rabble attending the camp, was by them set up before the tomb of *Patrobius*, a freedman of *Nero*, whom *Galba* had caused to be executed. Here it was found the day following, and laid with the remains of his body, which had been already burnt^o. Such was the end of *Galba*, after he had lived seventy-two years and twenty-three days, and reigned, from the time he declared against *Nero*, nine months and thirteen days, but from that prince's death only seven months and as many days. He had passed through the reigns of five emperors, much happier under the sovereignty of other princes, than in his own. He had but moderate talents, and was, according to *Tacitus*, rather free from vices, than endowed with many virtues. He had commanded with great reputation in the *German* wars, afterwards governed *Africa*, as proconsul, with moderation and gentleness, and, in the latter part of his life, ruled with the same equity and justice the *Hither Spain*. He would, to use the expression of our historian, in the opinion of all men, have passed as one capable of the empire, had he never been emperor; not that his being advanced to that high station caused any alteration in him, but because he suffered himself to be blindly governed and controuled by his freedmen and ministers; men who were continually prostituting the credit and character of their master, to their own vile gains and wicked passions. Had he been blessed with good counsellors, he would, in all probability, have proved an excellent prince. He was temperate, frugal, free from ambition, an enemy to the insolence of the soldiery, and wished well to the commonwealth. But what availed his good qualities? He himself robbed no man; but his servants and ministers set no bounds to their rapines; and he, who ought not to have employed bad men, or at least ought to have restrained and punished them, was blind to all their iniquities. As he never inquired into their behaviour, nor blamed it, they never mended it, nor feared him. The sad fate, which their corruption and his own indolence brought upon him, is a sufficient warning to princes, either never to trust implicitly to the advice and conduct of

Otho suppresses the fees paid by the soldiers to their centurions.

Laco and Icelus put to death.

Otho acknowledged by the senate.

Galba's body buried.

His character.

any

^o TACIT. c. 47, 48. PLUT. ibid. SUET. c. 20.

any ministers, or at least to be well assured, that they are such, if such are to be found, as may be implicitly trusted.

Otho, now honoured by the senate with the title of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*, took upon him the consulship, having for his colleague his brother *Salvius Titianus*; but resigned the fasces on the first of *March* to *Virginus Rufus*, as his brother did to *Poppæus Vopiscus*. The new emperor had scarce taken possession of the sovereignty, when he was alarmed with dismal tidings concerning *Vitellius*; tidings, which, before the murder of *Galba*, had been suppressed, with a design to have it believed, that only the army in *Upper Germany* had revolted. *Vitellius*, as we have related above, had been by *Galba* preferred to the command of the legions in *Lower Germany*, which he had entered about the beginning of *December* in the preceding year, and with great care visited the winter quarters of the legions there. To their ranks he restored numbers who had been degraded; many he redeemed from ignominious punishments; and cancelled the marks of ignominy inflicted upon others. Having by this means gained the affections of the soldiery, *Fabius Valens*, who commanded a legion under him and was highly disgusted with *Galba*, who, he thought, had not rewarded him according to his deserts, solicited his new general to assume the sovereignty, magnifying to him the zeal and ardour of the soldiery, by whom he was no less beloved, than *Galba* hated. By his speech *Vitellius* was, says *Tacitus*, excited to covet the sovereignty, rather than to hope for it. In *Upper Germany*, *Alienus Cæcina*, who commanded a legion there, had entirely captivated the affections of the soldiers by his graceful person and engaging behaviour. He exercised the office of quæstor in the province of *Spain* called *Bætica*, when *Galba* revolted, whom he immediately joined, and was thence by him preferred to the command of a legion. But *Galba*, having soon after discovered, that he had embezzled the public treasure, ordered him to be prosecuted. *Cæcina*, resenting this, did all that lay in his power to stir up the troops to a revolt, hoping, by an universal confusion, to escape the punishment due to his crime. Neither in the army itself were there wanting seeds of tumult and discord: for they had all to a man been engaged in the war against *Vindex*; nor could they be induced to acknowledge *Galba*, till after *Nero* was slain. Hence a report was maliciously raised among them, and rashly believed, that the legions were to be decimated, and the centurions, for the most part, cashiered. The cities of *Treves* and *Langres*, which lay contiguous to the winter quarters of the legions, and had been by *Galba* deprived of great part of their territories, were more inflamed against him than the legions themselves; and therefore assured them by their deputies, that they were ripe for an insurrection, and ready to join them, as soon as they declared against *Galba*. On the first of *January*, when the legions were, according to custom, to swear allegiance to the emperor, they refused the oath, tore the images of *Galba*, and declared, that they acknowledged no other sovereign, but the senate and people of *Rome*; not one tribune or commander daring to exert himself in behalf of the emperor, or offering to harangue the multitude from a tribunal. It is true, *Hordeonius Flaccus*, commander in chief, was upon the spot; but had not courage enough either to restrain such as were already rushing into rebellion, or to recover such as were only wavering, or even to rouse and animate those who still continued steady and faithful to *Galba*. Four centurions, viz. *Nonius Receptus*, *Donatus Valens*, *Romilius Marcellus*, and *Calpurnius Repentinus*, all belonging to the eighteenth legion, would have protected the images of *Galba*, but were by the furious multitude seized and confined in chains. Further than this, none of them shewed the least regard to their duty, or their former oaths: but it happened in this as in other insurrections, whether the greater part led, the rest blindly followed. The following night, the eagle-bearer of the fourth legion hastening to *Cologne*, where *Vitellius* then resided, acquainted him with what had passed, and exhorted him to lay hold of the present opportunity. Hereupon messengers were by *Vitellius* forthwith dispatched to acquaint the troops under his command, that the army in *Upper Germany* had revolted from *Galba*; so that they must either make war upon the revolters, or, if they preferred peace and tranquillity, join with them and create an emperor: at the same time, he desired them to consider, that, with much less danger, they might elect a prince at once, than continue in search of one. The winter quarters of the first legion lay nearest, and with it *Fabius Valens*, who entering *Cologne* the very next day, accompanied with the cavalry of his legion and a body of auxiliaries, openly saluted

Vitellius is excited to take upon him the sovereignty by Valens.

The troops in Upper Germany inclined to a revolt.

Refuse the oath to Galba.

Vitellius proclaimed emperor.

Vitellius

a *Vitellius* emperor, and led him in a kind of triumph through the principal and most frequented streets in the town. His example was immediately followed, with great competition, by all the legions of the same province. The army in *Upper Germany* no sooner heard, that *Vitellius* had been saluted emperor by the troops under his command, than, relinquishing the plausible names of the senate and people of *Rome*, they acceded to the party of *Vitellius*. This happened on the third of *January*; whence it is evident, says *Tacitus*, that they had been no ways attached to or concerned about the free *Roman* state the two days before. The zeal of the inhabitants of *Cologne*, *Treves*, and *Langres* was equal to that of the legions; they all offered, with great ardour, supplies of men, horses, and money, each according to the measure of his power and sufficiency. Neither was such liberality confined to b the leading men of those colonies; but the common people too signalized their zeal for *Vitellius*, in surrendering, instead of money, of which they were destitute, their girdles, the trappings of their horses, the silver ornaments upon their armour, &c. not doubting, but they should, in due time, be amply rewarded for their seasonable generosity; for, while *Vitellius* was giving away his own fortune and lavishing in bounties that of others, without measure or discernment, they bestowed, as *Tacitus* observes, upon this extravagance the title of liberality and good-nature ^p.

The zeal of the people in behalf.

AND now *Vitellius*, trusting to his strength and the zeal of the soldiery, began to act as sovereign, and disposed of several employments, which had hitherto been administered by the imperial freedmen, but were by him conferred upon *Roman* knights. At the same time, to gain the affections of the soldiery, he ordered the fees exacted from them by the centurions, for exemptions from duty, to be paid out of his own treasure as emperor. He could not help humouring, in many instances, the revengeful temper of the soldiers, demanding the execution of particulars: however, in some instances, he defeated it, under colour of committing the obnoxious persons to prison. *Pompeius Propinquus*, governor of *Belgic Gaul*, who had acquainted *Galba* with the commotions begun in *Germany*, was immediately put to death; but *Julius Burdo*, commander of the naval forces in *Germany*, was, by *Vitellius's* orders secured in prison, and afterwards discharged, when the rage of the soldiery began to abate. They suspected, that he had first inticed *Fonteius Capito*, of whom we have d spoken above, to revolt, and then betrayed him: hence against him chiefly the fury of the army raged; but *Vitellius*, who had a particular value for him, saved him by deceiving them; and indeed there was no other means of protecting and shewing mercy. *Crispinus*, the centurion, by whom *Fonteius Capito* had been put to death, was publicly executed, and with him *Nonius*, *Donatus*, *Romilius*, and *Calpurnius*, the four centurions lately mentioned; men condemned for adhering to their faith and duty; a crime ever thought most heinous by such as have renounced both ^q.

He begins to exercise the sovereign power.

Several persons put to death at the request of the soldiery.

UPON the news of the revolt of the armies in *Germany*, *Valerius Asiaticus*, governor of *Belgic Gaul*, declared for *Vitellius*: his example was followed by *Junius Blæsus*, governor of *Gallia Lugdunensis*, or that part of *Gaul* which took its name e from the city of *Lions*, and by an *Italian* legion and a body of horse quartered at *Lions*. The forces in *Rhætia* and those in *Britain* went likewise, without hesitation, over to his side. *Vitellius*, now become, by the accession of so many armies, mighty both in forces and treasure, appointed two generals to conduct the war, and to each assigned a different rout. To *Fabius Valens*, he gave orders to cross *Gaul*, and in his march endeavour to gain over the natives to his party; but if he could not prevail upon them to join, to over-run and pillage their country, and then make an irruption into *Italy*, by that part of the *Alps* which was called *Cottian*, and is now known by the name of mount *Cenis*. *Cæcina* was ordered to advance thither f by a nearer way, and to pass over the mountains called *Penini*, now the *Great St. Bernard*. *Valens* had under his command the flower of the army of *Lower Germany*, to the number of forty thousand fighting men. From *Upper Germany*, *Cæcina* led thirty thousand. *Vitellius* was to follow, with a numerous body of *German* troops, to support the whole weight of the war. But while the soldiers were urgent for action, and eager to begin their march, notwithstanding the rigor of the winter season, the general was passing his time in voluptuous sloth, in revels, and banquets. By the middle of the day, he was always intoxicated with wine, and so gorged with feasting, that he was not capable of giving any directions. But such was the zeal

Orders his troops to march to Italy.

^p TACIT. C. 56, 57. PLUT. in Galb. SUET. in vit. c. 8.

^q TACIT. C. 57—59.

The march of
Valens
through Gaul.

zeal and ardour of the soldiers, that of themselves they supplied all the duties of the leader, as effectually as if he had attended in person. As soon as they were drawn out and armed, they demanded with eagerness, that the signal might be given for marching. We are told, that on the very day the army under the command of *Valens* began their march, an eagle, measuring his motion by that of the troops, glided gently along, and flew just before them, as if he shewed them the way, without being frightened with the joyful shouts uttered by the soldiery, who thence concluded, that the enterprize would prove successful. They advanced with assurance to the territories of *Treves*, as to those of a friendly state. But at *Dividurum*, now *Metz*, tho' they were there received in a very friendly manner, they were seized with a sudden panic, ran to their arms, and would have put the inhabitants, all to a man, to the sword, without the least provocation, had not their general, with much ado, restrained their fury, and by intreaties prevailed upon them to forbear pursuing the utter destruction of the unoffending city. There were slaughtered, however, not for the sake of pillage or spoil, but from fury and madness, near four thousand persons. The rest of *Gaul* was so alarmed with the news of this slaughter, that thenceforward, as the army approached any city, the inhabitants crowded out to meet them, accompanied with their magistrates in the attire of suppliants, and readily supplied them with all manner of provisions. In the capital of the *Leucians*, that is, in the city of *Toul*, *Fabius* received tidings of the murder of *Galba*, and that the sovereignty was devolved upon *Otho*. This news did not affect the soldiers, for they were only intent upon war: as for the *Gauls*, they bore equal hatred to *Otho* and *Vitellius*; but as they were possessed with dread of the latter, they declared for him. From *Toul*, the army advanced to *Langres*, a city intirely attached to the party of *Vitellius*, and were there kindly received. The inhabitants of *Autun* supplied them out of fear (for they hated *Vitellius*) with money, arms, and provisions. What the city of *Langres* had done out of fear, that of *Lions* did through joy; for *Galba* had loaded them with taxes, deprived them of part of their territories, and converted to his own exchequer the revenues of their state. As animosities had been long subsisting between the people of *Lions* and those of *Vienne*, *Valens*, at the instigation of the former, marched against the latter, under pretence, that they had aided the conspiracy and attempts of *Vindex*, and had lately levied troops for the support of *Galba*. But the people of *Vienne* gained over *Valens* with an immense sum, and a donative to the soldiery of three hundred sesterces a man. They were commanded, however, to surrender the arms belonging to the state, and to supply the soldiers with provisions. From thence, in a slow progress, the army was led through the territories of the *Allobroges* and *Vocontii*; the general, upon every march which he made, upon every shifting of his camp, striking infamous bargains with the proprietors of the several lands, and the magistrates of the several cities, for the favour and exemptions. This he did with such open menaces, that he ordered *Lucus*, a municipal town of the *Vocontii*, to be set on fire, because they shewed some reluctance to pay the sum he had required. *Lucus* was, in former times, one of the chief cities of the *Vocontii*, or *Dauphiné* but has been long since utterly destroyed. Marching in this manner, *Valens* arrived at length at the *Alps*. *Tacitus* observes, that he had been long fordidly poor, but by this march became suddenly rich, and abandoned himself, as his appetites had been whetted by a long course of penury, to all manner of riot and excesses.

He arrives at
the Alps.

Cæcina com-
mits great
devastations
in the country
of the Hel-
vetii.

On the other hand, *Cæcina* rioted in greater spoil and more blood. The *Helvetians*, not apprised of the tragical end of *Galba*, refused to own the sovereignty of *Vitellius*. Hereupon *Cæcina*, who longed passionately for a pretence to plunder their country, instantly decamped, and entering their territories in a hostile manner, ravaged their fields, sacked their cities, and made a dreadful havock of the unhappy inhabitants: many thousands were cut off, and great numbers made prisoners, and sold for slaves; for the *Helvetians*, once renowned for their valour and experience in war, were at this time only famous for the reputation which they had formerly acquired: they were fierce and daring, says our historian, while danger was at a distance, but struck with terror when it arrived. As the army, after having committed universal ravage and spoil, was marching in order of battle to *Aventicum*, the metropolis of the country, deputies from thence were dispatched to offer a sur-
render

a render of the city, which was accepted. *Julius Alpinus*, a leading man among the *Helvetians*, was, by *Cæcina's* orders, put to death; the fate of the rest was referred to the judgment of *Vitellius*, who, moved with the tears and intreaties of *Claudius Cossus*, their deputy, a man of great eloquence and address, granted to all pardon and security^s. While *Cæcina* was waiting in the country of the *Helvetians*, till he had learnt the pleasure of *Vitellius*, and preparing at the same time to pass the *Alps*, he received joyful tidings from *Italy*, that the squadron of horse named *Syl-*
lana, and then encamped on the banks of the *Po*, had declared for *Vitellius*. They A squadron of horse revolts to Vitellius; and brings over several cities to the same party.
b had served under him in *Africa*, when he was proconsul there; had been recalled from thence by *Nero*, in order to be sent forward into *Egypt*; and, upon the insur-
c rection of *Vindex*, detained in *Italy*. As the officers were unacquainted with *Otho*, and engaged by obligations to *Vitellius*, they easily prevailed upon their men, by magnifying to them the great strength of the approaching legions and the renown of the *German* armies, to go over to the same party, and swear fealty to *Vitellius*. With themselves, as a present to their new prince, they brought into his interest the strongest municipal cities beyond the *Po*, viz. *Milan*, *Novara*, *Jurea*, and *Vercelli*. As such an extensive country could not be guarded by a single band of cavalry, *Cæcina*, who had this information directly from themselves, dispatched thither forth-
with the several cohorts of *Gauls*, *Lusitanians*, and *Britons*, with a body of *German* troops, and the squadron of horse called *Taurina*. As for himself, he was some-
c time in suspense, whether it were not adviseable to bend his march over the moun-
tains of *Rhætia* towards *Noricum*, against *Petronius*, governor of that province, who, having on all hands raised forces and broken down the bridges over the rivers, was suspected to act for *Otho*. But fearing he might lose the detachments already sent for-
ward, and reflecting, that where-ever the decisive battle was fought, *Noricum* would certainly prove one of the acquisitions following a general victory, he ordered his
d soldiers lightly armed to take their rout over the *Apennine*, and led himself the heavy body of legionaries over the *Alps*, still covered with snow^t. He passes the Alps.

THE arrival of these troops in *Italy* filled *Rome* with consternation. Not only
the senate and equestrian order, who had some share in the administration and
d some concern for the public welfare, but even the populace, loudly complained, that
two men, of all the most infamous for effeminacy, profusion, and debauchery, were
thus fatally chosen, as it were on purpose to rend and destroy the empire. They
thought their vows for either would be alike detestable, their supplications alike
impious, since such men they both were, that whosoever of the two proved the
conqueror, would thence prove the worst. In the mean time, *Otho*, tho' hitherto
entirely abandoned to his pleasures, was not at this juncture lulled asleep by them;
but, suspending his voluptuous follies and artfully dissembling his passion for luxury,
conducted all things suitably to the dignity of the empire. In order to gain the
affections of the people, who suspected his virtues to be assumed, and apprehended
a return of his vices, he caused *Celsus Marius*, consul elect, to be brought before
c him in the capitol. He had already rescued him, as we have related above, from
the cruelty of the soldiers, under colour of committing him to prison; and now he
aimed at obtaining the character of tenderness and clemency, by mercy shewn to
a man so illustrious, so beloved by the *Roman* people, and so odious to all the
partizans of *Otho's* cause. *Celsus*, when he appeared, confessed, without betraying
the least fear, the imputed crime of having persevered steady in his allegiance to
Galba; he even appealed to *Otho*, whether he ought not to approve such an example
of fidelity. *Otho* commended his steadiness, and, in a very obliging manner, desired
him rather to forget his confinement, than remember his release. Neither did he
f treat him as a criminal pardoned, but forthwith admitted him amongst his most
intimate friends, and presently after chose him one of his generals for conducting
the war. The saving of *Celsus* caused an universal joy amongst men of rank, was
applauded with loud acclamations to the populace, and was not ill received even
by the soldiers, who now admired in him the same virtue, against which they had,
in the height of their fury, been so much incensed^u. The public joy for the deli-
verance of *Celsus* was greatly heightened by the doom of *Tigellinus*. He had been
the chief author of all the enormities committed by *Nero*, whom he had afterwards
betrayed and abandoned; and was therefore abhorred by those who loved, and those
Rome in great consternation.
Otho strives to gain the affections of the people.
He pardons Celsus Marius.
who

^s Idem, c. 68, 69.^t Idem, c. 70.^u Idem, c. 71. DIO, l. lxxiv. p. 731.

Tigellinus is
ordered to put
himself to
death.

Frequent mes-
sengers and
letters between
Otho and
Vitellius.

Most of the
provinces de-
clare for
Otho.

He studies to
gain their af-
fections.

who hated, *Nero*. While *Galba* reigned, he was protected, as we have related above, by the power and authority of *Titus Vinius*: hence the people were the more inflamed against him, their old detestation of *Tigellinus* concurring with their recent hatred to *Vinius*. From every quarter of the city they now flocked to the forum and the palace, and filled with their multitudes the circus and the several theatres, demanding, with bold and seditious words, the execution of *Tigellinus*, till at length the fatal injunction to die was dispatched to him, then at the baths of *Sinuessa*. There, amidst a herd of harlots, after many passionate embraces and unmanly delays, he at last cut his throat with a razor^w.

WHILE the forces of *Vitellius* were yet on their march to *Italy*, *Otho*, with frequent messengers and private letters, strove to divert his competitor from engaging in a war, which might prove fatal to both. He offered him immense sums, and such a place of retirement as he himself should chuse to live in, agreeable to his profuse life and taste; nay, he engaged to take him for his partner in the empire, and to marry his daughter. With the same or the like offers *Vitellius* tempted *Otho*; so that they soon proceeded to reproaches, upbraiding each other with their debaucheries and profligate lives; nor in this did either bring a false charge against the other. *Otho*, having recalled the embassadors sent by *Galba* to the armies in *Germany*, dispatched others in their room in the plausible name of the senate; but the embassadors continued with *Vitellius*. As for the prætorian guards, who, by the appointment of *Otho*, accompanied them, *Vitellius* obliged them to return back, without suffering them to mix amongst his legionaries. At the same time *Valens* transmitted letters to the prætorian bands and city cohorts, in the name of the *German* army, exhorting them to abandon *Otho* and embrace the same interest. He likewise upbraided them for transferring the sovereignty to *Otho*, when it had been so long before conferred upon *Vitellius*. But the *German* army continuing faithful to *Vitellius*, notwithstanding the great promises of *Otho*, and the prætorian bands steady in their allegiance to *Otho*, notwithstanding the offers of *Vitellius*, the two chiefs began to employ snares and ministers of death against each other: assassins were dispatched by *Otho* into *Germany*, and by *Vitellius* to *Rome*; but the attempts on both sides were defeated^x.

THE first tidings from abroad that raised *Otho's* hopes were from *Illyricum*, whence he received advice, that the legions in *Dalmatia*, in *Pannonia*, and *Mæsia*, had declared for him, and sworn allegiance. The army in *Judæa* was by *Vespasian* sworn to *Otho*, as were the legions in *Syria* by *Mucianus* governor of that province. *Egypt* too and all the provinces extending to the east submitted to him. The like submission was paid him in *Africa*, in *Spain*, and in *Narbonne Gaul*; but the latter province soon acceded to the party of *Vitellius*, which was the nearest and strongest. *Aquitain* likewise first declared for *Otho*; but soon after, from the same motive, swore fealty to *Vitellius*: for there was no true zeal, as *Tacitus* observes, in the people for the cause and interest of either of the pretenders, and only by the impressions of fear they were transported and changed from one side to another. *Otho*, in the mean time, as if full peace had reigned, applied himself to the civil administration of the empire: in the senate he made many obliging and popular harangues; upon such ancient senators as had already sustained the first employments in the state, he conferred the pontifical or augural dignities; several young noblemen, lately recalled from exile, he invested with such sacerdotal offices, as had been enjoyed by their fathers or ancestors. To *Cadius Rufus*, *Pedius Blæsus*, and *Scævinius Promptinus*, senators degraded in the reigns of *Claudius* and *Nero*, he restored their former dignity. By the like benevolence he attempted to gain the affections of whole cities and provinces. He supplied the colonies of *Hispalis* and *Emerita* with a fresh recruit of families, and made the whole people of the *Lingons* free of *Rome*. To the province of *Bætica* he submitted all the cities of *Mauritania*; and granted great privileges to the *Cappadocians* and *Africans*. But not forgetting, even while his sovereignty was at stake, to honour the memory of his once favoured *Poppæa*, he procured a decree from the senate for replacing her several statues, which had been thrown down after the death of *Nero*; nay, he suffered the statues of that prince to be reared in public places, and did not betray any distaste, but rather satisfaction, upon his being saluted by the people in the theatre with the name of *Nero Otho*. *Cluvius Rufus*, who wrote the history of his own times, and succeeded *Galba* in the government of *Spain*, tells us, that *Otho*, in his

^w Idem, c. 72.

^x Idem, c. 73. Suet. in Oth. c. 8. Plut. ibid.

a his first dispatches to the governors of the provinces, in his grants and letters, subscribed himself *Nero Otbo*; but being apprised, that this gave offence to the nobility, he omitted the former name¹.

WHILE the minds of all men were intent upon the progress and issue of the civil war, the *Roxolani* a people of *Sarmatia*, having made an irruption into *Mæsia*, to the number of nine thousand men, and cut off two cohorts, were unexpectedly attacked by the third legion, put to flight, and obliged to seek for shelter in the marshes, where, through the rigor of the winter, they all perished to a man. For this victory, *Marcus Aponius*, governor of *Rome*, was distinguished with a triumphal statue, as were *Fulvius Aurelius*, *Julianus Titus*, and *Numisius Lupus*, commanders of the legions there, with the consular ornaments. Great was *Otbo's* joy on this occasion; for to himself he assumed the glory, as if the success in war was owing to his auspices². The Roxolani defeated:

AT *Rome*, in the mean time, arose, from an unforeseen accident, a sedition, which well nigh involved the city in destruction. *Otbo* had ordered the seventeenth legion to be removed from *Ostia*, where it was quartered, to *Rome*, and committed the care of supplying them with arms to *Varius Crispinus*, a tribune of the prætorian guards. *Crispinus* chusing, for the execution of his orders, the close of the evening, when the camp was composed and the soldiers retired to their tents, directed the armoury to be thrown open, and the carriages belonging to the cohorts to be loaded. The lateness of the hour gave no small jealousy to the drunken soldiery. Some of the most turbulent, and most intoxicated with wine, began to cry out, That *Crispinus* was affected to *Otbo*; that the senate was arming against the person and cause of their emperor; and that those arms were to be employed, not for him, as *Crispinus* gave out, but against him. This report being in a trice spread over the whole camp, a general uproar ensued; they all betook themselves to their arms, and having cut in pieces *Crispinus*, while he was endeavouring to repress their seditious fury, and with him such of the centurions as were remarkable for severity of discipline, they instantly advanced with their drawn swords to *Rome*, after to the imperial palace. *Otbo* was then entertaining at a great banquet the chief lords and the women of the greatest distinction in the city. As they doubted whether the danger proceeded from the casual rage of the soldiery, or the premeditated treachery of the emperor, they were all seized with dread and terror, and not knowing whether they should fly or stay, they constantly watched the countenance of *Otbo*; who, being alarmed at the danger threatening his guests, among whom were eighty Senators, not only dispatched forthwith the captains of the guards to soften the rage of the soldiers, but ordered the company to retire with all speed by private ways; which they did accordingly, rambling in the dark here and there, few to their own home, most to the houses of their meanest dependants, where search and pursuit were least apprehended. They were no sooner gone, than the soldiers, breaking down the gates of the palace, forced their way into the banqueting room, and there, with one voice, demanded to have a sight of *Otbo*, having in their passage wounded *Julius Martialis* and *Vitellius Saturninus*, two officers, who strove to oppose their tumultuous entrance. On every hand arms were brandished, and terrible menaces uttered, not only against the tribunes and centurions, but against the whole body of the senate; for as they could assign no particular victim to their fury, they claimed a latitude for a general slaughter, as if the whole senate had conspired against *Otbo*; till the emperor, rising from his banqueting couch, by supplications, intreaties, and even tears, to the disgrace of the imperial dignity, prevailed upon them, with great difficulty, to desist and return to their camp. The next day, the houses in the city continued closely shut up; scarce a soul was to be seen in the streets; and the soldiers, with down-cast looks, shewed rather tokens of anger and rage, than remorse. Their captains therefore, *Licinius Proculus* and *Plotius Primus*, harangued them in companies apart, and endeavoured to appease their fury; but to no purpose, till they distributed among them a large sum, five thousand sesterces a man. Then, and not before, *Otbo* ventured to enter the camp, where the soldiers, returned at length to a sense of their duty, gathered round him, and, with a composed behaviour, required of their own motion, that the authors of the insurrection should be put to death. The emperor, ascending the tribunal, represented to them the enormity of their late conduct, enlarged on the respect due to the senate, A sedition among the prætorian guards: Their rage and fury. They are appeased with a large donation.

¹ TACIT. c. 77, 78. SUET. c. 7. PLUT. in Oth.

² TACIT. c. 79.

The consternation of the city-

senate, and the necessity of maintaining military discipline in the camp; but as he was well apprised, that a sovereignty, like his, acquired by flagrant iniquity, could never be preserved by reviving the rigid virtue and discipline of the ancient *Romans*, he concluded, that of the late transgression but few were guilty, and that of these few two only should bear the punishment. His speech was favourably received, and two of the ringleaders in the late tumult were immediately executed, no one shewing the least concern for them, though capital punishment was inflicted upon them in the sight of their comrades and the whole army. Thus was the sedition at length intirely quelled; but nevertheless the city still continued in the utmost consternation, from the apprehension of a civil war, and the dread of being involved in the same calamities, which had proved fatal to it in the time of *Antony* and *Augustus*. They were, on one hand, under necessity of obliging *Otho*, and, on the other, afraid to disoblige *Vitellius*, who was supported by a strong party, and might in the end get the better of his rival. The soldiers, dispersed all over the city, crept into houses in disguised habits, as spies, watching for matter of mischief and destruction against such as were signal for their nobility or wealth. Some too believed, that certain soldiers from the army of *Vitellius* were arrived at *Rome*, to sound the affections of the *Roman* people. Hence all places were filled with suspicion and distrust; nay, men were not exempt from caution and fear in the most secret recesses of their own houses. But, under the eye of the public, this sort of dread chiefly prevailed: there people studied with great care to frame their faces agreeable to the quality of the news that was said to be brought, that they might not seem to betray any diffidence, when affairs bore an ambiguous aspect, or be slow in rejoicing, when they appeared prosperous. The senators chiefly, when assembled, were at a loss how to preserve in all points a safe and unexceptionable conduct. They dreaded the consequences that might attend their issuing decrees against *Vitellius*; and, on the other hand, were afraid, that, by forbearing to issue them, they might rouse the jealousy of *Otho*. In this perplexity, without publishing any decrees, they contented themselves with uttering invectives against *Vitellius*, but such as, being common and vulgar, were not remarkable; nay, even these the most wary took care to utter under the din of a general clamour, and when many were speaking at once^a.

The general alarm heightened by several prodigies.

THE general terror was greatly heightened by several prodigies said to have happened at this time. From the hands of the statue of *Victory triumphant*, standing upon her chariot in the porch of the capitol, the reins dropped, as if she were grown too weak to hold them any longer. Out of *Juno's* chapel suddenly arose an apparition of a size more than human. The statue of *Julius Cæsar*, in an island in the *Tiber*, turned quite round from west to east, upon a day utterly free from tempests. In *Ætruria* an ox spoke. Divers animals were said to have produced unnatural births. But the most affecting omen of all was, a hasty and dreadful inundation of the *Tiber*, whose waters, swelling to an immense height, overthrew the *Sublician* bridge, and, having their course obstructed by the heap of ruins, not only overflowed the adjacent quarters, but covered places, which were reckoned secure against any such disaster. Many were swept away in the streets, and many drowned in their shops and beds. Amongst the populace a famine ensued, the corn and other provisions being in great part carried away by the river. As soon as the waters returned, *Otho* performed the solemnity of lustration, and purified the city with sacrifices. Then weighing carefully with his friends all the methods of conducting the war, he resolved to send a powerful force by sea to invade *Narbonne Gaul*, since the *Apennine* mountains, with those of the *Cottian Alps*, and all the other approaches to *Gaul*, were beset and shut up by the armies of *Vitellius*. With this view he reinforced the navy and the marines, with a detachment from the prætorian bands. The direction in chief of the expedition was committed to *Antonius Novellus*, to *Suedius Clemens*, both lately centurions of the first rank, and to *Æmilius Pacensis* a tribune, dismissed by *Galba*, and now by *Otho* re-established. *Oscus*, one of the emperor's freed-men, was charged with the care of the ships, and employed to inspect the fidelity and behaviour of the other officers. As for *Otho* himself, he resolved to march against *Cæcina* and *Valens*, at the head of the prætorian guards and the other troops, which were then quartered in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. Under him commanded, as his lieutenants, *Suetonius Paulinus*, *Marius Celsus*, and *Annius Gallus*, all men of known valour and experience, and

Otho proposes to take the field.

^a Idem, c. 80—85.

a and capable of performing great feats, had not *Otho* placed his chief confidence in *Licinius Proculus*, captain of the prætorian guards, and suffered himself to be governed by him, though quite unexperienced in war^b.

Otho, before he left *Rome*, ordered *Cornelius Dolabella* to retire to *Aquinum* in *Campania*, where he was kept under confinement for no crime of his, but only as obnoxious on account of the ancient lustre of his name and kindred to *Galba*. Then the emperor ordered many of the magistrates, and a great part of such as had been consuls, to prepare for the field, with no design of allowing them any share or charge in the war, but only under colour of accompanying him. Amongst these was included *Lucius*, the brother of *Vitellius*, whom *Otho* did not distinguish with any new marks either of his favour or displeasure. *Vitellius* had likewise left at *Rome* his mother, his wife, and his children; and to these *Otho*, either through fear or from an affected moderation, shewed a tender regard, commending them to the protection of his friends. Great was on this occasion the consternation of the city; the chief senators were disabled by age from bearing the toils of war; the nobles were sunk in sloth, and through a long peace had quite forgot the military laws; the *Roman* knights were unacquainted with the functions and duties of a camp. The more these degrees of men strove to conceal their fear, the more apparently they discovered it. Some, to disguise their want of courage, purchased gay and glaring armour, with fine and stately horses; others provided materials for riot and feasting, as so many implements of war. The giddy and thoughtless multitude were puffed up with great hopes. Those who found their fortunes and credit desperate during peace, rejoiced in the public commotions, promising to themselves in particular most security in the general distraction; but they all soon felt the heavy evils and pressures of war, the price of provisions being doubled, and the populace at once deprived of the usual bounties of the prince, who with much-ado could find corn and money to supply his numerous armies^c.

WHEN all *Otho's* forces were ready to take the field, he assembled on the fourteenth of *March* the senate, and to their care recommended the commonwealth. In the next place he ordered the people to meet, and in a long speech to them boasted, that his interest and title were supported by the majesty of the city and the joint consent of the people and senate. Against the partizans of *Vitellius* he spoke with great gentleness and restraint, taxing the *German* legions rather with ignorance, than with insolence and rebellion. Of *Vitellius* himself he made no mention; but whether from any moderation of his own, or because the person who composed his speech, refrained from opprobrious and offensive words, in due caution for himself, is uncertain; for as *Otho*, in all military deliberations, consulted *Suetonius Paulinus* and *Marius Celsus*, so in his civil administration he was believed to employ the talents of *Galerius Trachalus*. Be that as it will, the emperor's speech was received by the populace with loud shouts and many acclamations, each striving to surpass the other in strains of flattery, not from any affection to *Otho*, but from a custom transmitted from reign to reign of flattering any emperor, whosoever he were, with empty applauses and a hollow display of zeal. *Otho*, upon leaving *Rome*, committed to his brother *Salvius Titianus* the charge of maintaining its tranquillity, and of managing the other affairs of the empire. When he had thus settled matters in the city, in the best manner he could, he at last set out, at the head of the prætorian cohorts, of a chosen body of such of the prætorian bands, as served under the standard of veterans, and a vast number of marines. He marched himself before the ensigns on foot, wearing a breast-plate of iron, undressed, rough, and utterly unlike his picture drawn by common fame^d.

f FORTUNE seconded his first attempts; for his fleet, having made a descent in the province of the maritime *Alps*, defeated the *Ligurians*, whom *Marius Maturus*, who governed that province in quality of procurator, had armed against them, plundered *Albium Intemelium*, now *Vintimiglia*, and laid waste the whole country. On this occasion a woman having concealed her son, the soldiers suspecting, that with him she had in the same place concealed her money, put her upon the rack; but could not, with all the torments which rage and cruelty ever devised, prevail upon her to discover the place where her son lay concealed. *Tacitus* tells us, that pointing to her belly, she replied he lay there, and could not, with all the tortures successively tried, nor

Otho orders the chief senators and nobility to follow him to the war.

He takes his leave of the senate.

And leaves Rome.

The success of his fleet in Narbonne Gaul.

^b Idem, c. 87.

^c Idem, c. 88, 90.

^d TACIT. hist. l. ii. c. 11.

nor even with the agonies of death, be brought to return them any other answer. In the mean time, news being sent in great hurry and alarm to *Fabius Valens*, that *Otho's* fleet was upon the coast of *Narbonne Gaul*, he sent thither two cohorts of *Tungrians*, four troops of horse, and the whole squadron of *Treverians*, under the command of *Julius Classicus*. To these was joined a cohort of *Ligurians* and five hundred *Pannonians*. They no sooner arrived, than they were attacked by *Otho's* men, who had already landed. The engagement lasted till night, and was renewed the next day, when *Vitellius's* forces were at length put to flight with great slaughter. However, as the victory to *Otho's* men proved very bloody, they retired to *Albingaunum*, a municipal city in *Liguria*, and there continued without making any further attempts upon *Narbonne Gaul*. At the same time, *Decimus Pacarius*, governor of *Corfica*, having declared for *Vitellius*, was slain by the inhabitants, who brought his head to *Otho*^c.

The country
between the
Po and the
Alps submits
to Vitellius.

In *Italy*, the whole country, which extends from the *Po* to the *Alps*, was held by the troops of *Vitellius*; for the squadron of horse, named *Syllana*, had brought over with them several cities to his party, as we have related above; and the cohorts, which *Cæcina* had sent thither before him, were already arrived. To them therefore several cities submitted, not from any affection to *Vitellius*, or that they preferred his cause to the cause of *Otho*; but by long peace and ease they were quite debased, ready for any bondage, and the easy acquisition of the first comer. At *Cremona* *Vitellius's* men surprised and took prisoners a cohort of *Pannonians*; and between *Placentia* and *Ticinum* intercepted a hundred horse and a thousand marines. Animated with this success, they passed the *Po* over-against *Placentia*, and surprising certain scouts, filled the rest with such dread, that to *Placentia* they carried tidings, that *Cæcina* approached with his whole army. *Vestrius Spurinna*, who commanded in that city for *Otho*, and had with him five cohorts of the prætorian guards, a thousand veterans, and a few horse, though he was certain that *Cæcina* was not yet come, determined to confine his own men within the fortifications; but they, headstrong, unmanageable, and unacquainted with matters of war, snatching up the ensigns and standards, sallied out tumultuously, turning against their own commander, while he strove to restrain them, the points of their weapons, and giving out with fierce clamours, that a plot was intended, and *Cæcina* treacherously called in; so that *Spurinna* was obliged to approve their resolution, since it was not in his power to prevent it. With them therefore he marched out of *Placentia*, and arriving, when night already approached, within sight of the *Po*, represented to them the necessity of pitching and fortifying their camp against any sudden attack. This toil, which was utterly new to men inured to the gaieties of the city, cooled their courage at once; all over the camp dutiful and submissive language was heard; they applauded with one voice the prudent care of their commander, who, for the seat of the war, had chosen a colony so strong and opulent; and, submitting to orders, suffered themselves to be led back the same night to *Placentia*, where the walls were forthwith strengthened, new bulwarks added, towers raised, &c.^e In the mean time, *Cæcina*, having passed the *Alps*, entered *Italy*, and, after attempting in vain, by many secret conferences and mighty promises, to corrupt and debauch *Otho's* forces, resolved to lay siege to *Placentia*; and accordingly incamped before the place. The first day passed in mutual reproaches, *Cæcina's* men marching up to the walls, and upbraiding *Spurinna's* upon the ramparts, as players, dancers, idle spectators of *Pythian* and *Olympic* games, men corrupted by the licentious amusements of the theatre and circus, who triumphed in the murdering of *Galba*, a naked and disarmed old man, but were not very forward to face an armed enemy in the field. These reproaches so inflamed them, that the next day, when *Cæcina* ordered a general assault, they behaved with incredible bravery, made a dreadful slaughter of his men, and obliged them to retreat in the utmost confusion. In this conflict, the amphitheatre of *Placentia*, which stood without the walls, and was the most stately and capacious building in *Italy*, was burnt down. This defeat brought great disgrace upon *Vitellius's* party; and *Cæcina*, ashamed of his disappointment, immediately repassed the *Po*, and bent his march towards *Cremona*, which had submitted to *Vitellius*. Upon his march, *Turullius Cerealis* revolted to him with a great number of marines, and *Julius Briganticus* with a few horse; the latter a *Batavian* by nation, and commander of a squadron

Cæcina
laid
siege to
Placen-
tia.

Is forced to
raise the siege.

^e Idem, c. 15---18.

^f Idem, c. 19.

- a squadron of horse : the other a centurion of the first rank, who having served in that character amongst the forces in *Germany*, was thence well affected to *Cæcina* ². About the same time, *Matius Marcer*, who commanded under *Otho* a body of two thousand gladiators, having imbarqued them upon the *Po*, landed unexpectedly on the opposite shore, where he surprised and defeated the auxiliary troops which belonged to the forces of *Vitellius*, cut many of them to pieces, and obliged the rest to fly for refuge to *Cremona*. *Macer* restrained his men from pursuing them, lest the fugitives, strengthened by fresh succours from the city, might have changed the fortune of the combat. From this restraint great distrust arose amongst the suspicious soldiers of *Otho*, the most cowardly urging criminal imputations against their leaders, and putting a malevolent construction upon all their proceedings. *Cæcina*, greatly concerned to see all his enterprizes abortive, and fearing lest *Fabius Valens*, who was now approaching, should rob him of the whole glory of the war, hurried with more impatience than circumspection to retrieve his honour. At a place about twelve miles from *Cremona*, named *Castores*, he secretly conveyed the flower of his auxiliaries into the woods, which lay just above the great road ; the horse he commanded to march farther on, and, after having engaged the enemy, to betake themselves to a voluntary flight, and continue it, till the auxiliaries lying in the woods had an opportunity of rising at once out of their ambush and falling upon the enemy. But this stratagem being betrayed by some deserters to *Otho's* generals, *Paulinus* and *Celsus*, they craftily drew *Cæcina's* forces into the same snare ; for *Paulinus* taking the command of the foot, and *Celsus* that of the horse, they placed three cohorts in close ranks in the high-road, and on either side of it concealed among the woods the first legion, the thirteenth, six cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand horse. The three cohorts in the high-road were immediately attacked by *Cæcina's* horse, who, after having stood their ground a while, turned their backs and fled. But *Celsus*, who was aware of the artifice, with-held his men from pursuing them ; and, in the mean time, the forces, which *Cæcina* had concealed in the woods, rose out of their ambush. Then *Celsus*, pretending fear, retired insensibly before them, till they found themselves surrounded on all sides ; for on both their flanks they were attacked by the cohorts and the legions, and the horse, suddenly wheeling about, fell upon them in the rear. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Cæcina's* whole army had been cut off, if the legions under the command of *Paulinus* had come up with more expedition ; but that general moved too slowly, and with more caution than was necessary, or indeed consistent with the rules of war. Our historian charges him with two material oversights on this occasion : the first was, that, instead of founding the charge and supporting his cavalry, by falling briskly upon *Cæcina*, he spent his time in filling the ditches and clearing the grounds, that he might extend his front, thinking it too early to begin to conquer, till he had provided against being conquered. By this delay leisure was given to the enemy to shelter themselves amongst the vineyards ; whence they renewed the charge, and killed the most resolute and forward of the prætorian horse. The second was his not taking advantage of the disorder the enemy were in, both in the field of battle and in the camp, but causing a retreat to be sounded very unseasonably. But *Paulinus* was, as our historian informs us, a man by nature wary and slow, better pleased with deliberate counsels supported by reason, than with victory resulting from chance. The soldiery complained loudly of his conduct, and prevailed upon *Otho* to remove him together with *Celsus*, and to place in their room his brother *Titianus* and *Proculus* captain of the prætorian guards. *Titianus* therefore was sent for, and to him was committed the rule and direction of the war, though *Proculus* bore in all deliberations the greater sway. The two degraded generals were kept in the camp, rather as counsellors than commanders ; for *Otho* entertained a mighty opinion of their experience and abilities in war ^h.

*Vitellius's
auxiliaries
defeated.*

*Cæcina's forces
defeated.*

*Paulinus and
Celsus removed.*

In the mean time, *Fabius Valens* arrived with the troops under his command at *Ticinum*, where, while he was fortifying his camp, news was brought of the late unsuccessful battle. Hereupon his troops accusing him of treachery, as if he had, by feigned delays, detained them from assisting at the engagement, turned away, without waiting for their general's orders, to join *Cæcina*. Upon the conjunction of the forces of *Valens* with those of *Cæcina*, the officers of *Vitellius* were for coming to a decisive battle. *Otho*, on the other hand, advancing to a village between *Cremona*

and

² Idem, c. 20—23. PLUT. in Oth.

^h TACIT. c. 20—24. PLUT. ibid.

Paulinus is a-
gainst engage-
ing the enemy.

and *Verona*, called *Bedriacum*, had recourse to a consultation, whether it were advise-^a able to protract the war, or risk the fortune of a battle. Upon this occasion *Suetonius Paulinus*, the most experienced commander of his age, declared, that it was his opinion, that haste and present action were advantagious to the enemy; but to *Otho* procrastination and delay, since the intire army of *Vitellius* was arrived, and in want of many necessaries, which obliged them to offer battle, as the speediest way of supplying their present want. On the contrary, *Otho's* army was abundantly provided: *Italy*, the senate, and people of *Rome* were intirely at his devotion, and ready to supply him, not only with provisions, but with treasure, more prevalent than the sword in all civil dissensions. Moreover, several provinces had revolted from *Vitellius*; whereas all the countries, which had at first declared for *Otho*, con-^b tinued inviolably attached to him. In his front lay the river *Po*; his cities were secure in the strength of men and walls; and that none of them would yield to the attacks of the enemy, was evident from the brave defence of *Placentia*. He added, that were the war protracted till the summer, the *Germans*, of all the enemy's forces the most formidable, would never endure so great a change of country and climate, but insensibly moulder away, and utterly vanish with all their terrors. He concluded, that as the legions of *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Mæsia* were upon their march and would arrive in a few days, the emperor might then resume the present delibe-^c ration; and if it were judged adviseable to engage, he might bring into the field a far greater strength. With the counsel of *Paulinus Marius Celsus* concurred; and *Annius Gallus*, who was absent, being ill of the hurt which he had received a few days before from his horse falling with him, declared to those who were sent to learn his advice, that he entertained the same sentiments, and would have the emperor by all means to wait, at least till the legions from *Pannonia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Mæsia* had joined him. But *Otho*, *Titianus* his brother, and *Proculus* were bent upon engaging. The^d two latter, hurried by rashness and want of experience, were always averring, that fortune, and the gods, and the deity of *Otho* attended upon his counsels, and would undoubtedly prosper his enterprizes: to such gross flattery had they betaken themselves, that no one might dare to thwart their opinion, which in the end prevailed. Many reasons are alledged by the ancients for this strange determination: some writers tell us, that the prætorian guards, disliking the strict discipline they were then under, and longing for the diversions and gaieties of the city, grew refractory, and demanded to be led against the enemy, not doubting, but they should carry all before them. Others write, that, from an aversion to both princes, the armies had deliberated about dropping their enmity, and agreeing among themselves to set up a proper emperor, or to refer the choice to the senate; and that hence *Otho's* generals had declared for delays and procrastination; *Paulinus* particularly, who considered himself as the most ancient consular, as one famous in war, and one who, by his exploits in *Britain*, had gained a great name. There were, no doubt, in both armies a few, in whose breasts cordial wishes were entertained for public tranquillity, instead of civil dissen-^e sion, and for a prince worthy and innocent, in the room of two, of all men the worst, and infamous for every kind of iniquity. But *Paulinus*, as *Tacitus* judiciously observes, was too wise a man to imagine, that in an age abandoned to corruption, the common herd, who, from a passion for war, had promoted civil discords and violated the public peace, would, for the sake of peace, extinguish a fire of their own kindling and relinquish the war; or that two armies, so different in manners and language, could ever be brought to agree upon a point of such importance. Besides, the gene-^f rals and leaders in both armies, being deeply involved in debt, pressed with indigence, and for the most part guilty of enormous crimes, would have taken care to make choice of such an emperor, as was most like themselves, and should be obliged to them for his electionⁱ.

WHEN an engagement was resolved upon, it was debated next in the council, whether the emperor should be present in the action, or remove elsewhere. *Titianus* and *Proculus* advised him to retire to *Brixellum*, now *Bersello*, where, secure from the uncertain accidents of battles, he should reserve himself, they said, for the direction of the whole and the great ends of sovereignty. *Paulinus* and *Celsus*, that they might not seem to advise exposing the person of the prince to perils, dared not oppose his departure. This advice, which *Otho* readily embraced, was attended with^{two}

*Otho retires
to Brixellum.*

ⁱ TACIT, c. 38.

- a two bad consequences ; for he considerably weakened the army, by taking with him a numerous detachment of the best troops to guard him ; and besides, the forces remaining lost all courage, since they suspected the fidelity of their leaders. In the mean time, the band of gladiators, who served under *Otho*, being attacked and defeated by a detachment of *Germans*, *Macer*, who commanded the former, was by the whole army required to slaughter ; nay, they had already wounded him with a lance, and were falling upon him with their drawn swords, when, by the sudden interposition of the tribunes and centurions, he was rescued. However, *Otho*, being obliged to remove him, sent *Flavius Sabinus*, brother to *Vespasian*, to take the charge of the forces that had been under his command, to the great joy of the soldiers, pleased with the change of leaders, while the leaders abhorred the charge of a soldiery so licentious and unruly. After the departure of *Otho* to *Brix-*
 b *ellum*, the name and honour of the generalship remained with his brother *Titianus*,
 but the whole authority with *Proculus*. As for *Celsus* and *Paulinus*, they were on no occasion consulted, but only bore the empty title of commanders, and thence served as cloaks for the faults and mistakes of others. The tribunes and centurions were under the greatest concern, to see men of superior worth and capacity thus neglected, while the very worst men bore sway. But the common soldiers, who suspected their fidelity, were cheerful and elated, though rather disposed to canvass and interpret, than to obey and execute, the orders of their commanders. The two
 c armies were encamped on the banks of the *Po*, whence *Otho's* forces moved their quarters, and retired within four miles of *Bedriacum*, which is by *Tacitus*, as we have hinted above, placed between *Cremona* and *Verona*, but by *Sanfon* between *Cremona* and *Mantua*, upon the river *Oglio*, where the present city of *Caneto* stands. Their march was so unskilfully conducted, that in it they were extremely distressed for want of water, though it was then the spring of the year, about the thirteenth of *April*, and there were rivers on all hands. *Proculus* was for continuing the march the next day, with a design to attack the enemy encamped about sixteen miles off, at the confluence of the *Adda* and the *Po*. This resolution was utterly disapproved by *Celsus* and *Paulinus*, who declared against exposing the army, fatigued with marching and
 d loaded with baggage, to the enemy, who, being themselves light and unincumbered, and having moved scarce four miles, would never lose the advantage of attacking them, either as they marched with their ranks broken, or afterwards while they were fortifying their camp. This point was still under debate, when a *Numidian*, dispatched by *Otho* upon a swift horse, arrived with letters to the generals, wherein the emperor, having first reproached them in a very bitter strain, with want of spirit and resolution, commanded them peremptorily to engage without loss of time. Such orders as these, sent by princes who are at a distance, prove commonly most fatal. Of this we have innumerable instances ; and the reason is very obvious : it is impossible for a man, who is not upon the spot, to make a right choice of the
 e ground, the opportunity, and favourable moment for engaging. This is as much as can be expected from the most able commanders, who are upon the spot. Upon the receipt of the emperor's letters, *Celsus* and *Paulinus* dropped all opposition, and the army immediately decamped^k.

The whole power devolved upon Proculus.

Otho orders them to engage without delay.

- f THE same day, two tribunes of the prætorian guards came to *Cæcina*, as he was intent upon building a bridge cross the *Po*, and desired a conference. He was already setting himself to receive their overtures, when the scouts, in great haste, apprised him, that the enemy was at hand. The discourse with the tribunes being thus interrupted, it remained uncertain, whether they intended to betray their own party, to contrive a plot against the enemy, or had some design truly worthy and honest. *Cæcina*, having dismissed the tribunes, immediately quitted his post upon the river, and hastened to the camp, where he found the signal of battle already given by *Valens*, and the soldiers under arms. While *Valens* was drawing up his legions, his cavalry sallied forth by themselves, but were by a party of *Otho's* forces, much inferior in number, repulsed, and forced to fly for shelter to their ramparts ; whence the *Italic* legion, with their drawn swords, drove them back to the encounter. The legions of *Vitellius* were ranged in order of battle, without the least consternation or alarm ; for though the enemy approached, they were prevented from seeing them by a thick coppice. In the army of *Otho* an universal confusion prevailed ; the
 generals

The battle of Bedriacum.

^k Idem, c. 39, 40.

generals distrusted the soldiery, and the soldiery were incensed against their generals. The carriages and retainers to the camp were mixt and crowded amongst the ranks; from a deep ditch on each hand, the way was too streight even for an army marching, where no danger from an enemy was to be apprehended. No order was observed, some thrusting themselves into the front, some retiring to the rear, as each found himself prompted by bravery or by fear. Besides, a groundless report was spread among the foremost ranks of *Otho's* army, that the forces of *Vitellius* had revolted from him and would join them. Upon this report, they accosted the enemy with the salutation of friends; but the others returned the compliment with a hostile and threatening murmur, which not only disheartened them, but gave occasion to the rest, who were unapprised of the cause of such greeting, to apprehend that they were betrayed. At the same time, the enemy attacked them with great vigor; and *Otho's* men, though fewer in number and fatigued, sustained the charge with great resolution and intrepidity. As the place was embarrassed with trees, hedges, and vineyards, they fought with small regularity, bearing down one upon another, body to body, buckler to buckler, with swords and axes, after a dreadful manner, each man exerting his might, as if the event of the whole war depended upon his valor. In the open plain, between the *Po* and the highway, two legions chanced to encounter; the one-and-twentieth belonging to *Vitellius*, and named *Rapax*; and the first on *Otho's* side, intituled *Adjutrix*. The former was famous for feats of valor; the latter till then had never been led into the field, but was fierce, resolute, and eager of acquiring renown. They engaged with incredible fury, rejecting the use of darts, and closing resolutely with swords and axes. After a long and bloody contest, the soldiers of the first having routed the foremost ranks of the one-and-twentieth, carried off their eagle; a disgrace which so enraged this legion, that they returned to the charge, slew *Orphidius Benignus*, commander of the first, and took several standards. In another quarter, the thirteenth legion, which fought for *Otho*, was defeated by the fifth. *Alphenus Varius*, at the head of his *Batavians*, having utterly routed the body of *Otho's* gladiators, attacked his army in flank; which struck the prætorian bands with such dread, that they betook themselves to a precipitous flight, putting in disorder such of their own men, as still kept their ranks and faced the enemy. Thus the whole army, no longer able to stand their ground, retired in the utmost confusion, bending their course towards *Bedriacum*. As the ways were obstructed by the bodies of the slain, (for above forty thousand fell on both sides) the enemy made a dreadful slaughter of the fugitives, it being of no advantage to take prisoners, who in civil wars were not converted into sale and gain. *Suetonius* and *Proculus* took different routs, both shunning that to the camp, out of an apprehension of the soldiery, who had already charged their commanders with the loss of the battle. *Vedius Aquila*, commander of the thirteenth legion, having with more courage than discretion entered the camp, while it was yet broad day, was charged by the troops that had remained there and by those who were returned from the battle, as a traitor to his cause, and abused in a most outrageous manner; not that he had really committed any crime; but such is the custom of the crowd, for every man to cast upon others his own guilt and disgrace. *Titianus* and *Celsus* durst not venture into the camp till night, when the guards were already posted, and the tumult of the soldiery repressed. The victorious army of *Vitellius* pursued the fugitives within five miles of *Bedriacum*, where they halted, not thinking it safe to attempt forcing the enemy's camp the same day; and besides, they entertained hopes of a voluntary surrender. *Otho's* forces seemed disposed to make a vigorous defence, boasting, that they had been overcome by acts of treachery, and by no superior bravery of the enemy. But the officers and *Titianus* himself, in a council which they held the day following, agreed to send deputies to *Cæcina* and *Valens* to treat of a surrender. Their proposals were accepted, and, upon the return of the deputies, the gates of the camp were thrown open. Then both armies meeting, the conquerors, as well as the conquered, burst into tears, and, at once pleased and grieved, uttered their detestations of the sad lot of civil wars. Assembling now without distinction in the same tents, they dressed with great tenderness one another's wounds; some those of their brothers, some those of their friends. There were scarce any so exempt from affliction, as not to have some dead friend to bewail. The bodies of *Orphidius* and other officers of distinction were sought for and buried with

*Otho's army
routed.*

*Those who fled
to the camp
surrender.*

a with the usual solemnity. In the end, they all submitted to *Vitellius*, and to him took the oath of allegiance¹.

Otho, in the mean time, waited at *Brixellum* for an account of the battle. The first rumours were melancholy, but uncertain, till the fugitives brought a certain account of the utter defeat. The first who arrived with the dismal tidings was a common soldier, who being taxed with falsehood and cowardice by some persons about the emperor, to convince them of the truth of his account, and to shew that he had not fled for want of courage, fell upon his sword at *Otho's* feet; who, admiring his resolution and fidelity, cried out, *No more such worthy and gallant men shall on my score be brought into danger.* This *Suetonius* the historian tells us he learnt of his father *Suetonius Lenis*, who, in the battle of *Bedriacum*, commanded in quality of tribune the thirteenth legion, which fought for *Otho*^m. The battle was no-ways decisive; for *Otho* had still with him many brave troops inviolably attached to his cause and interest; his forces beyond the *Po* still remained intire; there were numerous garisons in *Bedriacum* and *Placentia*; and the legions from *Mæsia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Pannonia* were advancing; nay, the *Asiatic*, *Syrian*, and *Egyptian* legions were already near the *Adriatic*. But nevertheless, he was no sooner informed of the defeat of his army, than he manifestly betrayed a fixed purpose of sacrificing his life to the public tranquillity. The soldiers apprised of his design, did all that lay in their power to support him under his concern. They pressed him to take courage, since there still remained fresh forces, declaring, without flattery or deceit, that they were ready for his sake to expose themselves to the greatest dangers and suffer all extremities. Those who stood at a distance signified their zeal and ardour by stretching out their hands; such as were nearest fell at his knees, kissed his hand, and with many tears intreated him to stand by them, and to accept of that duty and fidelity which could never expire, but with their last breath. But above all, the intrepidity and fidelity of an obscure and private soldier displayed itself on this occasion; for finding the emperor stood altogether unshaken and fixt in his purpose, he drew his sword; and addressing himself to *Otho*; *From this, Cæsar, said he, judge of our fidelity; for there is not a man amongst us, but would strike thus to serve you!* Having thus spoken, he turned his sword against himself, and fell at the emperor's feet. *Plautius Firmus*, captain of his guards, by repeated instances, besought him not to abandon an army so faithful and zealous; soldiers so singularly affectionate and loyal. In bearing calamities, said he, more greatness of spirit is shewn, than in flying from them. To support themselves with hope, even in spite of fortune, was ever the part of the magnanimous and brave, as it was that of the timorous and spiritless, to be drawn headlong by cowardice into utter despair. As during these expressions *Otho* happened to look chearful or pensive, there followed shouts of joy or dismal groans. Nor was this zeal confined to the prætorian guards, who were inviolably attached to the person of *Otho*; but those who had been sent before the rest out of *Mæsia*, and were now arrived, declared, that in the approaching army the the same steadiness prevailed, and that the legions had already reached *Aquileia*. Hence it is evident, that the war might have been renewed, and that its issue, notwithstanding the late overthrow, was altogether uncertain. But neither by persuasions and intreaties, nor by all the apparent probability of success, could *Otho* be prevailed upon to continue the war, or be diverted from the resolution he had taken; a resolution which no one expected from a person of his soft and effeminate temper. Having commanded silence, he spoke to them after this manner: This day, my fellow-soldiers, which gives me such sensible proofs of your affection and loyalty, is far preferable to that on which you saluted me emperor. I therefore beseech you not to deny me the satisfaction of laying down my life for the preservation of so many brave men. To expose wantonly to fresh perils such virtue and so much fortitude, is a price, which I judge too high for the redeeming of my own life. I am well apprised, that the enemy has neither gained an intire nor a decisive victory: I have advice, that the *Mæssian* army is not far off; that the legions from *Asia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt* are near the *Adriatic*; that the forces in *Judæa* have declared for us; the senate favours our cause; we have in our power the wives and children of our enemies, &c. But alas! it is not with *Pyrrhus*, with *Hannibal*, with the *Cimbrians*, we fight; but it is eagle against eagle, and *Rome* against *Rome*.
Italy

Otho betrays a design to lay violent hands on himself. The zeal of his soldiers on this occasion.

His fine speech before he dies.

¹ TACIT. c. 41, 45. PLUT. *ibid*.

^m SUET. in *Oth*. c. 10.

Italy must bleed, whether I vanquish or am vanquished; and even he who triumphs^a will have occasion to mourn. Shall I ever bear, that such a number of *Roman* youth; that so many noble armies be cut off, and ravished for ever from the commonwealth? With me let me carry this satisfaction, that for my cause you were all ready to die; but be content to survive me. *Vitellius* began the civil war, and thence sprung the source of our struggling for the empire by arms. To me will be owing the example of struggling for it no more than once. By this rule let posterity judge of *Otho*. *Vitellius* shall again possess in safety his brother, his children, and his wife. Others have held the sovereignty longer; in a manner more glorious none ever yet relinquished it. Assure yourselves, it is my free choice to die rather than to reign, since I cannot so much advance the *Roman* state by wars and bloodshed, as by sacrific-^bing myself to the public peace and tranquillity. Nothing but my death can seal a lasting peace, and secure *Italy* against such another unhappy day. But let us no longer retard one another: let not me delay your care of your own preservation, nor you me in the pursuit of a design never to be shaken or changed. To multiply words about the subject of dying, is the part of a dastardly spirit. How much I am undaunted in this my purpose, I desire you to take this signal proof, that I complain of no man; since to be blaming the gods or men, upon the approach of death, implies a mean and indirect desire of livingⁿ.

His calm
behaviour.

AFTER this discourse, he desired those who attended him to leave him, and submit without delay to *Vitellius*. The young men he pressed with authority, the old^c by intreaties, addressing himself to all with great courtesy, in a language suitable to their years or dignity. At the same time he rebuked, as ill-judged and unreasonable, the tears and lamentations of his friends, with a countenance calm and composed, and a speech flowing and assured. To such as were about to depart, he ordered boats and carriages to be given. To those who were absent, he sent passports, forbidding any one to stop them in their journey. All such memorials and letters, as were signal for expressions of zeal towards him, or for invectives against *Vitellius*, he committed to the flames. What money and jewels he had, he distributed amongst his friends. His brother's son, *Salvus Coccianus*, one just in the bloom of his youth, who was bewailing him with a flood of tears, he endeavoured^d to comfort with tender expressions, bidding him be in no apprehension of *Vitellius*, who, he said, could not, for his whole family preserved in safety, refuse a return of mercy in this single instance. The clemency of the conqueror, continued he, I have purchased by thus hastening to die, since pressed by no desperate distress, but at a juncture when so many brave men were demanding to be led to battle, I have, for the sake of the commonwealth, forborne making a last effort. To myself I have acquired sufficient fame; to my posterity sufficient lustre. Into a house newly raised, I have translated the sovereignty, after the same had been vested in so illustrious families, namely, the *Julian*, the *Claudian*, and the *Sergian*: but that *Cæsar* has been your uncle, you must neither forget, nor too zealously remem-^eber. After this, he caused all those who were about him to retire; and withdrawing into a private room, he wrote consolatory letters to his sister, and to *Messalina*, who had been formerly married to *Nero*, and whom he himself had designed to marry, recommending to her his memory and ashes. While he was thus exercising his thoughts about his last moments, a sudden tumult interrupted him; for notice was brought him of an uproar among the soldiers, who threatened with present death all who were about to depart, as traitors and deserters. Against *Verginius* chiefly they were enraged, and had already besieged his house, which for his security he had shut up. Hereupon *Otho*, appearing again, reprimanded the authors of the insurrection, gave audience to such as were departing, and continued thus employed till they were all gone in perfect safety. He then withdrew again to his chamber, which he left open till the night was far spent, allowing free entrance to all who were desirous to see him. After this, having quenched his thirst with a draught of cold water, he called for two daggers; and having carefully examined the points of both, he placed the sharpest under his pillow. He next resolved to be fully assured that his friends were all gone; which he no sooner understood, than he lay down, passing the night in perfect repose, and, as is affirmed, not without sleep. At break of day he took the dagger, and gave himself a mortal stab on the^f left

His death.

^a TACIT. c 46, 47. PLUT. *ibid.* DIO, l. lxxiv. p. 732, 733. SUEP, c. 9.

a left side of the breast. Upon hearing him groan, his freed-men entered and his slaves, with *Plotius Firmus*, captain of his guards, and found no more than one wound. His death was no sooner divulged, than the whole place resounded with the mournful cries of the soldiers, accusing themselves, with the deepest concern, for not watching him more carefully, and striving to save a life, which was laid down to preserve theirs. His funeral was dispatched with great expedition, (for such had been his own desire) to prevent his head being cut off and exposed to public derision. The prætorian cohorts bore his corps, magnificently attired, often kissing his wound, and his hand, and even paying him divine honours. At his funeral pile some of the soldiers slew themselves; and others who were at *Bedriacum*, *Placentia*,
b and in other quarters, understanding the manner of his death, were so deeply and sensibly affected, that they slew one another, not caring to outlive a prince, whom they so tenderly loved.. To him they raised a tomb of a mean structure, and thence like to remain, with this epitaph only, *To the Memory of Marcus Otho*; which they thought the best security against any insults from the conqueror^a. Such was the end of *Otho*, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, after having reigned, according to some three months, according to others three months and five days. He derived his original from the municipal city of *Tarentinum* in *Hetruria*. His father had sustained the dignity of consul; his grandfather that of prætor. His mother's line was not of equal lustre; but far from sordid. He spent his tender years in idleness, in scandalous debaucheries his youth, and grew acceptable to *Nero*, purely by imitating his profligate life. To him therefore, as to the chief confident of his impure pleasures, *Nero* committed the care of his beloved mistress *Poppæa Sabina*, till he could accomplish the removal of *Octavia* his wife; but soon suspecting him for a rival, he sent him into *Lusitania*; where the administration of that province furnished a pretence for keeping him from *Rome*. In *Lusitania* he governed with gentleness and popularity, was the foremost to espouse the cause of *Galba*, and promoted it with vigor. Thence he conceived hopes of being by him adopted and declared his successor; but finding himself disappointed, and seeing nothing but despair in the quiet and establishment of the state, (for he lived in a course of riot and expence,
c which even to the fortune of a sovereign would have proved burdensome) he revolted from *Galba*, and seized the empire in the manner we have related. His death was much applauded, as his life was censured; for tho' he had lived like *Nero*, yet he left this character behind him, that no one ever died more gloriously^b: and indeed nothing can be more glorious in a man, than to sacrifice his life for the good of his country.

Is lamented by the soldiery.

His obsequies.

His character

AFTER the death of *Otho*, the soldiers began anew to mutiny; nor was there any one to restrain them. They applied to *Verginius*, pressing him, with many intreaties and menaces, to accept the sovereignty, or at least to go as their ambassador to *Cæcina* and *Valens*. Already they were breaking into his house, when he, by a back way, stole out and escaped them. But *Rubrius Gallus*, a person of great note, immediately undertook the embassy to *Vitellius's* commanders, and obtained pardon for all the troops that lay at *Brixellum*; and at the same time *Flavius Sabinus* prevailed upon the forces under his command to go over to the conqueror; so that war had now every-where ceased, and peace was at once re-established. Many senators had accompanied *Otho* from *Rome*, and had been afterwards by him left with a small body of troops at *Mutina*. The senators found themselves exposed there to great danger; for news being brought thither of the defeat, the soldiers slighted it as a report void of truth; and suspecting the senate to be disaffected to *Otho*, they watched the words of particulars, and wrested even their countenances and behaviour to a malignant sense.
f At last they proceeded to insult them with invectives, and seemed only to want a pretence of putting them all to the sword. On the other hand, they were afraid of being deemed disaffected to *Vitellius*, whose brother was among them, if they seemed slow and cool in their rejoicings for the victory. They resolved therefore to return as far as *Bononia*, and wait there for other advices more certain and copious. They posted men upon the several roads leading to the city, purposely to examine such as passed. By these one of *Otho's* freed-men being questioned, why he had left his lord? answered. That he had about him his lord's last will and commands; that he had left him indeed alive, but fixed in his purpose of dying, and of sacrificing his life to the

Otho's troops submit to Vitellius.

^a TACIT. C. 49. SUET. C. 11. PLUT. *ibid*.^b TACIT. C. 50. SUET. PLUT. *ibid*.

the public tranquillity. Hereupon they immediately declared for *Vitellius*, whose brother now presented himself to be flattered, as did all the senators to flatter him; when on a sudden one *Cæmus*, a freed-man of *Nero's*, arriving, affirmed, that by the arrival of the fourteenth legion, in conjunction with the forces from *Brixellum*, the army, which had lately conquered, was entirely routed, and the fortune of the other party retrieved and changed. What prompted him to such forgery was, that *Otho's* warrants for post-horses, which were now neglected, might by such tidings be restored to force: and truly *Cæmus* was by this means with great speed carried to *Rome*; but there, a few days after, put to death by *Vitellius's* orders. The fiction, however, was believed by the soldiers, who began anew to threaten the senators for having departed from *Mutina*, and declared for *Vitellius*; insomuch, that they were obliged to conceal themselves, not daring, for fear of the incensed soldiery, to appear abroad, till letters from *Fabius Valens*, assuring them of *Otho's* death, removed their fright^a.

Honours heap-
ed upon Vitel-
lius by the se-
nate.

Italy miser-
ably afflicted.

Vitellius re-
ceives intelli-
gence of the
victory at Be-
driacum.

Both the
Mauritanias
declare for
him.

Rome was, in the mean time, free from all terror and alarm; the interludes sacred to *Ceres*, which yearly began on the twelfth, and ended on the nineteenth, of *April*, were celebrating, when news was brought into the theatre, that *Otho* had, by a voluntary death, put an end to his life. Hereupon the spectators with loud shouts applauded the name of the new emperor, uttering against *Otho* the same invectives which a little before they had uttered against *Vitellius*. The troops in the city immediately swore allegiance to *Vitellius*. The people carried the images of *Galba* round the temples, crowned with laurels and adorned with flowers, and piled up heaps of coronets, after the manner of a sepulchre, close by the lake of *Curtius*, where *Galba* had been slain. In the senate the many honours given to former princes at intervals, and during a long course of reigning, were at once decreed to *Vitellius*. On the *German* armies high commendations were bestowed, and an embassy sent to return them public thanks, and congratulate them upon their late victory. The letters addressed by *Fabius Valens* to the consuls *Verginius Rufus* and *Poppæus Vopiscus*, of whom the first was absent, were publicly read, and found to be conceived in terms no-ways arrogant; but more applauded was the modesty of *Cæcina*, who had not sent any, it being deemed assuming in any but the emperor to write to the senate and magistrates^r. In the mean time, *Italy* was afflicted with greater calamities than she had suffered during the war. The soldiers of *Vitellius*, distributed amongst the cities and municipal towns, committed most dreadful devastations, without sparing even the temple. Some, in the disguise of soldiers, killed their particular enemies; and the soldiers themselves, as they were well acquainted with the country, marking out the richest inhabitants, plundered their houses and farms, putting all to fire and sword without mercy, if any resistance was offered. Their generals durst not restrain them, being themselves equally guilty and awed by their men. Of the two *Cæcina* was less addicted to avarice, but courted the favour of the soldiery. *Valens* was himself infamous for pillage and rapine, and thence blind to the excesses of others. Thus, by so mighty a force of foot and horse, by such acts of violence, so many depredations and insults, was *Italy* quite exhausted, and many of the most wealthy inhabitants reduced to beggary^s.

Vitellius, in the mean time, not yet apprised of the success of his own arms, having left *Hordeonius Flaccus* with a sufficient force to guard the banks of the *Rhine*, was marching towards *Italy* with the residue of the *German* army, reinforced with eight thousand men drawn from *Britain*, and fresh levies hastily made amongst the *Gauls*. After a few days march, he received the agreeable news of the victory at *Bedriacum* and the death of *Otho*. Hereupon, transported with joy, he assembled his men, and from the tribunal acquainted them with the intelligence he had received, bestowing mighty praises upon the bravery of his victorious troops. The army, not yielding in the base arts of flattery to the senate, made him at this juncture a general request, that he would raise his favourite freed-man *Asiaticus* to the equestrian dignity. The emperor, with seeming indignation, rejected their demand; but what in the face of the public he had refused, he soon after privately conferred at a banquet, honouring *Asiaticus*, a most infamous and rapacious slave, with the gold ring, the badge of knighthood. This proceeding was not a little resented by the soldiery. As he was marching through *Gaul*, other messengers came with tidings, that to his party had acceded both the *Mauritanias*, viz. the *Tingitana* and *Cæsariensis*; *Lucius Albinus*, who, in quality of procurator, governed there and had declared for *Otho*, being killed,

^a TACIT. c. 53. 54.

^r Idem, c. 55.

^s Idem, c. 56.



- a killed by the *Moors*, upon a report, that *Albinus*, scorning the title of procurator, intended to usurp the ensigns of majesty and the royal name of *Juba*. With him were slain *Afinius Pollio*, who commanded a body of horse, *Festus* and *Scipio*, both captains of cohorts, and several other officers of distinction. Into these transactions *Vitellius* made no inquiry, nor took any notice of the murder of so many great men, a hasty hearing being all he afforded to any affair, however important. His army he commanded to pursue their march by land; he himself sailed down the *Saône*, with-
He pursues his march to Italy
- b out the lustre and appointment of an emperor, till *Junius Blæsus*, governor of *Lionese Gaul*, a man of great generosity and proportionable wealth, furnished him with a princely train, and accompanied him with great state and magnificence. But this very behaviour provoked *Vitellius* against him, tho' he then disguised his aversion under many courteous expressions. At *Lions* he was met by the generals of both parties, the conquerors and the conquered. *Valens* and *Cæcina* he commended in public, and placed them on each side his chair of state. Soon after he ordered the whole army to march out and meet his son, yet an infant, who was brought covered with an imperial coat of armour. His father, taking him thus dressed in his arms, bestowed upon him the surname of *Germanicus* and all the marks of sovereignty. He freely forgave *Salvius Titianus*, *Otho's* brother, the instinct and tenderness of nature, which had prompted him to espouse his brother's cause, and his own want of abilities pleading for him. Of *Marius Celsus* we are only told, that *Vitellius* reserved for him the
How he treated the general's of Otho.
- c consulship, to which he had been formerly designed, and which he was to discharge in the month of *July*. He long postponed admitting *Suetonius Paulinus* and *Licinius Proculus*, keeping them in suspense like criminals. At length he heard them, when they both made a defence rather necessary than honourable; nay, altogether unworthy of a man of *Paulinus's* character; for upon themselves they freely took the shame of treason, ascribing to a fraud concerted between them the long march before the battle, the great fatigue of *Otho's* soldiers, the intermixing the carriages among the troops, when drawn up in battle-array, &c. *Vitellius* gave credit to the confession of their treachery, and forgave them the crime of fidelity, with which they were charged. *Galerius Trachalus*, who composed *Otho's* speech, was saved by *Galeria*,
Sends several edicts to Rome
- d the wife of *Vitellius*. But all the centurions, who had signalized their faith and bravery in the cause of *Otho*, were by the new emperor's orders put to the sword; which estranged from him the minds of the soldiery, especially of the *Illyrian* legions. However, he suffered the last wills of such as died fighting for *Otho* to continue in force, and the law in behalf of those who died intestate. Before him he sent an edict to *Rome*, to signify, that he deferred receiving the name of *Augustus*, and would not at all accept that of *Cæsar*. By another he ordered the astrologers to depart *Italy* by the calends of *October*; which was no sooner published, than a libel was hung up in the same style, ordering, in the name of the astrologers, *Vitellius Germanicus* to quit the world by the same day; which so incensed him against all those of that profession,
Dolabella falsely accused.
- e that no sooner was any of them detected, than he caused them, without further inquiry, to be forthwith executed. By a third edict he enjoined, under a heavy penalty, that thenceforth no *Roman* knight should debase himself to fight amongst the gladiators or with the wild beasts; a practice which had been greatly encouraged by former emperors. Before *Vitellius* left *Lions*, he dispatched orders to *Rome* for the execution of *Dolabella*, who had been confined by *Otho*, as we have related above, to the city of *Aquinum*, and, upon tidings of the death of that prince, was returned to *Rome*. The crimes alledged against him were, that he had broke out of prison, and, presenting himself as a new leader to the vanquished party, had attempted to corrupt the cohort quartered at *Ostia*. These crimes were urged against him before *Flavius Sabinus*, governor of the city, by *Plautius Varus*, a man of prætorian dignity and one of *Dolabella's* intimate friends. The charge of treason could not be proved; but nevertheless *Vitellius*, who dreaded a man of his birth and abilities, and likewise hated him on account of his having married *Petronia*, his divorced wife, resolved by all means to get rid of one, whom he looked upon as a competitor. Having therefore sent for him from *Rome*, and directed him in the letter he wrote to him, not to take the *Flaminian* road, but to come round by *Interamna*, now *Terni*, he placed assassins there, with orders privately to dispatch him; but they, without waiting till he arrived at the place appointed, cut his throat in an inn upon the way, while he was not under the least apprehension of danger. This instance of cruelty raised great mur-
And massacred by Vitellius's order.

inurs both among the people and nobility, and upon the new reign derived universal hatred and abhorrence. a

Vitellius's
gluttony.

FROM *Lions* *Vitellius* removed to *Vienne*, where he publicly administered justice and thence continued his rout to *Italy*. As he was a man of a most voracious appetite, which *Tacitus* styles quite beastly and boundless, and greatly addicted to banquetting, from *Rome* and *Italy* were brought him dainties of all sorts and every incentive to gluttony, the roads from both seas being continually filled with carriers loaded with viands for the emperor's table. The chief men of the municipal cities, through which he passed, being quite beggared by their magnificent feasts, that being the only means of making their court to the new prince. The soldiers, following the example of their leader, rioted in all manner of excesses, plundering and laying waste, without controul, the cities, villages, and farms contiguous to the road. The emperor was overtaken on his rout by *Marcus Cluvius Rufus*, governor of *Spain*, who came to clear himself of the crimes with which he was charged by *Hilarius*, the emperor's freed-man, who urged, that, upon advice of the contest between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, *Cluvius* had attempted to establish an independent principality, and to appropriate to himself both the provinces of *Spain*. But, the charge appearing groundless, *Vitellius* ordered his freed-man to be punished, and took *Cluvius* into the number of his chief favourites, commanding him to attend him, without depriving him of the government of *Spain*, which he still administered, though absent. The like honour was not shewn to *Trebellius Maximus*, who had fled out of *Britain*, frightened by the menaces of the soldiers there. In his room was sent *Vettius Bolanus*, then attending at court. *Vitellius* arriving in *Italy*, found the country filled with troops, those of his own army and the army of *Otho*, dispersed amongst the villages and municipal towns, and mixed together; which occasioned continual quarrels and innumerable disorders: for the vanquished legions continued still in their former disaffection, and breathed nothing but war. The emperor therefore resolved to separate them, and deliver *Italy* from so heavy a burden. The fourteenth legion was accordingly remanded back to *Britain*, from whence they had been by *Nero* called over. With them were sent the *Batavian* cohorts, who had fought for *Vitellius*; whereas the legion had espoused the cause of *Otho*; and hence a source of perpetual quarrels. At *Turin* especially a tragical battle had ensued, while a *Batavian* insulted an artificer, as having defrauded him, and a soldier of the legion protected the artificer, as his host, had not two prætorian cohorts quartered there, by espousing the party of the legionaries, intimidated the *Batavians* as the weaker. The emperor, when informed of their disagreement, ordered the *Batavians*, as men in whom he could confide, to be incorporated with his own army, and the legion to be led forthwith over the *Alps*, bending their rout so as to avoid *Vienne*; which city was thought to be disaffected to *Vitellius*. But, notwithstanding this order, they no sooner descended from the *Alps*, than they turned their ensigns to *Vienne*, and were marching thither, till such as were prone to mutiny were by the better-disposed prevailed upon to march back, in compliance with the emperor's orders, and pursue their rout to the coast of the ocean, whence they were transported in a body to *Britain*. In the next place, the prætorian cohorts were first separated, and then discharged; but sweetened with the rewards which were bestowed upon such as had fully served their term of warfare. The first legion of marines was sent into *Spain*, to be there tamed with tranquillity and repose. The seventh and eleventh were sent back to their old quarters in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*. The thirteenth was kept in *Italy*, and there employed in erecting two amphitheatres, since *Cæcina* and *Valens* were preparing each a public combat of gladiators, the former at *Cremona*, the other at *Bononia*. Thus *Vitellius* parted and dispersed, without the least noise or disturbance, the disaffected troops which had served under *Otho*; but had not authority enough to restrain the licentiousness of his own army. As the officers, and even the common soldiers, usually adopt the manners of their emperors, about *Vitellius* was seen only universal disorder, universal drunkenness, and all things rather resembling nocturnal revellings and the debauches of *Bacchanals*, than a *Roman* army and military discipline. In this situation a tumult arose, which derived its beginning from matter of pastime, but was not quelled without much bloodshed. Two soldiers, one of the fifth legion the other from amongst the auxiliary *Gauls*, having, while they sported together, provoked each other to wrestle, the legionary was thrown down, and the *Gaul* triumphed over him with great scorn. This immediately divided those, who had assembled only as beholders, into two parties; ino-

He receives
Cluvius Ru-
fus into fa-
vour.

He separates
the disaffected
forces.

Frequent dis-
turbances a-
mongst the
troops of Vi-
tellius.

much,

- a much, that the soldiers of the legions, falling with fury upon the auxiliaries, put two cohorts to the sword. But this tumult was in the end composed by another; for dust and the lustre of arms being discerned at a distance, a general cry ran in an instant through the whole army, that the fourteenth legion had returned, and was approaching with hostile minds; for they were known to be disaffected to *Vitellius*. Hereupon they all joined to oppose the common enemy. But their fear was soon allayed; for it proved the rear of their own army. However, as they chanced, in the mean time, to meet a slave belonging to *Virginus*, they charged him as one employed to assassinate *Vitellius*; and, rushing into the banqueting-room, insisted, that *Virginus* should be put to death. Tho' *Vitellius* entertained not the least doubt about the innocence of *Virginus*, yet it was with the utmost difficulty that he prevailed upon the enraged soldiery, to forbear shedding the blood of one, who had borne the supreme dignity of consul, and been once their own general^a.

- THE next day, *Vitellius* gave audience to the ambassadors from the senate, whom he had ordered to wait for him at *Ticinum*, now *Pavia*; then he entered the camp of the victorious army, where he was received with loud shouts and joyful acclamations. After he had commended the zeal and bravery of the conquering legions, and promised them their usual rewards, he sent back to their own country the eighteen *Batavian* cohorts, which had attended him in his journey, having found by experience, that they were altogether ungovernable and too prone to mutiny. He likewise dismissed to their several territories all the auxiliary *Gauls*, who had been levied in the beginning of the war. At the same time, that the revenues of the empire, already exhausted, might be able to supply his wild extravagances, he ordered the number of men in the legions and auxiliaries to be retrenched, put a stop to further levies, and granted discharges to all who required them; which, to those who continued in the service, proved matter of great disgust, since upon them, now reduced to a few, rested all the military duties before shared amongst many. From *Ticinum* the emperor bent his rout to *Cremona*, where he beheld the public sports, exhibited with extraordinary magnificence by *Cæcina*. While he was there, he conceived a desire of viewing the field at *Bedriacum*, and surveying the scene of the recent victory. As the battle had been fought not quite forty days before, the field was still covered with bodies all rent and deformed, with torn and mangled limbs, carcases of horses and men putrified, and the ground dyed with corruption and gore; all the trees felled, the corn trod down, and the whole a shocking scene of cruelty, slaughter, and destruction. The emperor, however, persisted in his resolution, and with a great retinue set out for *Bedriacum*; the people of *Cremona* strewing the road with flowers and laurel, rearing altars, and sacrificing victims, even where the ghastly remains of their slaughtered countrymen were still to be seen. *Cæcina* and *Valens* accompanied him, and pointed out the several quarters of the combat: Here the legions began the onset; here the horse in a body rushed upon the enemy's squadrons; from thence the auxiliaries fell upon the rear; in this place the one-and-twentieth legion engaged and routed the first; in that the thirteenth was put to flight by the fifth, &c. The tribunes and commanders of the several legions recounted and heightened, by boasts and invention, their own feats of bravery. The common soldiers too, turning aside from the road to review the field, from space to space, called to mind the several conflicts passed, some with shouts of joy, but many not without concern, and even tears, in beholding the bodies of the slain, mingled in heaps with the carcases of horses and other beasts of burden. As for *Vitellius*, he turned not once his eyes from a spectacle so tragical, nor shewed he the least horror at the sight of so many thousand *Roman* citizens slain and unburied; nay, he even testified joy, and offered a pompous sacrifice to the tutelar gods of the place. *Suetonius* writes, that some of his train being offended with the stench of the half-putrified bodies, the emperor was so imprudent as to tell them, *A dead enemy smells well, but a dead citizen better*; evidently betraying, by that impious saying, his natural bent to cruelty and bloodshed. The same writer adds, that afterwards calling for a large quantity of wine, he first drank plentifully himself, and then caused the rest to be distributed amongst his soldiers. From *Bedriacum*, *Vitellius* pursued his rout to *Bononia*; and the nearer he advanced to that place, his march proved the more loose and debauched. Amongst his military bands were blended

He disbands several troops.

He surveys the field of battle.

A singular instance of the cruelty of Vitellius.

^a Idem, c. 65—69.

^b Idem, c. 70, 71.

^x Suet. ibid. c. 9.

blended bands of the comedians and herds of eunuchs, agreeable to the genius of the court in *Nero's* reign: for of him *Vitellius* always spoke with admiration and praise. At *Bononia* he assisted at the combat of gladiators exhibited by *Valens*, which was extremely pompous and magnificent, all the decorations of the entertainment having been brought from *Rome*. Before he set out from thence, that he might to *Valens* and *Cecina* procure some vacant months for exercising the consulship, he abridged the term appointed for others, and *Valerius Marinus*, designed consul by *Galba*, he postponed to a farther time, for no offence given, but because *Valerius* was a man apt to acquiesce under any injury. As he was on his march from *Bononia*, he received letters from his friends in *Syria* and *Judæa*, informing him, that the provinces in the east had taken the oath of fidelity to him. As he dreaded *Vespasian* and upon the very mention of his name was frequently observed to start, he no sooner received these tidings, than both he and his army, having now no rival power to fear, abandoned themselves to all the excesses of cruelty, lust, and rapine. In all the great towns through which he passed, every pleasure, and every diversion, proved a bait to stop him. He entered the cities in a kind of triumph, and stirred not upon the rivers but in his painted galleys, curiously adorned with garlands of flowers, and plentifully stored with the most exquisite delicacies and incentives to gluttony. He was accompanied by threescore thousand armed men, a greater number of retainers to the camp, and an immense multitude of buffoons, mimics, players, singers, charioteers, &c. for in such disgraceful familiarities he took great pleasure. Among these there was no order or discipline; nay, their rapines and daily disorders, however insupportable, proved to the emperor matter of sport and diversion. Hence, not satisfied with free quarters where-ever they came, they enfranchised slaves, plundered the houses of their hosts, insulted their wives and children, and, where any resistance was offered, beat, wounded, and killed at their pleasure; for tho' they were constantly quarrelling among themselves, yet, in contesting with the peasants, they were always unanimous. Not only the colonies, villages, and municipal cities were consumed by furnishing such vast supplies of provision; but, as the grain was then ripe, the lands were stript and laid waste. As the emperor drew near *Rome*, the crowd, great in itself, was mightily increased by the arrival of the senators and *Roman* knights, who came out to meet the emperor; a compliment which some paid out of fear, others out of flattery. When the mighty multitude was within seven miles of *Rome*, *Vitellius* caused a quantity of meat ready dressed to be distributed among his soldiers, to every man his portion, as if he had been fattening a number of gladiators. In the mean time, the populace, who came in droves to the camp and were scattered all over it, while the soldiers heeded them not, cut and conveyed away their belts without being perceived; which it seems, was a joke in great vogue with the multitude and the rabble of the city. But the soldiers, who were strangers to such jokes and could not brook them, upon being asked by way of derision, what was become of their belts? ran to arms, and with their drawn swords falling upon the disarmed multitude, slaughtered great numbers of them, which occasioned a general alarm and consternation in the city. When the tumult in the camp was composed, *Vitellius*, mounted upon a stately courser and in his coat of armour, with his sword by his side, began to advance to the gates of the city, ordering the senate and people to march before him. But being advised by his friends not to enter the city in his warlike dress, as if it had been taken by storm, he put on the senatorial robe, and made an entry altogether orderly and pacific, surrounded with standards and colours, and followed by his numerous troops; the whole a glorious sight, and an army worthy of a better emperor. In this state he went to the capitol, to offer sacrifice to *Jupiter*; and there finding his mother *Sextilia*, embraced and honoured her with the title of *Augusta*. From the capitol, he marched in the same pomp to the imperial palace. The next day, he assembled the senate, and made a public speech, in which he promised extraordinary advantages from his administration, uttered high and pompous things of himself, and chiefly enlarged upon his temperance, tho' all *Italy* had seen him, during his march, wallowing in voluptuousness and continually intoxicated with wine. The thoughtless multitude, however, broke out into loud acclamations and wishes; and, as he refused the title of *Augustus*, they pressed him so, that he accepted it at last with

His army let
themselves
loose to spoil
and ravage.

The populace
slaughtered by
the soldiery.

The emperor's
entry into
Rome.

a as much vanity as he had before refused it. He likewise took upon him the office of chief pontiff; but was so ignorant of the religious rites, that a few days after, that is, on the eighteenth of *July*, he published an edict concerning the celebration of certain solemnities, tho' that day had been always held unlucky, because on it had happened the tragical overthrows at *Cremera* and *Allia*. His chief study was to gain the good graces and applause of the rabble. With this view he frequented the theatre and circus, exhibited public shews, and did all that lay in his power to keep them in good humour. He went often to the senate, even when the deliberations were about things of small moment. As *Helvidius Priscus*, prætor elect, chanced to offer his sentiments against those of the emperor; he seemed at first to resent it; b but afterwards returning to himself, he answered the senators who interposed, that it was nothing new nor surprising, that two senators should be of different opinions; and that he himself had often opposed *Thrasea*; a comparison which was generally ridiculed. In room of the prætorian cohorts, which he had discharged, he raised sixteen new ones and four city cohorts, each containing a thousand chosen men. For captains of the prætorian guards, he appointed *Publius Sabinus*, raised from the command of a cohort, and *Julius Priscus*, then only a centurion. *Priscus* owed his preferment to the interest of *Valens*, and *Sabinus* his to that of *Cæcina*; for by these two favourites all the functions of sovereignty were discharged, and no portion of power left to *Vitellius*. They strove to excel each other in credit and sway, in c greatness of train, in numerous levees and dependents; and hence were ever at variance with one another, their ancient and mutual hatred, which, even during the war, had been ill-disguised, being inflamed by the malignity of their several friends. However, this their animosity did not render them more remiss in seizing for themselves fine houses and gardens, and the wealth of the empire. *Asiaticus* too, formerly the emperor's pathic and now his freed-man, had a great share in the administration; for, before two months were elapsed, he is said to have equalled in wealth all former imperial freedmen. As for *Vitellius*, he quite abandoned the functions of an emperor, resigning himself entirely to riot, luxury, and gluttony. In his court no man strove to rise by virtue or ability. One only road there was to preferment, d namely, by means of consuming banquets, to gorge the appetite of the emperor, ever craving, and never satiated. He eat constantly three, and often four and five, meals a day, having brought himself to a habit of discharging his stomach by vomiting when he pleased. All his meals were expensive almost beyond belief, but not always at his own charge; for he frequently invited himself to his friends houses to breakfast in one place, to dine in another, and to sup in a third, all on the same e day. He was every-where entertained in a most sumptuous and expensive manner: but of all these entertainments, the most memorable was made for him by *Lucius* his brother; in which, if *Suetonius*² and *Eutropius*³ are to be credited, two thousand different dishes of fish and seven thousand of fowl were served up; the choicest of both sorts that the sea and land afforded. His own profuseness fell not much short of his brother's at the dedication of a charger, which, by reason of its vastness and capacity, he termed *the target of Minerva*. It was nevertheless filled with the sounds of the fish called *scari*, the brains of pheasants and peacocks, the tongues of birds called *phænicopteri*, and the small guts of lampries, brought from the *Carpathian* sea and the farthest coasts of *Spain*. As he judged it sufficient to enjoy present pleasures, without troubling himself about future events, he squandered away in banquets above seven millions of our money in four months time^b; nay, *Josephus* tells us, that if he had reigned long, the whole wealth of the empire would not have been sufficient to supply the expences of his table. Besides the vast sums he consumed by his riotous living, he erected at a great charge stables for the use of charioteers, exhibited almost daily shews in the circus, combats in the theatre and amphitheatre, those of gladiators, those of wild beasts, and in the most flowing plenty wantonly scattered treasure. But nothing gave greater disgust to the virtuous, tho' it proved matter of joy to the profligate and debauched, than his solemnizing with great pomp in the field of *Mars* the obsequies of *Nero*, and obliging the *Augustal* priests, an order by *Tiberius* consecrated to the *Julian* family, to assist at that ceremony^c.

WHILE

² SÆT. C. 13.³ EUTROP. P. 720.^b TACIT. C. 95.^c Idem ibid.

The state of
affairs in the
east.

Vespasian
and Mucianus
enter into an
alliance for
their mutual
defence.

Vespasian
proclaimed
emperor.

WHILE *Vitellius* was thus wasting the wealth of the empire in voluptuousness and consuming banquets, fortune, or rather providence, was raising him a competitor in a distant part of the world. *Vespasian* had been sent by *Nero*, as we have related elsewhere, with three legions and a considerable number of auxiliaries, to make war upon the *Jews*, which he was carrying on with great success, when news was brought him of the death of that prince and the accession of *Galba* to the empire. Hereupon he immediately dispatched his son *Titus* to pay homage to the new emperor, and to receive his orders concerning the prosecution of the war. But receiving upon his arrival at *Corinth*, as he had been long stopped by contrary winds, certain advice of the murder of *Galba*, and at the same time understanding that *Vitellius* had taken up arms and designed to dispute the empire with *Otho*, he resolved to return to *Judæa*, to receive there farther instructions from his father. Having therefore left *Greece*, he steered his course to the island of *Rhode*, to that of *Cyprus*, and thence to *Syria*. In the island of *Cyprus* his curiosity prompted him to visit the temple of *Venus* at *Paphos*, which was at that time highly renowned amongst the natives as well as foreigners. After he had surveyed the signal wealth of the temple, the donations of princes, and other curiosities, he began to consult the oracle, first concerning the security of his voyage, and then proposed, but in dark terms, questions concerning himself. The priest, by name *Sostratus*, returned him in public a short answer, but desired a secret interview, wherein he disclosed to him his future grandeur. Hereupon, full of hopes, he proceeded to his father; but before his arrival the armies in the east had already sworn fidelity to *Otho*. In *Judæa*, three legions, as we have hinted above, were under the command of *Vespasian*; men thoroughly exercised in war. *Mucianus* governed *Syria* at the head of four legions. Between these two commanders, as they ruled in two bordering provinces, great animosities had reigned; which, however, they dropped upon the death of *Nero*, and agreed to act in concert for their mutual security and interest. This union was first begun by the interposition of their common friends, and afterwards accomplished by *Titus*. Into the same confederacy were gained the tribunes, the centurions, and by degrees the common soldiers, who, upon hearing that *Otho* and *Vitellius* were contending for the empire, began to rage and complain, that while others enjoyed rewards for bestowing the empire, they alone were doomed slaves to every emperor. The ardour of the soldiery was well known to the generals; but they judged proper to wait the issue of the war between *Otho* and *Vitellius*. Nay, even after *Otho's* death, *Vespasian* took the usual oath to *Vitellius*, and wished him a prosperous reign in presence of his army, as a precedent for them to follow. His troops heard him with disgust and silence, and were not without great difficulty prevailed upon to take the same oath, thinking themselves no less able to create and support an emperor, than the *German* legions or the prætorian bands. They were seven legions, with mighty auxiliaries, and the two provinces of *Syria* and *Judæa* were in their possession: to them lay contiguous that of *Egypt*, which was governed by *Tiberius Alexander*, by birth an *Egyptian*, at the head of two legions. Several forces were quartered in *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*, upon the frontiers of *Armenia*, in *Asia*, and the other provinces. The governor of *Egypt*, who was intirely addicted to *Vespasian*, accounted for his own the third legion then in *Mæsia*, since it had been translated thither out of *Egypt*. Hopes too were entertained, that the other legions in *Illyricum* would espouse the same interest. *Vespasian*, however, continued still in suspense, considering with himself, how dangerous it was to cast himself, at the age of sixty, and his two sons *Titus* and *Domitian* in the prime of their years, upon the caprice of fortune and fate of war: in private pursuit, room was always left for retreat; but to those who strive for the sovereignty, no middle lot remains; they must either reign or perish. At the same time, he had before his eyes the great strength of the *German* army; a thing perfectly known to him, who was a man of great experience in war. However, he yielded at length to the solicitations of *Mucianus* and the other officers, promising to assume the title of emperor, when a proper opportunity offered. Hereupon the two commanders, after having spent several days in private conferences, parted, *Mucianus* to *Antioch*, and *Vespasian* to *Cæsarea*, the former the metropolis of *Syria*, the latter of *Judæa*. In the mean time, at *Alexandria* was begun the example of acknowledging *Vespasian* for emperor, through the haste and zeal of *Tiberius Alexander*, who brought the legions there to swear allegiance to him on the first of *July*, which was the day ever afterwards kept

- a kept and solemnized as the first of his reign. The army in *Judæa* took to him in person the same oath on the third of *July*, with such ardour, that they would not wait the arrival of *Titus*, who was then on his journey back from *Syria*, where he had been concerting measures with *Mucianus*. These glad tidings no sooner reached *Syria*, than *Mucianus* administered to his soldiers, who were themselves well-disposed, the oath to *Vespasian*. Before the fifteenth of *July* the whole province of *Syria* had taken the same oath. To the party too acceded *Sobemus* king of *Edessa*, *Antiochus* king of *Comagene*, and *Agrippa* king of *Ituræa*, who was returned with great expedition from *Rome*, upon private intelligence conveyed to him by his friends concerning the transactions in the east. Allegiance was likewise sworn by all the maritime provinces, extending to *Asia* and *Achaia*, and by all the inland regions bordering upon *Pontus* and the two *Armenias*^d.

- b *Vespasian*, having now taken upon him the imperial authority, established in the first place, at *Berytus* in *Phœnicia*, a council for the direction of all important affairs. Thither repaired *Mucianus*, with a train of general officers and tribunes, and of all such centurions and private men as made a signal appearance. From the army too in *Judæa* came a great number of the principal officers, who, while they strove to surpass each other in pomp and parade, furnished the appearance of the court and grandeur of an emperor. The first step taken for prosecuting the war was, to enlist men, and to recal to the service the dismissed veterans. Fortified cities were allotted for forging of arms. At *Antioch* money was coined, gold and silver. All these undertakings were, in their several quarters, diligently dispatched by careful and capable inspectors. To the kings of *Parthia* and *Armenia*, *Vologeses* and his brother *Tiridates*, ambassadors were sent; and at the same time provision was made, that, when the legions were withdrawn to prosecute the civil war, the countries behind should not be left naked and defenceless. It was resolved in a council of all the chief officers, that *Titus* should carry on the war in *Judæa*, *Vespasian* seize the streights leading into *Egypt*, and *Mucianus* with part of the forces encounter *Vitellius*. To all the generals and armies letters were sent, with orders to invite to arms, with the promise of rewards, the prætorian soldiers who had been disbanded by *Vitellius*. In the mean time, *Mucianus*, at the head of the sixth legion and thirteen thousand veterans, began his march, acting rather like a colleague, than a minister, of the emperor. He bent his rout through *Cappadocia* and *Phrygia* to *Byzantium*, where he had ordered the fleet to attend him. He loaded the countries, through which he passed, with exorbitant taxes; for which, however, the craving necessities of war furnished an excuse. Out of his own treasure too he helped to support the war; thus liberal of a private sum, which he was sure to repay himself with usury out of the public. The rest contributed after his example; but few were found who recovered their share^e.

- c In the mean time, the *Illyrian* army, upon advice that the legions in the east had declared *Vespasian* emperor, espoused the same party with extraordinary zeal. The third legion, then in *Mœsia*, was the foremost; the eighth and the seventh, intitled *Claudiana*, followed the example of the third, being both devoted to *Vespasian*, though they had not been in the last fight. They had indeed advanced as far as *Aquileia*, and there hearing melancholy tidings of *Otho*, insulted those who brought them, rent the standards bearing the name of *Vitellius*, and, sharing the public money amongst themselves, acted with open hostility. Hence, considering that they might urge to *Vespasian* these acts of violence as matter of service and merit, whereas they must expect to be punished for them by *Vitellius*, they not only declared for the former, but by letters solicited the army in *Pannonia* into the confederacy, and were preparing to have recourse to force, if they refused. In *Pannonia* the thirteenth legion and the seventh, called after the name of *Galba*, acceded without hesitation to the cause of *Vespasian*, being chiefly instigated by *Antonius Primus*. He was a native of *Tolouse*; and there, while he was a youth, known by the nickname of *Becco*, or rather *Beccoc*, which, in the language of the *Gauls*, signified the bill of a cock. He had been degraded under *Nero* from the senatorial dignity, for forging a will; but restored to his rank by *Galba*, who likewise preferred him to the command of the seventh legion. He was believed to have made frequent applications to *Otho* by letters, offering to serve him in the capacity of general; but being by him neglected, he had borne no share in that war. When he found, that *Vespasian* was likely to prevail, abandoning *Vitellius*,

^d TACIT. c. 72—81. SUET. in Vesp. c. 9. JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 36. c. 82—84. JOSEPH. ibid. c. 40.

^e TACIT.

tellius, he betook himself to him, and proved a mighty addition to the cause; for ^a he was a man of great personal bravery, daring, and enterprising, a prompt speaker, powerful in popular tumults, and, tho' rapacious, profuse, and in peace altogether wicked and corrupt, yet very useful in war. The *Mælian* and *Pannonian* armies drew after them the forces in *Dalmatia*. Into *Britain* two dispatches were sent to the fourteenth legion, others into *Spain* to the first; for they had both engaged for *Otho* against *Vitellius*. At the same time, letters were dispersed over all the territories of the *Gauls* ^e.

Vitellius
hears of the
revolt.

Sends for suc-
cours.

Africa faith-
ful to him.

Vitellius was first informed of the revolt of the third legion in *Mæsia*; which intelligence was conveyed to him by *Aponius Saturninus*, who commanded in that province, but much softened and qualified. The emperor's friends too, soothing him with ^b flattering speeches, took care to put favourable constructions upon the ill tidings. *Vitellius* himself, in a harangue to the soldiers, inveighed against the prætorians lately discharged, as if they had published lying reports, and assured both the soldiery and people, that there was no ground to fear a civil war. The name of *Vespasian* he took care to suppress, and dispersed soldiers all over the city, with directions to silence the rumour among the populace; a precaution which greatly increased the public alarm. From *Germany*, however, from *Britain*, and from both *Spains*, he sent for succours, but in a very negligent manner, the better to conceal the necessity which pressed him. In the provinces and commanders of the provinces, no less remissness was found: *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who commanded in *Germany*, and *Vettius Bolanus*, go- ^c vernor of *Britain*, were wavering in their fidelity to *Vitellius*; nor in *Spain* was there any forwardness or expedition shewn, the commanders of the three legions there, men equal in authority, (for over those provinces presided then no ruler of consular dignity) watching the fortune of the war, and being ready to follow it. In *Africa*, the legion and cohort levied by *Clodius Macer*, and afterwards discharged by *Galba*, upon orders from *Vitellius*, returned to the service. The youth too of the province offered themselves to be enlisted with signal alacrity, *Vitellius* having ruled there as proconsul with great uprightness, as had *Vespasian* in the same quality with ignominy and public hatred. *Valerius Festus*, governor of the province, promoted at first the inclinations of the people with exemplary zeal; but soon after beginning to waver, ^d while he asserted in public the cause of *Vitellius*, by secret intelligence he encouraged that of *Vespasian*, being resolved, whatever party prevailed, to maintain the justice of the stronger ^e.

Antonius Pri-
mus is for in-
vading Italy
with the Illy-
rian army.

THE measures concerted and agreed on by *Vespasian* and *Mucianus* were, that the *Illyrian* army should advance as far as *Aquileia*, possess themselves of the *Pannonian Alps*, and there wait, till their forces from all quarters behind them came up, in order to enter *Italy* the following year in a body. In the mean time, the fleet was to keep constantly cruizing both in the *Mediterranean* and *Adriatic* seas, in order to prevent the conveying of corn to *Rome* from *Egypt*, and provisions from *Achaia* or *Sicily*. By this means they did not doubt, but *Italy* would be obliged to submit without bloodshed. But these orders did not reach the *Illyrian* army, till it was too late to put them in execution; for the leaders of *Vespasian's* party in *Illyricum*, having held a council at *Petovio*, now *Pettaw* in *Stiria* upon the *Drave*, to deliberate, whether they should content themselves with guarding the passes of the *Pannonian Alps*, till the forces behind them advanced, or, by a resolution more daring, march forward and venture a struggle for *Italy*, some indeed thought it adviseable to wait the arrival of succours, magnifying the fame and renown of the *German* legions; but *Antonius Primus*, who was against all delay, argued, that to themselves dispatch was altogether advantageous, and to *Vitellius* only pernicious; since the *German* legions, once indeed formidable, were, by haunting the circus and theatres, and following ^f the idle diversions of the city, at present utterly softened and debauched, and dreadful to none but their hosts; whereas if time were allowed them, their ancient vigor would still return, by their application to the cares and pursuits of wars. Not far from them, added he, lies *Germany*, from whence a sure recruit of forces; beyond the *Channel*, *Britain*; just by, *Gaul*, as also both *Spains*; from all a ready supply of men, horses, and contributions. *Italy* itself is in their possession, with the immense treasures of *Rome*. The protracting of the war therefore to another summer will prove highly advantageous to them; but in this interval where shall we find provisions?

^e TACIT. C. 85—87. SUEB. C. 18. DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 737.

^f TACIT. C. 96—98.

a fions? where money? Let us therefore delay no longer, but, with a bold push, make an irruption into the boundaries of *Italy*. The measures which I advise, I am resolved to pursue. You, who are yet free to follow fortune on either side, stay, and with you detain the legions. To me a few cohorts, lightly equipped, will be sufficient. You shall soon hear that I have opened my way into *Italy*, and shaken the power of *Vitellius*. You will then be glad to follow in the track of one who has conquered for you. This speech, uttered with eyes darting fire and a fierce and thundering voice, moved even such as were most cautious and wary. The common foldiers, who, together with the centurions, had conveyed themselves into the council, scorning the resolution of others as cold and spiritless, extolled him as the only
b brave man, the only resolute leader. His resolution being generally approved of, *His proposal approved.* to render the march into *Italy* secure, letters were forthwith dispatched to *Aponius Saturninus*, who had already joined the party of *Vespasian*, with directions to follow in haste with his army from *Mæsia*. That the provinces, thus bereft of their armies, might not be exposed to the incursions of the bordering nations, the chiefs of the *Jazyges*, a *Sarmatian* nation, were taken into the service and retained in pay. Into the party too were drawn *Sido* and *Italicus*, kings of the *Suevians*, men noted for their attachment and fidelity to the *Romans*. On the side towards *Rhætia* guards of auxiliaries were posted, that country being governed by *Portius Septimius* the procurator, a man unshaken in his fidelity to *Vitellius*. *Sentilius Felix* was ordered to possess himself of the bank of the *Oenus*, now the *Ins*, flowing between *Rhætia* and *Noricum*.
c These precautions being taken, *Primus* marched with great expedition to invade *Italy*, at the head of a chosen body of infantry and part of the horse. He was accompanied by *Arvius Varus*, an officer of great bravery and experience in the art of war, which he had learned under the renowned *Corbulo*, whom he was supposed, in secret conferences with *Nero*, to have accused, and thereby occasioned the ruin of that celebrated commander. By favour, thus infamously gained, he was raised to the rank of a principal centurion. *Primus* and *Varus*, advancing to *Aquileia*, were ad-
d mitted into the city, and likewise into the neighbouring towns of *Opitergium* and *Altinum*: *Padua* too and *Abeste*, now *Este*, received them with great demonstrations of *He seizes Aquileia, and several other cities.* joy. In the latter place they learned, that three cohorts of *Vitellius's* army, with the squadron of horse called *Scriboniana*, had erected a bridge at *Forum Allienum*, now *Ferrara*, and were posted there. At break of day therefore they attacked them, before they were apprised of their approach, put some of them to the sword, and obliged the rest either to save themselves by flight, or to change their allegiance. In the mean time, two legions arriving at *Padua* from *Pannonia*, viz. the seventh, surnamed *Galbiana*, and the thirteenth, named *Gemina*, *Primus*, after having allowed them a few days for repose, bent his march to *Verona*, with a design to seize that city, and make it the seat of war, as it was situated among spacious plains, fit for encounters of horse, in which his prime force lay. In their march they became masters of
e *Vicetia*, an acquisition, which, tho' small in itself, passed for one of great moment; since in it *Cæcina* was born, and from the general of the enemy the place of his nativity was snatched. The seizing of *Verona* was deemed a more important conquest; *Takes Verona.* for it was a wealthy and flourishing city, and besides, the key of *Germany* and *Rhætia*: so that that now all communication between *Vitellius* and those countries was cut off. In the mean time, letters arrived from *Vespasian*, with orders to his generals not to venture beyond *Aquileia*, but to wait there the coming of *Mucianus*. To his authority he added reasoning, viz. that since *Egypt*, since the magazines for supplying *Italy* with provisions, since the revenues of the most opulent provinces, were all under his power, the army of *Vitellius*, through want of grain and pay, might be
f forced to come over. *Mucianus* in his letters urged the same counsels; but he was prompted by a passion for gaining all the glory, and reserving for himself the whole honour of the war. But from quarters of the world so distant, the counsels arrived when other measures were already taken^b.

THE dismal tidings of the irruption of the enemy into *Italy* no sooner reached *Rome*, *Vitellius orders Cæcina and Valens to take the field.* than *Vitellius*, at length thoroughly alarmed, ordered his two generals, *Cæcina* and *Valens*, to prepare with all expedition for taking the field. New levies were raised, and to all, who should voluntarily list themselves, not only dismissal was promised after the victory, but the same rewards that were paid to veterans after a long course of

^b TACIT. l. iii. c. 1—5.

The bad condition of the German army.

Cæcina wavers in his fidelity.

His treachery.

The fleet at Ravenna declares for Vespasian. Cæcina revolts, and is by his troops put in irons.

of warfare. As *Valens* was just then recovered from a severe fit of sickness, *Cæcina*^a alone was sent forward at the head of the *German* army. But the appearance of those forces, so awful upon their late entry, proved far different upon their departure. They had, by imitating the excesses of their emperor, by surrendering themselves to the voluptuous entertainments of the city, and following other practices too abominable to be named, quite wasted their martial ardour and enfeebled their bodies. Their march was lazy and slow, their ranks thin, great numbers, especially of the *Germans* and *Gauls*, having been swept off by distempers arising from their riotous living. Their horses were quite lifeless, and the men grown too delicate to bear the sun, the dust, or the weather; but the more averse they were to military toils, the greater propensity they had to disobedience and mutiny. It was generally believed,^b that *Cæcina*, who commanded them, out of jealousy and hatred to *Fabius Valens*, *Vitellius*'s chief favourite, had already resolved to change sides, and signified his intention to *Flavius Sabinus*, *Vespasian*'s brother, whom *Vitellius* had not yet removed from the government of *Rome*. *Cæcina*, after *Vitellius* had embraced and dismissed him with high marks of honour, leaving the city, sent forward part of the cavalry to possess themselves of *Cremona*, ordering the rest to repair to *Hostilia*, a place of some strength, and about thirty miles from *Verona*. He himself turned away to *Ravenna*, to confer there with *Lucius Bassus*, who, from the command of a squadron of horse, had been by *Vitellius* preferred at once to that of the two fleets, the one riding at *Ravenna*, the other at *Misenum*; but was nevertheless highly dissatisfied, because^c he was not appointed captain of the prætorian guards. It is uncertain, whether he drew *Cæcina* off from *Vitellius*, or *Cæcina* him. Those who composed the relation of this war, while the *Flavian* family was possessed of the sovereignty, tell us, that they were both guided by a sincere concern for the public tranquillity, and affection for the commonwealth. But our historian is of opinion, that as they were men of no faith or principles, they were prompted by jealousy and spite; and that, rather than others should surpass them in interest with *Vitellius*, they chose to overthrow *Vitellius* himself.^d *Cæcina* having rejoined the legions, employed many devices to alienate the affections of the centurions and common soldiers from *Vitellius*, to whom of themselves they were strongly devoted. *Bassus* undertook the same task with the fleet, and accomplished it without much difficulty; for, as they had lately served under *Otho*, they were ready to abandon their faith to *Vitellius*. *Cæcina* advanced to *Hostilia*, and pitched his camp between that village and the marshes formed by the river *Tartarus*, being defended behind by the river, and on each side by the marsh. As he had with him six legions and a great number of auxiliaries, it was in his power to have utterly defeated *Primus*'s two legions, (for his other forces were not yet arrived) and to have forced them, by a shameful flight, to abandon *Italy*. But framing delays, he privately carried on a correspondence with the enemy's generals, till, by intercourse of messengers, he agreed with them upon the articles of his treachery. In the mean time, arrived at *Verona* the seventh legion, named *Claudiana*, under the command of^e *Vipstanus Messala*, a man of a most illustrious family, and the only one who engaged in the war upon worthy designs. The seventh legion was soon after followed by the third and the eighth; and then it was judged proper to draw an intrenchment round *Verona*. In the mean time, the fleet at *Ravenna*, revolting from *Vitellius*, tore his images, and openly espoused the cause of *Vespasian*; which *Cæcina* no sooner understood, than assembling all the principal centurions and some of the common soldiers, he represented to them the deplorable condition of *Vitellius*'s affairs, exhorted them to gain betimes the favour of the new prince, and then forthwith gave them the oath to *Vespasian*. Those who were his accomplices setting an example, the rest, astonished at so sudden an event, took it after them. At the same instant, the images of *Vitellius*^f were pulled down and defaced, and messengers dispatched to acquaint *Antonius Primus* with the whole. But as soon as news of the defection was spread through the camp, the soldiers flocked to the quarter where the images of *Vespasian* were set up, and, with the utmost indignation, flung them down, and replaced those of *Vitellius*; then chusing for their leaders *Fabius Fabullus*, commander of the fifth legion, and *Cassius Longus*, prefect of the camp, they put *Cæcina* in irons, cutting in pieces certain marines, who by chance fell in their way, abandoned their camp, and, breaking down the bridge, marched back to *Hostilia*, and thence to *Cremona*, to rejoin there the first legion named *Italica*, and the one-and-twentieth, surnamed *Rapax*^k.

THESE

^a Idem, c. 6.

^k Idem, c. 7—14.

- a THESE transactions were no sooner known to *Primus*, than he resolved to attack the enemy, thus divided in their affections, ere the leaders had recovered their authority, the soldiers their discipline and obedience, or the legions their former spirit and boldness. He imagined, that *Fabius Valens*, who was inviolably attached to *Vitellius*, and a commander of great experience, had ere now left *Rome*, and would, upon learning the desertion of *Cæcina*, travel with great expedition. With his whole army therefore he marched from *Verona*; and the next evening incamped at *Bedriacum*. The day following he sent out his auxiliaries to forage in the territories of *Cremona*, and marched himself at the head of eight thousand horse to support them. When he had advanced about eight miles from *Bedriacum*, news was brought
- b him, that the enemy approached. While *Primus* was consulting what measures to take, *Arrius Varus* rushed out with a party of the most resolute horse, and put the enemy's van-guard in confusion; but many advancing to support their comrades, the fortune of the encounter changed, and *Arrius* was put to flight. This hasty step Arrius Varus put to flight by the troops of Vitellius. had been taken without the approbation of *Primus*, who judged, that the issue would be such as it proved. He now exhorted those about him to prepare for battle; to the legions he dispatched orders to arm, and notice to the auxiliaries spread over the country, to quit their pillage, and hasten by the several nearest ways to the combat. In the mean time, *Arrius's* routed troops arriving, communicated their dread to the rest; insomuch, that the whole body of horse under the command of *Primus* betook
- c themselves to a shameful flight. During this consternation, *Primus*, discharging the duty of an experienced commander and a most courageous soldier, strove to animate The gallant conduct of Primus. such as were dismayed, to stop such as were flying, readily assisting here with his counsel and orders, there with his sword, where-ever the greatest efforts were required, where-ever any hope was presented. With his javelin he pierced a standard-bearer who was flying, and seizing the standard, turned it against the enemy. Hereupon an hundred horse, ashamed to desert their general, returned to the fight. With these, drawn up in close ranks, he sustained the onset, till the rest of his men, finding the bridge behind them broken and their flight interrupted, returned to the charge. Hereupon consternation and dismay seized the enemy; they began to give
- d ground, and at last, *Primus* pressing them with fresh vigor, betook themselves to a Vitellius's cavalry routed. disorderly flight. The conquerors pursued them within four miles of *Cremona*, where they met, attacked, and routed two legions, that called *Rapax* and that named *Italica*, who were advancing to the relief of their cavalry. *Primus* forbore pursuing them, mindful of the condition of his men and horses, quite spent with the fatigue of the day. In the close of the evening arrived the rest of *Primus's* forces; and as they marched over heaps of slain, they concluded from thence, that the war was ended, and demanded to be led directly to *Cremona*, being well apprised, that by storming the town in the dark, they should have a greater latitude for plundering; whereas if they waited the return of day, supplications would be offered, and terms
- e granted: by which means the wealth of *Cremona* would accrue to the commanders of the legions and principal officers; for the plunder of a town taken by storm belonged to the soldiers, but to the leaders when gained by surrender. It was with the utmost difficulty, that *Primus* (for they utterly slighted the other commanders) prevailed upon them to delay the attack for one night. In the mean time, some horsemen, who had advanced close to the walls of *Cremona*, having seized some stragglers from thence, learnt of them, that six legions of *Vitellius*, and the whole army that had incamped at *Hostilia*, having that day marched thirty miles, were just approaching in battle-array. Hereupon *Primus* immediately drew up his men according to the nature of the ground, and made the necessary preparations to receive the enemy,
- f who, as they wanted a leader of experience, instead of resting at *Cremona*, attacked, The battle of Cremona. spent as they were with a long march and fasting, *Primus's* forces, and began the engagement at the third hour of the night; that is, about nine in the evening. The combat lasted the whole night, fortune sometimes favouring one side, sometimes another. As they fought in the dark, and the watch-word of each, by being frequently asked and repeated, became known to the other, they could not discern friend from foe. In this dreadful confusion, the seventh legion, called *Galbiana*, was sorely beset. Out of it six centurions of principal rank were slain, and some of the ensigns taken. The eagle, however, was preserved by *Atilius Varus*, the chief centurion, who, in defending it, slew heaps of the enemy, and at last fell himself. *Primus's* men were chiefly annoyed by a balista of amazing bulk, which, being placed upon the ridge of

Vitellius's
army defeat-
ed.

A father kil-
led in the bat-
tle by his son.

They attack
the enemy's
camp.

the highway, swept away whole ranks, by discharging against them great, massy ^a stones; but at length two common soldiers, passing undiscovered through the midst of the enemy, cut the springs of the engines, and by that means, at the expence of their own lives, (for they were immediately cut in pieces) saved part of the army from utter destruction. To neither side was fortune yet leaning, when, the night being near spent, the moon rising discovered the two armies to each other. More favourable, however, she proved to that of *Vespasian*, as she shone upon their backs, and full in the enemy's faces. *Primus*, now that he could distinguish his own men and be by them distinguished, applied himself to animate them, some by shame and reproof, others by applause and exhortation, all by hopes and promises. There ensued from every quarter cries and shoutings; and just then the third legion, according to the custom ^b in *Syria*, where they had been long quartered, paid their adoration to the rising sun. This incident gave birth to a report, which flew in an instant through the whole army and reached the enemy, that *Mucianus* was arrived, and between his forces and the third legion mutual salutations had passed. This disheartened the troops of *Vitellius*; which *Primus* perceiving, made a last effort, pushed them with great vigor, and utterly broke their ranks; which they attempted indeed to restore, but in vain, being embarrassed by their own carriages and engines. Being therefore no longer able to keep their ground, they betook themselves to a precipitous flight, and strove to gain *Cremona*, *Primus's* men pursuing them with great slaughter. *Vitellius* is said ^c to have lost, what in the engagement what in the flight, about thirty thousand men. But the sight of so many dead bodies laying together in heaps, and covering the fields and ways, did not occasion so much horror, as the death of a father slaughtered by his own son. The fact is thus related by our historian, upon the authority of *Vipstanus Messala*, who, in this engagement, commanded the seventh legion, named *Claudiana*: *Julius Mansuetus*, a native of *Spain*, lifting in the legion called *Rapax*, left behind him a son, then a boy, who afterwards being under *Galba*, inrolled in the seventh legion called *Galbiana*, happened in this battle to engage his father and ^d killed him; but being known by his parent just expiring, as he was rifling him, and knowing him again, he embraced with a flood of tears his pale corpse; charged with a sad and doleful voice the public with the crime of parricide; and lifting up the body, digged a grave, and, under the utmost affliction, discharged towards his parent the last duty. Those who were nearest observed what had passed, and in a moment the tragical accident was divulged throughout the whole army, with many lamentations and bitter execrations upon a war thus unnatural and barbarous; yet they continued to butcher and spoil their kinsmen, their relations, nay, their brethren, at the same time relating what a crying iniquity had been committed, and committing it themselves ^e.

As the conquerors approached *Cremona*, they found the enemy incamped quite round the walls, and defended by a deep ditch, which had been dug in the war against *Otho*, and since strengthened with fresh works. To proceed to the assault ^e with an army already weary with the continued toil of a day and a night, seemed to the leaders an enterprize full of danger and difficulty; but the soldiers, more apt to brave perils than bear delays, demanded to be forthwith led on to the attack; and *Primus*, yielding to this humour, ordered them, in the form of a ring, to invest the intrenchments, and begin the assault; which they did with a fury hardly to be expressed, raising their shields over their heads, and thence forming a *testudo*, under the shelter of which they advanced to the foot of the ramparts. But *Vitellius's* men, by hurling down upon them huge stones, loosened the *testudo*, beat to the ground the men beneath, and made a dreadful havock of them, thus naked, and exposed to volleys of stones and arrows. The onset began to slacken, when the leaders, finding ^f their men exhausted and unmoved by exhortations, pointed to *Cremona* as the price of their victory. Thus encouraged, they renewed the assault, all obstinately combined to succeed or die: regardless of wounds and blood, they strove to demolish the rampart, battered the gates, stood upon the shoulders of one another, and upon the *testudo* now restored, and thence seized the weapons in the hands of the enemy, and the hands too which held them; so that the hale and the maimed, such as were half-dead, and such as were just expiring, tumbled headlong together and perished. When *Vitellius's* men were no longer able to sustain the shock, and found that all the discharges

¹ Idem, c. 15—25. Dio, l. lxx. p. 740.

a discharges from the balista were rendered ineffectual by the testudo below, they at last hurled down the engine itself, huge and ponderous as it was, which failed not to crush those upon whom it fell; but at the same time drew with it the battlements, the upper part of the rampart, and the adjoining tower. In this confusion, *Caius Volusius*, a soldier of the third legion, having mounted the rampart, pushed down all who resisted, and cried aloud, That the camp was taken. The rest then having broke the gate with their swords and axes, burst in, *Vitellius's* men being utterly dismayed, and leaping with great fury from the battlements. The whole space between the camp and *Cremona*, whither the enemy retired, was covered with dead bodies. And here again was presented a new scene of difficulties, the walls of the city very high, strong towers of stone, the gates secured with vast bars of iron, the garison numerous, the inhabitants devoted to the party of *Vitellius*, and at this time a great part of *Italy* assembled in the town on occasion of a fair. *Primus* ordered fire to be immediately set to the most sumptuous and beautiful buildings in the neighbourhood of the city, hoping by that means to oblige the people of *Cremona* to abandon the party of *Vitellius*. At the same time, he conveyed all his bravest men into such houses as stood near the walls, from whence, with volleys of darts, arrows, and stones they drove away all who made opposition, while the legions, forming a testudo, advanced to the foot of the walls. *Vitellius's* men sustained the attack with great intrepidity, till their officers, fearing that, were the city taken by storm, all the fury of the conquerors would vent itself upon them, began to deliberate about surrendering. Having therefore agreed to throw themselves upon the mercy of the conquering army, they razed the name and defaced the images of *Vitellius*; then discharging *Cæcina* from his bonds, besought him to plead in their behalf. Thus were so many brave men reduced at length to implore the aid and protection of a traitor. At his request *Primus* granted them their lives, ordering them to surrender their arms and march out of the town; which they did accordingly, *Cæcina*, who was then consul, walking before them, attended by his lictors, and arrayed with the ensigns of the consular dignity. This the conquerors could not bear; they upbraided him in bitter terms with his pride, with his cruelty, nay, and with his treason, and would have proceeded to violence, had not *Primus* checked them, and furnishing *Cæcina* with a guard, sent him away to *Vespasian*^m. For the city of *Cremona*; as it had, even in the war against *Otho*, supported the cause of *Vitellius*, and ever shewed a passionate zeal for his interest, both *Primus* and his army were highly incensed against it; but nevertheless the general did not think it advisable to deliver it immediately up to be plundered, great part of the wealth of *Italy* being at this time lodged in it on occasion of the fair. In a speech therefore which he made to his soldiers after the surrender of the place, he commended their bravery, exhorted them to use mercy towards their fellow-soldiers, who had submitted; but purposely avoided making any mention of the city, or its inhabitants. Having ended his speech, and dismissed the troops, he went to a bath to wash off the blood with which he was still stained; for he had, during the several engagements and attacks, commanded as a general, and fought like a common soldier. In the bath he happened to drop a word, which was remarked and quickly divulged; for finding the water somewhat too cool, he complained of it, adding, It will soon prove abundantly hot. This saying, though pleasantly uttered to his slaves, was instantly spread all over the camp, and by the soldiery, greedy of plunder, interpreted as the watch-word for setting fire to *Cremona*. Accordingly forty thousand soldiers rushing into it, and a greater number of servants and retainers to the camp, more abandoned to acts of cruelty and licentiousness than the soldiers themselves, pillaged, murdered, ravished, &c. without restraint for four days together, and then setting fire to the empty houses, reduced them to ashes. Such was the end of *Cremona*, two hundred and eighty-six years after its foundation (W). *Primus*, ashamed of the barbarities committed

And force it.

Cremona attacked.

It surrenders.

Is pillaged and burnt.

^m TACIT. c. 16—31.

(W) *Cremona* was founded, according to *Tacitus* (58), *Polybius* (59), and *Livy* (60), in the consulship of *Tiberius Sempronius* and *Publius Cornelius*, when *Hannibal* was ready to invade *Italy*, as a barrier against the *Gauls* on the other side of the *Po*, or any other power meditating an irruption from beyond the *Alps*. It grew and flourished by the convenience of rivers, the richness of its territory, and affinities with other nations of *Italy*. In no foreign war it had ever been hurt, but, in the civil dissensions, suffered more than any other city.

(58) *Tacit.* c. 3.

(59) *Polyb.* l. iii. c. 40.

(60) *Liv. epit.* l. xii.

committed by his soldiers, issued an order, that no one should presume to hold captive any citizen of *Cremona*. Hereupon such as had any, began to murder them; which inhumanity obliged their relations to redeem them. Soon after, such of the inhabitants as had outlived the general massacre, returned to *Cremona*, and rebuilt the city, being therein countenanced by *Vespasian*. *Josephus* tells us, that of *Vitellius's* men there fell in the battle thirty thousand and two hundred, and four thousand five hundred on *Primus's* side^a; and *Xiphilinus* writes, that, what in the field what in the city of *Cremona*, there perished fifty thousand persons. The conquerors, not able to bear the stench of the putrified carcases, having lodged one night on the ruins in which the city was buried, retired the next day three miles from thence. The soldiers of *Vitellius*, scattered and dispersed over the country, were assembled again, placed under their former banners, and, as the war still subsisted, sent into *Illyricum*. Messengers were immediately dispatched into *Britain* and both *Spains*, to acquaint the troops there with the victory, as was *Julius Calenus*, a tribune, into *Gaul*, and *Alpinus Montanus*, commander of a cohort, into *Germany*, two officers chosen for ostentation, as the latter was of *Treves*, the former an *Ædian*, and both partizans of *Vitellius*. At the same time, guards were posted upon the passes of the *Alps*, to cut off all communication between *Germany* and *Italy*; for it was reported, that the *Germans* were arming with a design to assist the vanquished party^b. Let us now return to *Vitellius*.

Vitellius resigns himself up to voluptuousness.

HAVING dismissed *Cæcina* in the manner we have related, and a few days after ordered *Fabius Valens* to take the field, he buried himself in the bowers and alleys of his gardens, striving to smother all his cares in voluptuousness and all manner of excesses. From *Rome* he retired to the grove at *Aricinum*, where, while he passed his time intirely resigned to sloth and gluttony, he was alarmed with tidings of the defection of the fleet at *Ravenna*. Soon after came another melancholy account, yet blended with joy, that *Cæcina* had revolted, but was by the army put in irons. Hereupon he returned to the city, and in a full assembly extolled the fidelity of the soldiery; but ordered *Publius Sabinus*, captain of the prætorian guards, to be cast into bonds, on account of his intimacy with *Cæcina*, and named in his room *Alphenus Varus*. The senate, informed of the desertion of *Cæcina*, inveighed against him in a style of indignation well studied; for not a man dropped a bitter expression against the leaders of the opposite party, and all with great circumspection avoided mentioning *Vespasian*. Tho' one day only remained of *Cæcina's* consulship, he was deposed, and *Roscius Regulus* named in his room, who, upon the last day of *October*, began his magistracy, and with the day ended it. In the mean time, *Valens*, who was upon his march to join the troops at *Hostilia* and *Cremona*, being informed, that the fleet at *Ravenna* had revolted to the enemy, instead of quickening his march, halted, and wrote to *Vitellius* for succours. The emperor immediately dispatched after him three cohorts, with the squadron of horse from *Britain*. These *Valens* sent forward to *Aricinum*; but he himself turning aside bent his course to *Umbria*, and from thence to *Hetruria*. Having there learnt the issue of the battle at *Cremona*, he conceived a design, which, had it been put in execution, would have been attended with very dreadful consequences, he proposed to imbarque for *Narbonne Gaul*, and landing upon any part of that coast, rouse those powerful provinces and all the *Roman* forces there, as also the several nations of *Germany*, and thence renew the war. With this design he imbarqued in the port of *Pisa*; but was, by contrary winds, forced to land at *Monaco*, where he was kindly received by *Marius Maturus*, procurator of the maritime *Alps*, who, though all the country round espoused the opposite party, had never swerved from his allegiance. By him *Valens* was informed, that *Valerius Paulinus*, procurator of *Narbonne Gaul*, an officer of known bravery and *Vespasian's* intimate friend, had declared for him; and held with a strong garison the city of *Forojulium*, now *Frejus*, which commanded all access from the sea. Upon this intelligence *Valens* returned directly to his vessels, with four soldiers of the prætorian guards, three friends, and as many centurions, leaving to *Maturus* and the rest full liberty to stay, and swear, if they pleased, fidelity to *Vespasian*. As he roamed about, hovering on the coasts of *Gaul*, he was, by contrary winds, driven upon the *Stæchades*, islands near *Marseilles*, and there by some galleys belonging to *Paulinus* taken prisoner; which was no sooner known, than first the neighbouring, and soon after the

Valens retires to Hetruria.

Designs to raise Gaul.

Is taken prisoner.

^a JOSEPH. bell. l. iv. c. 41,

^b TACIT. c. 35, 36.

a the more distant provinces, espoused, without hesitation, the cause of the conqueror. In *Spain*, the first legion, named *Adjutrix*, which had served under *Otho*, declared for *Vespasian*, and drew over with it the tenth and the sixth. In *Britain* the second legion, which *Vespasian* had commanded there in the reign of *Claudius*, acceded to his party, though not without some opposition from the other legions, in which many centurions and many soldiers had been promoted by *Vitellius*. However, they were all brought at length to acknowledge *Vespasian*^p.

In the mean time, the dismal tidings of the overthrow at *Cremona* reaching *Rome*, *Vitellius* ^{others all bad tidings.} instead of deliberating with his friends about the most proper measures in so critical a conjuncture, with a stupid dissimulation, smothered the news of the calamity, feigning that all his proceedings prospered, and by such false representations leaving his condition quite desperate. About his person was observed a wonderful silence concerning the war; and through the city all discourses about it were prohibited, which for this very cause grew more frequent. However, he privately sent persons, in whom he could confide, to view the enemy's camp; but upon their return, when he had secretly examined them, he caused them all to be murdered, that they might not divulge what they had seen. *Julius Agrestis*, a centurion, having attempted in vain to awaken the emperor out of his lethargy, at last prevailed with him, that he himself might be sent to survey the forces of the enemy, and to learn the transactions at *Cremona*. *Agrestis* did not assume the behaviour of a spy, nor attempted to escape the notice of *Primus*; but declaring to him the instructions from the emperor and his own design, he demanded to view the whole in person. *Primus* readily sent certain persons with him to shew him the field of battle, the desolation and remains of *Cremona*, and the legions taken prisoners. *Agrestis* having carefully examined the whole, returned to *Rome*; but as *Vitellius* gave no credit to his accounts, nay accused him of corruption and infidelity; Since then, said he, some remarkable confirmation is necessary, and since neither my life nor my death can avail you, I will furnish you with an evidence which you may credit. Having thus spoken, he left his presence, and fell upon his own sword at the gates of the palace^q.

b In the mean time, some of *Vespasian's* troops, under the conduct of *Cornelius Fuscus*, advancing as far as *Ariminum*, besieged that place, and possessed themselves of the plains of *Umbria* and the territories of *Picenum*, all along the *Adriatic* sea. Thus between *Vespasian* and *Vitellius* all *Italy* was shared, and the ridges of the *Apennine* become the common boundary. As winter approached and the plains were flooded by the overflowing of the *Po*, *Primus* sent the legions back to *Verona* with the aged and wounded; and passing the *Po* at the head of the auxiliary cohorts and cavalry, advanced as far as the temple of *Fortune*, at present a city on the *Adriatic* gulph, known by the name of *Fano*. There he halted, upon intelligence, that the prætorian cohorts had already left *Rome*, and that guards were posted upon the *Apennine* to oppose his passage. And truly *Vitellius*, roused at length, as it were, out of a profound sleep, had ordered *Julius Priscus* and *Alphenus Varus*, with fourteen prætorian cohorts, a legion of marines, and other forces, to seize the passes of the *Apennine*. They were all chosen men, and able to have made an offensive war, had they been under the command of a different general. They encamped at *Mevania*, now *Bevagna*, in the neighbourhood of *Toligno*; but *Vitellius*, without departing in the least from his wonted course of debauchery, continued at *Rome*, where he settled a succession of consuls for ten years, discharged some nations from all tribute, conferred upon others fresh immunities, and, in short, without any regard to futurity, rent and exhausted the empire with such wild bounties, as could neither be granted nor accepted by men of sense, but were highly applauded by the unthinking herd. At length, moved by the repeated solicitations of the army, he left *Rome*, and repaired to the camp at *Mevania*, attended by a great number of senators, which only served to expose him to public contempt and derision (X). For as he was

d quite

^p Tacit. c. 41---45.

^q Idem, c. 54.

(X) Tacitus says, that while he was discoursing to an assembly of the soldiers soon after his arrival in the camp, there flew over his head a flock of ravenous birds, so numerous, that, like a black cloud, they darkened the day. He adds, that a bull escaped

from the altar; and overturning the utensils for the sacrifice, was at last slain at a distance from thence, and not in the place where it was customary to kill the victims. This the superstitious pagans looked upon as the worst of omens (61).

(61) Tacit. c. 56.

The fleet at
Misenum
revolts.

quite unacquainted with the military art, he was continually applying for information how to draw up the army, how to procure intelligence, by what measures he might defeat the designs of the foe, &c. Upon every flying report of the approach of the enemy, he was sure to betray great fear, and never failed to get drunk. In the end, surfeited with the camp and learning the revolt of the fleet at *Misenum*, he returned to *Rome* in the utmost consternation. The fleet was drawn to revolt by *Claudius Faventius*, who was only a centurion, and had been degraded by *Galba* with marks of ignominy. By forging letters from *Vespasian*, and in his name tempting the officers with great rewards, he prevailed upon them to change their allegiance. To reclaim them, *Vitellius* made choice of *Claudius Julianus*, who had lately commanded the fleet, and was highly esteemed by the marines. But he, without hesitation, went over to the party of *Vespasian*; and, putting himself at their head, took the city of *Terracina*. Hereupon *Vitellius* dispatched messengers to the army, with orders to retire from *Mevania*, and drawing nearer *Rome*, to encamp at *Narnia*, now *Narni*. From it he detached six cohorts and five hundred horse, whom he sent under the command of his brother *Lucius*, to make head against the soldiers of the fleet. He himself remained at *Rome*, where he assembled the people by their tribes, and to all, who desired to be listed, administered the oath of fidelity. As he moved compassion by his sad countenance, his doleful expressions, and many tears, and was liberal, nay extravagant, in his promises, vast multitudes gave in their names; and to this dastardly crowd, only daring in words, he gave the awful name of legions. To himself he assumed, at this juncture, the title of *Cæsar*, which he had hitherto rejected, as if the *Cæsars* alone were destined to hold the sovereign power.

Vitellius
takes the title
of Cæsar.

Primus passes
the Apennine.

THE army no sooner left *Mevania*, than the *Samnites*, the *Pelignians*, and the *Marssians* embraced the cause of *Vespasian*. At the same time, *Primus*, informed of the enemy's motions, hastened to pass the *Apennine*, where, while his troops were sorely annoyed with the cold, and struggling with difficulty out of the deep snow, he considered what dangers he must have undergone, had not *Vitellius's* army abandoned their post. *Primus*, having past the *Apennine*, encamped at *Carfulæ*, between *Mevania* and *Narnia*, and there waited the arrival of the legions from *Cremona*, which were in full march to join him. As the forces of *Vitellius* were only ten miles distant, the troops which *Primus* had with him were for attacking them before the legions arrived, whom they considered rather as sharers in the prey, than partakers in the peril. But *Primus* found means to calm their fury, and in the mean time the legions arrived, and soon after their arrival possessed themselves of *Interamna*, now *Terni*; which so terrified *Vitellius's* army, that they began to fly over to the enemy in whole companies and troops, being encouraged thereunto by their tribunes and centurions. However, some of the common soldiers persisted inflexible in their adherence to *Vitellius*; and a report was industriously spread all over the camp, that *Valens* had escaped into *Germany*, and was there assembling a mighty army. To

Valens put to
death.

The whole
army passes
over to Vespasian.

confute this rumour, and prevent their cherishing any farther hopes, *Valens* was put to death at *Urbium*, where he was detained in prison, and his head sent to the camp, and displayed to the view of *Vitellius's* troops. At this sight, they sunk into utter despair; and seeing themselves on all sides bereft of hope, passed over in a body to the party of *Vespasian*. Upon this general defection, *Primus* and *Varus* neglected not, by repeated messages, to make offers to *Vitellius* of safety to his person, of revenues, of any private retirement in *Campania*, or elsewhere, if he would resign the sovereignty and submit to *Vespasian*. *Mucianus* likewise sent him letters with the like offers; to which he would have yielded, had he not been dissuaded by his friends from ever leading a private life, after he had been emperor. To him now remained only the city of *Rome*, which *Flavius Sabinus* might have easily raised against him; but he, either out of a natural abhorrence to the spilling of blood, or because he envied the grandeur of his brother's fortune, neglected to act with any warmth or alacrity. It is true, he often conferred with *Vitellius* about the means of restoring public peace, but could not be prevailed upon to use violence. In one of these conferences, he agreed to resign the empire upon certain conditions, which *Sabinus* assured him should be ratified by his brother *Vespasian*; which was no sooner known, than his followers exerted their utmost efforts to divert him from his resolution; representing to him, how ignominious, how insecure the terms of peace were, since

Vitellius
designs to
abdicate.

- a since the performing them entirely depended upon the wanton humour of the conqueror. But, notwithstanding all their endeavours to rouse him to some attempt daring and brave, having learnt on the eighteenth of *December* the defection of his army at *Narnia*, he went forth from the palace in deep mourning, attended by his domestics, with his little son, a helpless infant; and passing in this forlorn condition through the streets of the city, arrived at the place where the people used to assemble; and there to the multitude, which had flocked from all quarters, declared his resolution in few words, such as suited his present condition, that he voluntarily withdrew for the sake of the public peace and the good of the commonwealth; and that he only desired they would remember him, and to his brother, to his wife, and to his innocent and tender children, shew compassion and mercy. At the same time,
- b extending his arms, with his little son in them, he recommended him now to one, now to another, then to all. At last, bursting into tears, he ungirt his sword from his side, and presented it to the consul *Cæcilius Simplex*, who stood just by him, as thus resigning the power of life and death over the citizens. As the consul refused to receive it, and the assembly with loud clamours opposed his resignation, he departed, declaring, that he intended to divest himself of the badges of the imperial dignity in the temple of *Concord*, and thence to seek a private retirement in his brother's house. But the people, sensibly affected with this doleful scene, declared *But is not permitted.* with one voice against his withdrawing to a private dwelling, called him back to the palace, and even shut up every other way. Hereupon, not knowing what to
- c do, nor how to proceed, he returned to the palace. But as the rumour had already flown all over the city, that *Vitellius* had abdicated the empire; all the principal senators, great numbers of knights, with the city guards and those of the night-watch, crowded to the house of *Flavius Sabinus*. Thither news was brought them, that *Vitellius*, encouraged by the people and his *German* guards, was returned to the palace. As *Sabinus* had advanced too far to retreat, all who were about him *Flavius Sabinus takes arms, but is defeated.* advised him to take arms, and force *Vitellius* to stand to the treaty he had made. *Sabinus*, though of himself hesitating and backward (Y), yielded to their advice; but some of the boldest of *Vitellius*'s men, meeting him as he advanced to the palace, attacked
- d with great resolution, and put him to flight. *Sabinus* under this distress had no other resource but to shut himself up in the capitol; which he did accordingly, with *He retires to the capitol.* a small number of soldiers, some senators, and a few *Roman* knights. The soldiers of *Vitellius* immediately invested the capitol, but with stations so loose and ill-guarded, that *Sabinus*, during the dead of the night, found means to acquaint *Primus* with his danger, and to cause his own children *Sabinus* and *Clemens*, and his brother's son *Domitian*, to be brought to him. The next morning, as soon as day began to dawn, before hostilities were committed on either side, *Sabinus* sent *Cornelius Martialis*, a centurion of the first rank, to put *Vitellius* in mind of the treaty, and expostulate with him about his thus violating such solemn stipulations. *Vitellius* threw the whole fault upon the soldiers, whose ardour, he said, it was not in his power to restrain.
- e He even warned *Martialis* to retire by a private way, that he might not be assassinated by the soldiers, as the mediator of a peace which they abhorred. He was scarce

^c TACIT. c. 60—69. Suet. c. 15. DIO, l. lxx. p. 740.

(Y) The nobility of *Rome* did all that lay in their power to rouse *Flavius Sabinus*, and encourage him to share with the other generals of the party the glory of placing his brother upon the throne. As he was governor of *Rome*, the cohorts there immediately depended upon him, and consequently would not fail to join; most of the senators offered to assist him with their slaves. The cohorts remaining with *Vitellius* were few, and those quite disheartened with dismal tidings from all quarters. The populace were wavering; and from them, if he once presented himself as their head, he would find the same flattery and zeal, which they had shewn for *Vitellius*, instantly turned upon *Vespasian*. With these and the like reasonings, the grandees of *Rome* strove to rouse *Sabinus*, but could not by any means prevail upon him to take arms; and hence some entertained pri-

vate suspicions against him, as if through malignity and emulation he studied to thwart the designs formed in behalf of his brother. For *Flavius Sabinus* was both elder than *Vespasian*, and greatly surpassed him in wealth and reputation. He was even believed to have upheld his brother's credit otherwise sinking, and for the money lent him to have received in pledge his house and possessions. Hence, though between them an appearance of unanimity subsisted, private grudges were apprehended to remain. But our historian is of opinion, that *Sabinus*, naturally merciful and gentle, abhorred all slaughter and spilling of blood; and therefore frequently conferred with *Vitellius* about the means of restoring public peace, and laying down arms by mutual agreement and treaty (62).

(62) *Idem*, c. 64.

The capitol
besieged.

And burnt to
the ground.

Sabinus taken
prisoner.

And murdered

Lucius Vitellius takes
Terracina.

scarce returned to the capitol, when *Vitellius's* soldiers approached, and began the attack with great fury. The besieged, with showers of stones and tiles, strove to overwhelm the aggressors; but the latter, advancing boldly to the very gates of the citadel, set fire to them, and must have entered, had not *Sabinus* pulled down the statues on all hands, and, with these glorious monuments of antiquity, raised in the very entrance a new wall. Then they strove to force a passage from the opposite avenues of the capitol, climbing over the contiguous buildings, which, during a long peace, had been suffered to be raised to the height of the foundations of the capitol. Here the assault was close and fierce; and the adjoining roofs being set on fire, whether by the assailants or the besieged is uncertain, the flame spread from thence to the porticos of the capitol; and being there nourished by the timber, which was very old, spread every way with terrible impetuosity; nor did the conflagration cease, till that glorious and stately edifice was burnt to the ground and laid in ashes; the most deplorable misfortune, says *Tacitus*, that had happened since the founding of the city, and to the *Roman* people the most reproachful, since by them, and not by a foreign enemy, the sacred seat of the great *Jupiter*, reared by their ancestors with solemn benedictions and auspices, as the pledge and centre of future empire, was thus impiously profaned and reduced to ashes.

While the capitol was yet burning, *Vitellius's* bands, bursting in, put all who opposed them to the sword: of these the most signal were *Cornelius Martialis*, *Æmilius Pacensis*, *Casperi Niger*, and *Didius Scæva*. *Flavius Sabinus* and *Quinctius Atticus* the consul were taken and loaded with irons. The rest, by divers stratagems, escaped, having learnt the word by which the soldiers of *Vitellius* were distinguished by one another. Young *Domitian* was saved by the contrivance of one of his freedmen, under the disguise of a linen robe, as if he had belonged to the tribe of the priests who offered sacrifices in the capitol (Z). *Sabinus* and *Atticus* were carried to *Vitellius*, who did all that lay in his power to appease the fury of the populace and soldiery, crying aloud for their execution. They were chiefly incensed against *Sabinus*; and therefore, instead of hearkening to the emperor's intreaties, they run him through in his presence; then cutting off his head, dragged his trunk through the streets to the *Scala Gemoniæ*, where the bodies of malefactors were usually exposed. He had, for the space of five-and-thirty years, carried arms for the commonwealth, had governed *Mæsia* seven years, and *Rome* twelve, bearing both in peace and war a signal reputation. The only failing, which even his enemies could object to him, was his talkativeness. As to the innocence of his life and justice of his actions, he was altogether blameless. All agree, that before *Vespasian* became emperor, *Sabinus* was looked upon as the chief ornament of the *Flavian* family, and the support of *Vespasian* himself, who was his younger brother: When the people demanded the doom of the consul *Atticus*, *Vitellius* persisted in opposing them, being entirely reconciled to him, in regard of his openly confessing, that he had set fire to the capitol; and by thus assuming the odium of the crime, though the whole was by some thought a fiction, acquitted as innocent the party of *Vitellius*. About the same time, *Lucius Vitellius*, the emperor's brother, defeated in *Campania* the marines, who had declared for *Vespasian*, and retook *Terracina*. Six small galleys escaped, and in one of them *Apollinaris* commander of the fleet. All the other vessels were seized by the shore, or, surcharged by the flying crowd, sunk to the bottom. *Julianus*, who had been sent by *Vitellius* to reclaim the fleet, and had gone over to *Vespasian*, was taken prisoner, and by *Lucius's* orders first inhumanly scourged and then executed. Had *Vitellius's* men, now elated with success, proceeded directly to *Rome*, a dreadful struggle must have ensued; nor could it have been decided without the destruction of the city. But while *Lucius* was deliberating, whether he should return forthwith to *Rome*, or pursue the reduction of *Campania*,

t TACIT. c. 70—72.

(Z) *Domitian* passing among the sacrificers undisturbed to the house of *Cornelius Primus*, a dependent of his fathers, near the place called *Velabrum*, lay there concealed, till *Rome* was taken by *Primus*. He afterwards, in the reign of his father, demolished the house where he had lain concealed, and

raised upon the place a small chapel dedicated to *Jupiter the protector*, with an altar, and the account of his adventure engraved upon marble. When he arrived at the sovereignty, he erected a vast temple sacred to *Jupiter the guardian*, with himself held in the arms of the god (63).

(63) *Idem*, c. 74.

- a *Campania*, the troops of *Primus*, informed of the danger of *Sabinus*, hastened to his relief. *Petilius Cerealis*, one nearly allied to *Vespasian* and a commander of no mean character, upon the first news that the capitol was besieged, was sent forward with a thousand horse, and ordered to cross the *Sabine* territories, and enter *Rome* through the *Salarian* way. *Primus* himself advanced along the great *Flaminian* road, and when the night was far spent, arrived at a place called the *Red Rocks*. There he received dismal tidings, that *Sabinus* was murdered, the capitol reduced to ashes, the city under dreadful consternation, the populace and slaves all under arms for *Vitellius*, &c. (A). *Petilius Cerealis*, meeting not far from the city a party of the enemy, attacked them briskly, but was by them received with equal resolution, and, after a long and bloody contest, put to flight and pursued as far as *Fidenæ*. This success heightened the zeal and partiality of the people for *Vitellius*; they betook themselves to arms, most of them snatching up whatever fell first in their way, and, thus armed, demanded to be led out against the enemy. *Vitellius* commended their zeal, but at the same time sent ambassadors both to *Cerealis* and *Primus* to renew the former treaty. The soldiers of *Cerealis* insulted the deputies, and even wounded the prætor *Arulenus Rusticus*, a man of great merit and distinction, and slew his principal lictor, for daring to open a passage through the crowd. Those who went to *Primus* were better received. They were attended by the *Vestal* virgins, who brought letters from *Vitellius* to *Primus*, wherein the emperor desired, that the battle, which was to be the last, might be suspended for one day, since during that interval all things might be easily accommodated. *Primus* dismissed the virgins with all demonstrations of honour; but to *Vitellius* returned answer, that, by the murder of *Sabinus* and the burning of the capitol, all means of ending the war by treaty were cut off (B). The ambassadors were scarce gone, when the whole army moved, advancing in three bodies to the walls of *Rome*, where the forces of *Vitellius* expected them, divided likewise into three bodies. The weak and unwarlike populace was routed at the first onset; but *Vitellius's* other troops, rallying out against the enemy as they approached the walls of the city, attacked them with a fury hardly to be expressed. *Primus's* men stood their ground with equal resolution and intrepidity; so that the most cruel and bloody battle ensued that the *Romans* had ever sustained. The conflict lasted several hours with various success; but in the end proved favourable to *Primus's* men, as superior in the abilities of their leaders. The *Vitellians* were with great slaughter driven into the city, where they assembled again; and, though vanquished and routed, renewed the battle with fresh vigor, and continued it to the close of the day. The people gathered about the combatants as spectators; and as if they had been only attending the representation of a fight exhibited for public amusement, they sometimes favoured one party, sometimes another, with theatrical shouts and clappings: nay, as often as either side turned their backs, or particulars fled into houses, or concealed themselves in shops, they insisted upon their being dragged out and slain. The people, as *Tacitus* observes, were so little affected with this tragical spectacle, that at the same time were seen in one place cruel conflicts and bleeding wounds; in another luxurious banqueting and voluptuous revellings; every-

(A) *Primus's* forces might have reached *Rome* before the capitol was besieged; but, instead of pursuing their march to the city after they had left *Narnia*, they diverted themselves at *Oriculum*, now *Otricoli*, in celebrating the annual feast of *Saturn*, which lasted many days. There were not wanting some, who on this occasion entertained suspicions of *Primus*, and charged him, as if, through treachery, he thus lingered in consequence of the letters secretly sent him from *Vitellius*, with offers of the consulship and of his daughter then marriageable, and with her a mighty fortune, as the rewards of revolting from *Vespasian*. Others alledged, that all this charge was no more than a fiction, and that it was a resolution concerted amongst all the leaders, rather to terrify the city with a terrible display of war, than to carry the war thither, since the chief strength of the prætorian bands had already deserted *Vitellius*, who was likewise precluded from receiving any reinforcements; so that it was presumed he would

quietly yield up the empire. But the true cause of so preposterous delay was, according to our historian, their waiting the coming of *Mucianus*, who was advancing full march with the forces of the east, and by frequent letters retarded the motion of the conquering army, being stung with envy at the success of *Primus*, and thinking that he should be deprived of all share in the glory of the war, were he not present at the entry into *Rome*. But the news, that the capitol was besieged, roused *Primus*, and put the whole army in motion (74).

(B) *Musonius Rufus*, by rank a *Roman* knight; by profession a *Stoic*, joining himself to the ambassadors, endeavoured, by philosophical discourses about the advantages of peace and the dangers attending war, to quell the fury of men in arms; but was derided by some, outrageously insulted by others, and at last, partly by menaces, partly by the persuasions of the more moderate, prevailed upon to forbear his unseasonable lessons of wisdom (75).

(74) *Idem*, c. 78.

(75) *Idem*, c. 81.

Which is
taken with
the camp.

Vitellius a-
bandons the
palace, but
returns to it.

He is disco-
vered,

Insulted by the
populace,

And executed.

every-where streams of blood and heaps of carcases; and hard by wanton debauches and lewd harlots: in short, all the abominations of a most dissolute and riotous peace, and all the barbarities of a most dreadful and cruel captivity. *Primus's* men, having in the end prevailed and made themselves masters of the city, marched in the next place to storm the camp of the prætorian guards, whither the most determined amongst the enemy had retired. As they considered the camp as their last hope and resource, they exerted their utmost efforts in defending it; and, though in number inferior, often repulsed the aggressors; and at length, when the gates, in spite of all opposition, were burst open, uniting together, they made a last effort; but being overpowered by numbers, they all fell, facing the enemy and wounded only before^a.

Vitellius, seeing the city taken, caused himself to be conveyed in a chair through the back part of the palace to his wife's house upon mount *Aventine*, with a design to lie there concealed during the day, and fly by night to his brother, then at *Terracina*. But as to one who is under dread and fears all things, the present affairs seem most dangerous, he soon changed his mind and returned to the palace. *Suetonius* writes, that he altered his resolution upon a groundless and uncertain report, that a treaty and a peace was concluded. Be that as it will, he found the palace now quite desolate and abandoned; all his slaves and domestics having slipped away, or carefully avoiding to meet him. Terrified with the dismal solitude and silence, he tried to enter several apartments; but finding them all shut, and being at last weary with such miserable and solitary wandering to and fro, he thrust himself into the porter's lodge, and concealed himself behind the bed. In the mean time, a party of *Primus's* men entering the place, searched all places and corners, till at last they discovered the emperor and dragged him out. As they knew him not, they inquired who he was, and whether he could acquaint them what was become of *Vitellius*. He deceived them at first; but being soon known by *Julius Placidus*, tribune of a prætorian band, he pretended to have matters of the utmost importance to impart to *Vespasian*, and with great earnestness begged to be kept, though it were in prison, till his arrival. But the tribune and soldiers, deaf to all intreaties, tied forthwith his hands behind him, threw a halter about his neck, rent all his apparel, and dragged him half-naked into the forum through the great street called the *Sacred Way*, forcing him, with their swords pointed at his throat, to hold up his head, and present his face to the indignities offered him by the rabble, who now reviled him in a most outrageous manner. They forced him to behold his own statues thrown down, and to view the place where *Galba* had been murdered. While he was thus haled along, a *German* soldier meeting him, drew his sword and discharged a violent blow, whether at *Vitellius* to revenge some former injury, or at the tribune, or to release the emperor from insults and derision, is uncertain. The tribune's ear he actually cut off, and was himself instantly slain. *Vitellius* they pushed forward, the populace the whole time upbraiding him with his gluttony, his target of *Minerva*, his lewdness, and even the imperfections of his body; for he was enormously tall, corpulent, and somewhat lame, having been hurt by a chariot, while he was attending *Caligula* at the races in the circus. He bore all the insults and indignities offered him without uttering a single word, except to the tribune, to whom, while he treated him in a manner altogether unbecoming, he answered, that nevertheless he had been his emperor. They dragged him at last to the *Germania*, the common charnel of malefactors, where the body of *Flavius Sabinus* had lain exposed, and there with many wounds put an end to his unhappy life. His head was cut off, and carried on a pole through the chief streets of the city. His body was dragged with a hook, and with all possible ignominy thrown into the *Tiber*, but afterwards buried by his widow *Galeria Fundana*. Thus died *Aulus Vitellius*, the ninth emperor of *Rome*, according to some in the fifty-fourth, according to others in the fifty-eight, year of his age, after having reigned a year, wanting ten or twelve days, from the time he was proclaimed emperor at *Cologne*, and eight months and a few days after the death of *Otho*. He was raised to the first dignities in the state by no parts or merit of his own, but in regard of the lustre of his family, which was one of the most conspicuous in *Rome*. By his extravagant bounties and largesses, he gained the affections both of the soldiery and people. Of the former,

^a Idem. c. 73—84. DIO, l. lxxv. p. 742. SUT. c. 15. JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 42.

a former, many adhered to him with unshaken fidelity to the last, tho', in the opinion of our historian, he had not one good quality to recommend him to such as wished well to the republic, having been stained, even from his tender years, with all manner of crimes and most infamous and abominable iniquities^w. The day being already far spent, the senate could not be assembled, the senators and magistrates having either privately withdrawn from the city, or concealed themselves in the houses of their dependants. *Domitian*, apprehending now no further danger, presented himself to the leaders of the party, and was by the soldiers thronging about him saluted *Cæsar*, and by them conducted in a kind of triumph to his father's house.

Domitian saluted Cæsar.

b In the mean time, *Lucius Vitellius* was with his cohorts advancing from *Terracina* to the relief of his brother. The cavalry was therefore sent forward to *Aricia*, and the legions ordered to advance to *Bovillæ*. But *Lucius* was no sooner informed of the unhappy doom of the emperor, than he surrendered himself and his bands to the pleasure of the conquerors. The soldiers were disarmed and led through the city, guarded on each side by files of armed men, without betraying a suppliant look, or dropping a mean expression, though outrageously insulted by the mocking and petulant vulgar. They were all committed to prison, but soon after released.

Lucius Vitellius surrenders himself and his troops, and is put to death.

c As for *Vitellius*, he was put to death; a punishment which he well deserved, being no less addicted to all kinds of vices than his brother. But, for all his vices, he wanted neither courage nor activity, and supported the cause with great resolution and vigilance^x. By the death of the emperor and his brother, war was rather seen to cease, than peace to commence; for the conquerors, continuing in arms, hunted all over the city after the conquered, filling with carnage and mangled bodies the streets, the places of public resort, the temples, and even the private houses, which they burst open and pillaged, pretending, that there some *Vitellians* were concealed. The indigent part of the populace failed not to join the soldiers in the general violence and spoil; so that on all hands nothing was heard but dismal complaints and outcries, and nothing seen but the dreadful calamities of a city stormed and sacked.

The miserable condition of the city.

d *Domitian*, who already enjoyed the name and residence of *Cæsar*, instead of striving to check the insolence of the soldiery, attended his infamous pleasures, and only by his dissolute life shewed himself the son of an emperor. *Primus*, in whose hands the whole power was lodged, made use of it only to plunder more freely, being wholly taken up in conveying from the palace treasure, moveables, and domestic slaves, as if he were still seizing the spoil of *Cremona*. When the fury of the soldiers began to abate, the senate met, and confirmed the sovereignty of *Vespasian*, decreeing to him with great alacrity all the titles and prerogatives ever invested in former princes. They declared him consul, giving him his son *Titus* for colleague in that dignity: *Domitian* they honoured with the prætorship and consular authority: they presented *Primus* with the consular ornaments, and *Cornelius Fuscus* and *Arrius Varus* with those of the prætorship. All these decrees were passed at the motion of

The sovereignty of Vespasian acknowledged by the senate.

e *Valerius Asiaticus*, consul elect^y.
DURING these commotions in *Italy*, the *Batavians* revolted, under the conduct of the celebrated *Claudius Civilis*; but of the causes and events of this war, which continued long, we shall speak in the following reign. The people of *Dacia* too rose up in arms; a people never well-affected to the *Romans*, and then by no forces restrained, since the army was withdrawn out of *Mæsia*. They stormed the winter quarters of the auxiliary cohorts, passed the *Danube*, and were proceeding to demolish the entrenchments of the legions, when *Mucianus* happened to march through *Mæsia* with the forces of the east. As that commander was already apprised of the victory at *Cremona*, he detached the sixth legion to oppose the barbarians, and appointed f *Fonteius Agrippa* governor of *Mæsia*, with part of the troops which had surrendered at *Cremona*, and which it was thought adviseable to engage in a foreign war, that they might not disturb domestic peace. *Agrippa* obliged the enemy to repass the *Danube*; and, to prevent any farther attempts of the like nature, built a great number of forts on the banks of the *Danube*, and strengthened them with numerous garisons. In *Pontus* likewise great disturbances were raised by one *Anicetus*, formerly freed-man to king *Polemon*, under him in great power, and commander of the royal navy. As he was highly provoked against the *Romans* for changing the kingdom into a province, which happened in the reign of *Nero*, and by that means depriving him

The Dacians in arms are quelled by Mucianus.

Disturbances in Pontus.

^w TACIT. c. 85, 86. SURET. c. 4, 5, 15, 18. DIO, p. 743.

^x TACIT. l. iv. c. 2.

^y Idem ibid.

Anicetus
taken.

of all his authority, he laid hold of the present opportunity, and, levying forces under colour of assisting *Vitellius*, seized the city of *Trebizond*, burnt the fleet which guarded the coasts, and, entering into an alliance with the neighbouring barbarians, scoured the sea with scorn and insult, and committed dreadful ravages on the coasts of *Asia*. Against him *Vespasian* sent a choice body of legionaries, under the command of *Virgilius Geminus*, an officer distinguished in war; who, attacking the enemy while they were roving about in quest of booty, drove them into their vessels; then, with some galleys built with great expedition, chased *Anicetus* into the mouth of the river *Chobus*, where he relied upon the protection of *Sedochus* king of the *Lazians*, a people of *Colchis*. That prince seemed at first determined to defend his ally; but, as soon as a reward for his treachery was proposed and a war threatened, he betrayed *Anicetus* and all his followers to the conqueror. Thus ended that servile war; and *Vespasian* received an account of the success which had attended his arms, a few days before the joyful tidings were brought him of the great victory gained by his forces at *Cremona*.

C H A P. XIX.

From the death of Vitellius, to the death of Domitian, the last of the twelve Cæsars, in whom ended the Flavian family.

The descent,
birth, and
actions of
Vespasian,
before he at-
tained the
sovereignty.

THE *Flavian* family, now raised to the highest pitch of grandeur, was no-ways conspicuous, either for its lustre or antiquity. *Titus Flavius*, the emperor's grandfather, was a citizen of *Reate*, now *Rieti*, in the country of the *Sabines*; and in the civil wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, served under the latter in quality of centurion, but returned home after the battle of *Pharsalia*; and, having obtained his pardon, betook himself to the mean employment of collecting taxes, under the farmers of the public revenue. His son, *Titus Flavius Sabinus*, followed the same profession, and acquitted himself in it with such integrity, that by several cities of *Asia*, where he was collector of the tax called *quadragesima*, statues were erected to him with this inscription, *To the honest publican*. Afterwards he withdrew into the country of the *Helvetii*, where he acquired a considerable fortune by lending money upon interest. He married *Vespasia Polla*, whose father had been military tribune and prefect of the camp; and had by her two children, *Sabinus*, of whom we have spoken above, and *Vespasian*, who was born on the seventeenth of *November* of the ninth year of the common christian æra; that is, five years before the death of *Augustus*; so that he was raised to the empire in the sixtieth year of his age. He was, amongst many other new men chosen from the municipal towns, from the colonies, and even from the provinces, admitted into the senate by the emperor *Caligula*. He indeed at first declined that dignity, but was at last, in a manner, constrained by his mother to accept it. He afterwards served in quality of military tribune in *Thrace*, was quæstor of the provinces of *Cyrene* and *Crete*, ædile, and prætor. He attended the emperor *Claudius* into *Britain*, where he distinguished himself, though only tribune of a legion, in a very eminent manner, as we have related in the reign of that prince. He was consul during the two last months of the eleventh year of *Claudius*'s reign, and by *Nero* appointed governor of *Africa* in quality of proconsul. He married *Flavia Domitilla*, a native of *Africa*, at first slave to *Statilius Capella*, but afterwards manumised and made free of the city. By her he had two sons, *Titus* and *Domitian*, who reigned after him, and one daughter, named *Domitilla*, who died, as did also her mother, before his accession to the empire. *Vespasian* was, as *Tacitus* observes,

^a of all the emperors the only one by power changed for the better. While he was in a private station, he used to court the favour of the princes by the meanest flattery. During his prætorship he begged leave to exhibit extraordinary sports in honour of *Caligula*, on account of the pretended victory in *Germany*. He was one of the few sycophants who were of opinion, that those who were said to have conspired against that prince should be publicly executed, and that their bodies should be left unburied. In the presence of the whole senate he returned *Caligula* thanks for having done him the honour of inviting him to his table. He was chiefly indebted to *Narcissus*, the freedman of *Claudius*, for the consulship, and the two sacerdotal dignities which he enjoyed; what dignities these were, we are no-where told. After the death of *Narcissus*, his great patron, he withdrew and led a private life, dreading the violent spirit of *Agrippina*, who bore an irreconcilable hatred to that minister and all his friends. It was therefore probably after her death, that he was by *Nero* appointed proconsul of *Africa*, in which government he acquitted himself, according to *Suetonius* ^a, with honour and integrity; according to *Tacitus* ^b, with ignominy and public hatred. The former writer acknowledges, that, during a sedition at *Adrumetum*, he was outrageously insulted by the populace; and, on the other hand, it is well known, that no province espoused the cause of *Vitellius*, and opposed the preferment of *Vespasian*, with more ardour than that of *Africa*; a manifest proof that his government had not been popular. Soon after his return from *Africa*, his affairs being in a bad condition and his credit at stake, he was obliged to mortgage his house and possessions to his brother *Sabinus*, and in the mean time to support himself and his family with the mean gain he earned by selling and changing horses, nay, and by other means still more unworthy; for he was convicted of having extorted from a young knight the sum of two hundred thousand sesterces, for employing his interest in procuring him a place in the senate, against the inclination and express will of his father. He attended *Nero* into *Achaia*, where he incurred that prince's displeasure, and was forbid the court, for his inattention while the emperor was singing; a crime, which had nigh cost him his life at *Rome*, as we have related elsewhere. Hereupon he withdrew into the country, and there led a life altogether private and retired, expecting every moment his last doom, when he was, contrary to his expectation, named by *Nero* to command in the war against the *Jews*, as a person of great military abilities, and one who, on account of his mean extraction, gave him no umbrage. He was therefore sent into *Judæa* with three legions, eight squadrons of horse, and ten auxiliary cohorts, his son *Titus* serving under him in quality of his lieutenant. In the course of that war, which proved so fatal to the *Jewish* nation, *Vespasian* acquired signal reputation. In every duty incumbent upon a leader, or even a soldier, he was indefatigable: it was he who always led the march; he who always chose the ground for incamping. Upon consultations and dispatches he spent nights and days, and was ever ready upon any exigency to encounter the enemy hand to hand. His diet was such as chance presented. In his garb and dress he varied little from a common soldier. In short, had he been exempt from avarice, he would have equalled the most famous commanders of ancient times. With that vice he is charged by most writers; among the rest by *Tacitus*, who owed to him his first promotion in the state; but nevertheless declares, as becomes an impartial historian, against admitting personal hatred or affection in the characters of men. After the death of *Nero* and *Galba*, while *Otho* and *Vitellius* were contending for the sovereignty, he began to cherish hopes of obtaining it himself, relying on several prodigies, prophecies, and propitious responses of oracles (C). Of the many predictions, that of *Josephus* the historian is the

His character as a general.

^a Suet. in Vesp. c. 4.

^b Tacit. l. ii. c. 37.

(C) The ancients take notice of many prodigies prefaging his future grandeur. In his grounds, says *Tacitus* (10), while he was in the bloom of his age, a cypress-tree, signally tall, fell suddenly; but the day following rose again, and resumed fresh growth and verdure; which was, according to the concurring testimonies of the soothsayers, an omen of extraordinary grandeur in the state; yet at first the whole preface seemed to have been literally fulfilled by his being honoured with the triumphal ornaments,

which he acquired by his conduct in *Britain*; by his bearing the dignity of consul, and by his renown in vanquishing the *Jews*. But when he had passed through these honours, he began to believe, that the empire was the thing prefaged. He was confirmed in this belief by the answer returned him by *Basilides*, priest of the god *Carmel*, so called from mount *Carmel*, on which stood the altar of that deity; a deity, as *Tacitus* observes, not distinguished by any statue or temple, but only by an altar. As *Vespasian*

(10) Tacit. l. ii. c. 78.

Is acknow-
ledged emperor
in the eastern
provinces.

Receives
news of the
fate of Vitel-
lius.

the most famous, who saluted *Vespasian* with the title of emperor even in *Nero's* reign, and assured him, he should be soon invested with the sovereign power. His prediction is mentioned not only by himself^c, but likewise by *Suetonius*^d, who tells us, that *Josephus*, being by *Vespasian's* orders put in irons, boldly affirmed, that in a short time he should by him be set at liberty; but that he should be emperor first. However, that the empire was by the dark laws of fate, by predictions, and prophecies, foretold and ordained to *Vespasian* and his sons, was, says *Tacitus*, what we believed, after we had seen them emperors^e. *Vespasian*, being encouraged by *Mucianus*, governor of *Syria*, by *Tiberius Alexander*, governor of *Egypt*, and by all his officers, not to neglect the present opportunity, while two competitors, of all men the most unworthy, were contending for the empire, he at length yielded, as we have already related, and was proclaimed emperor at *Alexandria* on the first of *July* of the sixty-ninth year of the christian æra; on the third of the same month in *Judæa*, where he then was; on the fifteenth in *Syria*; and a few days after in all the provinces of the east. He was not in himself any-ways changed by so sudden and so mighty a turn of fortune: no loftiness appeared in his aspect, no arrogance, nor any new behaviour, under his new character. He immediately rewarded his friends, raising some to military commands, others to be governors of provinces, several to the rank of senators, most of them men of signal merit and renown, and who afterwards acquired the highest honours in the state. As he thought it below him to court the soldiers by largesses, he promised them no greater donative in the heat of the civil war, than had been given them by others during full peace. In the council which he established at *Berytus* for the direction of all momentous affairs, it was resolved, that *Titus* should pursue the war against the *Jews*, and *Mucianus* march with part of the forces against *Vitellius*. But *Titus* undertook nothing till the next year; and *Antonius Primus*, with the *Illyrian* army, defeated the troops of *Vitellius* before the arrival of *Mucianus*, made himself master of *Rome* and all *Italy*, and caused the unhappy emperor to be publicly executed as a common criminal: all which transactions we have already related at length. In the mean time, *Vespasian*, having passed some time at *Antioch*, the capital of *Syria*, proceeded from thence to *Egypt*, where he received the joyful tidings of the victory gained by *Primus* at *Cremona*. Hereupon he hastened to *Alexandria*, with a design to distress *Rome* by famine, since from *Egypt* chiefly the city was supplied with corn. He was at the same time preparing to invade *Africa* by sea and land, in order to bring upon the enemy, by intercepting their provisions, the calamity of hunger, with that of dissention. But, in the mean time, many persons of all ranks and degrees arrived from *Italy*, to acquaint him with the fate and fall of *Vitellius*; which were no sooner known, than multitudes flocked from all quarters, notwithstanding it was then winter, to court the favour of the new emperor; inso-much, that *Alexandria*, the greatest city of the empire after *Rome*, proved too small for the vast numbers of ambassadors, deputies, noblemen, officers, &c. who flocked thither. Among the rest, ambassadors arrived from *Vologeses* king of *Parthia*, who offered to assist him with forty thousand *Parthian* horse. *Vespasian* returned him thanks, and, desiring he would send ambassadors to the senate, acquainted him, that the commonwealth was re-established in peace^f. The news of the death of *Vitellius* made *Vespasian* alter his measures; for instead of distressing the city, which had already proclaimed him emperor, with famine, he dispatched thither a great number of vessels laden with corn; which arrived very seasonably, there not being at that time remaining in all the public stores above ten days provisions of grain^g. As the winter-season was far advanced, *Vespasian* continued some months at *Alexandria*, waiting a safe passage from the gentle weather returning with the summer.

IN

^c JOSEPH. bell. Jud. l. v. c. 12. ^d SUET. c. 5. ^e TACIT. l. i. c. 86. & l. ii. c. 78. ^f Idem, l. iv. c. 51. JOSEPH. ibid. l. iv. c. 42. ^g DIO. VAL. p. 702. TACIT. ibid.

Vespasian offered sacrifice there, and was entertaining great hopes and views, *Basilides* the priest, having diligently surveyed the intrails, addressed him thus: Whatever design it is which you meditate, O *Vespasian*, whether to build a house, or extend your domains, or to enlarge your train of slaves, to you is granted a mighty and large settlement, infinite

bounds, and multitudes of men. These mysterious words were immediately spread abroad by fame, and by all explained as presaging the empire to *Vespasian*. Many responses of oracles and prodigies of the like nature, are related by *Suetonius* (11) and *Dion Cassius* (12); but we shall not trespass upon the patience of our readers with a detail of them.

(11) *Suet. in Vesp. c. 5.*

(12) *Dio, l. lxvi. p. 744.*

- ^a In the mean time, *Mucianus* arrived at *Rome*, according to *Josephus*, the day after the death of *Vitellius*, and in a moment drew to himself, as he had been invested by *Vespasian* with an uncontrouled power, the whole sway. *Licinius Mucianus* was, according to the character which *Tacitus* has drawn of him, a man remarkable for a strange combination of good and bad qualities; luxury and vigilance, haughtiness and complaisance; when unemployed, excessively voluptuous; of infinite abilities and activity, when business required them. Hence his equal share of praise and reproach; as a public minister admired, as a private voluptuary condemned. He was a great master in the several arts of engaging, an able orator, well versed in civil affairs, prompt in foreseeing events, dextrous at concerting schemes, mighty in credit with those who were above him, under him, or in equal authority with him; in short, such a man as could easier create an emperor than be one. *Vespasian*, as he was chiefly indebted to him for the empire, upon his departure for *Italy*, invested him with an unlimited power, and is even said to have trusted him with his signet, as if he had been his partner in the sovereignty. Hence, upon his arrival at *Rome*, he was by all looked upon and revered, rather as the emperor's colleague, than as a subordinate minister. Quite sunk was the power of *Antonius Primus* and *Arrius Varus*, whom *Vespasian* had already appointed captain of the prætorian guards. As *Mucianus* could not well dissemble his animosity towards them, the city immediately turned her back upon her late favourites, and devoted herself to the new minion. To him alone court was paid, to him all addresses were made: neither was he wanting to his own grandeur; for he never appeared in public but encompassed with guards, and attended with an equipage becoming a sovereign. He forbore indeed the name, but performed all the functions of sovereignty. Soon after his arrival, he caused *Asiaticus*, the late emperor's freed-man, to atone for his late wicked sway, by suffering the death of a slave. His doom was by every one expected and even wished for; but the death of *Calpurnius Galerianus* occasioned a mighty and general dread in the city. He was the son of *Caius Piso*, who, in the reign of *Nero*, had aspired at the sovereignty; but had himself no share in that conspiracy, nor had ever offered to disturb the state. However, as he was of an illustrious family, of a graceful person, and greatly beloved by the people, he was, by order of *Mucianus*, committed to the custody of a band of soldiers, sent forty miles from *Rome*, and there put to death by having his veins openedⁱ.
- ^b *Mucianus* was thus ruling with absolute sway in *Rome*, the *Batavians* were carrying on the war against the *Romans* with stupenduous success in *Lower Germany*. Of that war we shall here, as in its proper place, (for it was happily concluded this year, the first of *Vespasian's* reign) briefly recount the causes and events. The *Batavians*, originally the same people with the *Cattans*, who dwelt beyond the *Rhine*, being driven thence by a domestic insurrection, settled at the extreme borders of *Gaul*, in an island formed by the mouths of the *Rhine* and the *Ocean*. According to this description, the *Batavians* possessed *South Holland*, part of the country of *Utrecht*, and the island of *Betaw*, in the dukedom of *Guelderland*. They were not subjects, but allies, of *Romans*, being obliged to assist them only with troops commanded by men of the first rank amongst them. They had at this time eight cohorts, men thoroughly exercised in the wars of *Germany* and *Britain*. These *Vitellius* had gained over to his party, and a great share they had in the victory at *Bedriacum*; but proving afterwards refractory and ungovernable, the emperor thought it adviseable to remand them back to their own country. *Julius Paulus* and *Claudius Civilis*, both men of royal descent, greatly surpassed the rest in credit and quality. The former was slain by *Fonteius Capito*, who falsely charged him with rebellion. The latter was put in irons and sent to *Nero*; but by *Galba* declared innocent, and set at liberty. Under *Vitellius* he was again in danger of his life, being charged with treason: and hence his hatred to the *Romans*, which prompted him to arm his countrymen against them. However, as he was a man of great address, lest the *Romans* should look upon him as a public enemy, if he once appeared to have revolted from them, in the beginning of the war between *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*, he pretended an attachment to the latter, and was, by letters from *Antonius Primus*, ordered to stop and drive back the forces summoned to succour *Vitellius*. *Civilis* therefore, determined to revolt, but, concealing for the present his main drift, contented himself with diverting the
- ^c *Mucianus* arrives at *Rome*. His character.
- ^d He bears universal sway.
- ^e He causes *Calpurnius Galerianus* to be murdered.
- ^f The *Batavians* revolt from the *Romans*, under the conduct of *Claudius Civilis*.

Batavian

ⁱ JOSEPH. bell. l. iv. c. 42.ⁱ TACIT. l. iv. c. 11. JOSEPH. l. v. c. 42.

Batavian youth from lifting themselves, pursuant to the orders of *Vitellius*. Soon after, pretending only to celebrate a banquet, he assembled the chiefs of the nation and the most daring amongst the populace, in a sacred grove, where, when they had caroused till far in the night, and were warmed and bold, he acquainted them with his real design, displayed the praises and renown of their nation, enumerated the insults they had suffered, the oppression they groaned under, and all the miseries attending upon a state of servitude. As he was heard with great applause, he bound them all with many barbarous ceremonies in a combination. He then dispatched messengers to the *Caninefates*, who inhabited part of the island, to engage them in the same cause and association. The *Caninefates* fell readily into his measures; and choosing for their leader one *Brinno*, famous for brutal bravery, took the field; and being joined by the *Frisians*, a people beyond the *Rhine*, forced the winter incampment of two cohorts, burnt down all the strong holds in the island, and massacred all the *Roman* victuallers and traders, whom they found confidently rambling about, as in time of peace. Hereupon *Civilis*, pulling off the mask and openly joining the *Caninefates* and *Frisians*, marched to attack the *Romans*, who, under the conduct of *Aquilus*, had retired to the upper part of the island. The conflict was scarce begun, when a band of *Tungrians*, who served under the *Romans*, went over to the enemy. At the same time, the *Roman* fleet, consisting of twenty-four vessels, the rowers being for the most part natives of *Batavia*, rowed away directly to the enemy's shore. By this means the *Roman* forces were easily defeated, put to flight, and inhumanly butchered, both by the enemy and their own companions. Upon the news of this victory, the Germans immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Civilis*, with offers of succours. On the other hand, *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who commanded the army in *Upper Germany*, ordered *Memmius Lupercus* to march out forthwith against the enemy with two legions, all the cavalry of the *Ubians* and *Treverians*, and a squadron of *Batavian* horse, men long since debauched in their fidelity to the *Romans*, but feigning great zeal for their cause, purposely to betray them in the very heat of the fight. Accordingly the two armies having joined battle, the *Batavian* cavalry, deserting the legions while they were fighting with great bravery, fled over to *Civilis*; then instantly, like enemies, turned upon the *Romans*. Yet the legionaries, though pressed on all sides, still kept their ranks and stood their ground, till the auxiliary *Ubians* and *Treverians* betook themselves to a scandalous flight, dispersing all over the fields. Against them the *Batavians* bent their fury and pursuit; which gave the legions an opportunity of retiring with safety to the old camp, which, as we have observed in the reign of *Tiberius*, is placed by most geographers near the present city of *Stanten* in the duchy of *Cleves*. About the same time, the eight *Batavian* cohorts, which, in obedience to the orders of *Vitellius*, were upon their march to *Rome*, being informed of the revolt of their countrymen and the advantages by them already gained, returned, and took their rout towards *Lower Germany*, there to join *Civilis*. *Herennius Gallus*, who then governed *Bonna*, now *Bonn*, attempted to oppose the passage of the *Batavians* at the head of three thousand legionaries and some cohorts hastily raised; but was by them defeated with great slaughter. The conquerors, avoiding *Cologne*, pursued their march, without committing any hostilities, and joined *Civilis*, who seeing himself now at the head of a regular army, but still dreading the formidable power of the *Romans*, obliged all who were with him to swear allegiance to *Vespasian*, and dispatched ambassadors to the two legions in the old camp, requiring them to take the same oath. The answer they returned was, That they would not follow the counsels of a known traitor, nor those of a public enemy: and that a *Batavian* fugitive must not interfere in the affairs of the *Roman* state, but prepare to meet the doom due to his enormous crimes. *Civilis*, highly provoked at this answer, roused to arms the whole *Batavian* nation, and, being joined by the *Bructerans* and *Tencterans*, attacked the camp with a numberless multitude and a fury hardly to be expressed. But the *Romans*, though scarce five thousand men, made so vigorous a defence, that *Civilis*, despairing of success by the method of force and storming, changed his measures, and blocked them up on all sides, not doubting, but they would be soon constrained by famine to capitulate. In the mean time, *Hordeonius Flaccus*, understanding that the camp was besieged, immediately dispatched *Dillius Vocola*, commander of the eighteenth legion, and *Herennius Gallus*, with powerful succours to the relief of the two legions. But while these two commanders were still incamped at *Gelduba* upon the *Rhine*, now *Gelnub*, a small village near *Ordingen*, in the territory

Civilis is joined by the Caninefates and Frisians.

Put the Romans to flight.

Eight Batavian cohorts go over to Civilis.

Civilis besieges the old camp.

^a of *Cologne*, news was brought him of the defeat of *Vitellius* at *Cremona*; whereupon the officers immediately declared for *Vespasian*, forced the foldiers to swear allegiance to him, and sent *Alpinus Montanus* to acquaint *Civilis* with the victory, and desire him to lay down his arms and disband his troops, if with them he meant to assist *Vespasian*, since they all had already acknowledged him emperor. But *Civilis* had something else in view, and therefore openly declared, that he would never sheath his sword, till he had redeemed both his own country and *Gaul* from the tyrannical yoke of the *Romans*; and that instant dispatched against *Vocula* the veteran cohorts and the flower of his *German* forces, under the command of *Julius Maximus* and *Claudius Victor*, husband to his sister. These coming upon the *Romans* quite unpre-
^b pared, put them to flight and made a dreadful havock of them. But, in the mean time, some *Gascon* bands, lately raised by *Galba*, arriving at *Gelduba*, fell upon the enemy in the rear, whilst earnestly pursuing the defeat, filled them with dismay, and inspired the *Romans* with fresh courage; so that they returned to the charge, and, with the assistance of their allies, put the enemy in their turn to flight, and gave them a total overthrow. All the bravest men of the *Batavian* infantry were cut off; but their horse escaped with the *Roman* standards and prisoners taken in the beginning of the encounter. *Vocula*, encouraged with this success, marched against the enemy besieging the old camp, and, after a most bloody conflict, forced them to abandon the enterprize. In the heat of the engagement, *Civilis*, being thrown by the fall of his horse, was throughout both armies believed to have been dangerously
^c wounded, or slain: and to this report chiefly was owing the victory gained by the *Romans*. *Vocula*, instead of pursuing the enemy, when broken and in disorder, applied himself to fortify the old camp; and, having strengthened it with some new works, returned to *Gelduba*, and thence proceeded to *Novesium*, now *Nuys*, where *Hordeonius Flaccus* lay incamped with part of the army. But *Vocula* was scarce gone, when *Civilis* again laid siege to the old camp, and advancing with a strong detachment to *Gelduba*, made himself master of that place; but was put to flight by the *Roman* cavalry near *Novesium*. But, in the mean time, the foldiers began to mutiny, and claim present payment of their donative; for they had learnt, that the money
^d was already sent thither by *Vitellius*. *Hordeonius* immediately complied with their demand; but distributed the money in the name of *Vespasian*. The foldiers no sooner received it, than they abandoned themselves without controul to debauchery and good cheer, to nocturnal revellings and cabals; and, when intoxicated with wine, renewed their ancient fury and rage against *Hordeonius*, who was by them suspected of favouring *Civilis*, because, from a mind well-disposed towards *Vespasian*, he had not opposed his first attempts. As none of the general officers dared to check or reprimand them, in the height of their rage they violently burst into the bed-chamber of their general, dragged him out, and then butchered him. *Vocula* would have undergone the same fate, had he not made his escape in the disguise of a slave. They then restored the images of *Vitellius*, tore those of *Vespasian*, and committed, during
^e that night, innumerable disorders. But their rage being appeased upon the return of day, dread and consciousness took place; the first, the fourteenth, and the eighteenth legions were easily reclaimed by *Vocula*, and led by him, after they had again taken the oath to *Vespasian*, against *Civilis*, who had laid siege to *Magontiacum*, now *Mentz*. Before their arrival the besiegers were withdrawn; but the *Romans* coming up with them, as they marched carelessly and apprised of no danger, fell upon them sword in hand, and made a dreadful havock of the dispersed and disorderly multitude^k.

Defeats *Vocula* the *Roman* commander, and is defeated by the *Vascones*.

The *Roman* soldiers mutiny.

Murder *Hordeonius Flaccus* their general.

The *Gauls* revolt.

^f In the mean time, the death of *Vitellius*, the murder of *Hordeonius*, and the burning of the capitol, being divulged through *Germany* and *Gaul*, both these nations rushed into open hostilities against the *Roman* people. A motly multitude of *Cattans*, *Usipians*, *Mattiarians*, and other *German* nations, joined *Civilis*. The *Gauls* too, laying hold of the present opportunity, while the *Romans* were weakened and broken by such successive civil wars, combined to attempt the recovery of their ancient liberty, being strongly moved by the burning of the capitol to believe, that the dissolution of the empire was at hand. The city, they said, had of old been taken by the *Gauls*; but the mansion of *Jupiter* having escaped, the empire had thence continued to subsist. The *Druids* too animated them with vain oracles, that to nations beyond the *Alps* the

empire

^k TACIT. l. iv. c. 12—36.

empire of the world was portended. The chief sway among the *Gauls* was borne at this time by *Classicus*, *Julius Tutor*, and *Julius Sabinus*; the two former *Treverians*, and the latter a native of *Langres*. These three, having in private conferences founded the minds of the rest, and engaged in their designs such as they judged proper, came at length to a resolution of throwing off all disguises, and openly declaring against *Rome*. The only hesitation which occurred was, how to dispose of the *Roman* forces then in *Gaul*. Some were for massacring them all, others for putting to the sword only their commanders, since the common herd, bereft of their leaders, would be easily inticed into the confederacy. The latter opinion prevailed; and this was the substance of their first consultation. The conspirators then dispatched incendiaries into all the regions of *Gaul*, to rouse them to war; but, in the mean time, feigned great obsequiousness and respect to *Vocula*, who was well apprised of their designs; but thought proper, as he wanted force to thwart them, to dissemble in his turn, and to pursue the same artifices which were pursued against him. With this view he repaired to *Cologne*; but *Classicus* and *Tutor*, who were both commanders of the *Treverian* horse, incamping by themselves and separating the first time from the legions, he returned back, and with the legions alone proceeded to *Novesium*, a numerous body of *Gauls* having pitched in the open fields about two miles from that place. To the camp of the *Gauls*, as hostilities were not yet begun on either side, daily resorted great numbers of *Roman* soldiers; and there, as they found themselves surrounded with terrors on all sides, they agreed to purchase their own safety, by committing an iniquity till then unknown among the *Romans*, which was to swear allegiance to the *Gauls*, and promise either to murder or deliver up in chains their officers. *Vocula* was not unapprised of what passed in the camp of the *Gauls*; but, judging it beneath him to fly, assembled the soldiery, and having in vain attempted to divert them from so monstrous an iniquity, he retired with a design to put a present period to his life; but being restrained by his freed-men and slaves, he was soon after murdered by *Æmilius Longinus*, a deserter from the first legion, sent by *Classicus* for that purpose. His lieutenants, *Herennius* and *Numisius*, were only put in irons. After this, *Classicus*, assuming the badges of a *Roman* magistrate, entered the camp, and administered the new oath to the legions there, every one swearing allegiance to the sovereignty and empire of the *Gauls*. Between *Tutor* and *Classicus* was shared the charge of managing the war. The former laid siege to *Cologne*, and forced the inhabitants to take the same oath, as he did all the soldiers who lay farther up the *Rhine*. *Classicus* strove to gain over by fair promises the two legions that were shut up in the ancient camp, and were obliged, for want of provisions, after having consumed in food their horses and other beasts of burden, to support themselves by plucking shrubs and plants, and picking the herbs which sprouted amongst the stones of the walls. But at length, upon so much glory and patience, they brought a foul stain, by sending deputies to *Civilis* to beg their lives. Neither were their supplications received, till they had sworn homage and fidelity to the *Gauls*. Then he granted them their lives; but reserved the plunder of the camp to himself, appointing guards to secure the money, slaves, and baggage, and others to convoy the soldiers thus departing divested of all. When they had marched about five miles, the *Germans* rushed upon them out of an ambush, and cut the greater part of them in pieces. The remainder fled back to the camp; which the *Germans*, by throwing in firebrands, set on fire, so that such of the unhappy *Romans*, as had survived the late slaughter, were now all to a man consumed by the flames. *Civilis*, elated with the success of his arms, soon reduced all the neighbouring cities, some of them being willing to follow his fortune, and others awed by his power¹.

The Roman
legions murder
Vocula, and
swear alle-
giance to the
Gauls.

Cologne and
other cities
take the same
oath.

Julius Sabinus
defeated.

In the mean time, *Julius Sabinus*, having pulled down and broken the public tables containing the confederacy with *Rome*, caused himself to be proclaimed *Cæsar*; and, leading a huge host of his countrymen the *Lingones*, suddenly invaded the adjacent state of the *Sequanians*, who continued faithful to the *Romans*; but being by them put to flight, in order to raise a report that he had perished, he set on fire the country-dwelling whither he had fled, and by that means saved his life yet for nine years. We shall have occasion to speak of him in the sequel of this history. By this victory of the *Sequanians* the fury of the war was stayed in *Gaul*. The several states began by degrees to recover coolness and judgment, the rest following the example of the people

¹ TACIT. c. 67, JOSEPH. l. vii. c. 11.

a people of *Rheims*, who published all over the provinces of *Gaul* an invitation for assembling their several deputies, to consult which conduced most to the good of the whole, war or peace. The assembly was held at *Rheims*, where *Tullius Valentinus*, one of the embassadors of the *Treverians*, with great vehemence promoted the war; but was opposed by *Julius Auspex*, one of the chiefs in the state of *Rheims*, who displayed at length the power of the *Romans* and the blessings of peace. They all extol-
b led the courage and resolution of *Valentinus*, but followed the counsel of *Auspex*, most of them being deterred from pursuing a general confederacy, by the mutual jealousy and competition of the several provinces. It was asked, Where must be the head of the war? whither must they recur for supreme authority? and, should all their pur-
c suits prosper, what place would they chuse for the seat of empire? Some boasted their alliances, some their wealth and forces, others their antiquity; and from all these each claimed superior prerogative and rule. At length, after long and warm debates, they agreed to acquiesce in their present condition. To the *Treverians* letters were immediately dispatched in the name of the states of *Gaul*, advising them to lay down their arms, while their pardon was yet to be procured, and their friends were ready to intercede for them, if they shewed remorse. But *Valentinus*, a better speaker than commander, opposed this counsel, and shut the ears of the nation against it. What chiefly disposed the *Gauls* to peace was, the news they received, that an army was advancing full march against them, consisting of four legions from *Italy*, two from *Spain*, and one from *Britain*, under the conduct of two signal commanders,
d *Annius Gallus* and *Petilius Cerealis*, whom *Mucianus* had dispatched from *Rome* to put a stop to the further conquests of *Civilis* and *Classicus*. *Sextilius Felix* arrived before them, having at the head of some auxiliary cohorts forced a passage through *Rhætia*. To him joined themselves the twenty-first legion, and the squadron of horse furnished the *Singular*, commanded by *Julius Briganticus*, nephew to *Civilis*; but hated by his uncle, and hating him. With these forces *Felix* attacked and routed
e the *Treverians* commanded by *Tutor* near *Bingium*, now *Bingen*, and in a few days obliged the *Tribocians*, the *Vaugiones*, the *Cercatians*, and the *Nemetians*, to desert their countrymen, and return to the *Romans*. After he had thus made himself master of the countries bordering on the *Rhine*, from *Mentz* to the present city of *Basle*, the legions, who had revolted to the *Gauls*, renewed of their own accord the oath of allegiance to *Vespasian*; and leaving *Treves*, where they were then quartered, retired to *Mets*, a city confederate with the *Romans*. In the mean time, *Petilius Cerealis* arriving at *Magontiacum*, and being informed there, that *Valentinus* was posted at *Rigodulum*, now *Rigol*, with a numerous band of *Treverians*, he drew into one body whatever soldiers he found at *Magontiacum*, with the forces he had brought over the *Alps*; and, having reached *Rigodulum* in three marches, attacked the enemy's intrenchments, tho' inclosed by the mountains and the river *Moselle*, and strengthened with deep trenches and barricades of huge stone. The *Treverians* fought for some time with great resolution; but were in the end forced to abandon their camp, and save themselves by
f flight over the mountains. The *Romans* pursued them, and in the pursuit took many persons of great distinction, and amongst them *Valentinus* their general. The next day *Cerealis* entered *Treves*; which city the soldiers were passionate for razing, as the birth-place of *Classicus* and *Tutor*; but *Cerealis*, dreading to inure his soldiers to licentiousness and cruelty, checked their rage; for since the civil wars had ceased, the soldiery were more tractable in such as were foreign. Their attention was likewise diverted by another object, the arrival of the legions which had sworn allegiance to the empire of the *Gauls*. They appeared sad and dejected, keeping their eyes immoveably fixed upon the ground, and imploring their pardon by silence and weeping, till *Cerealis* comforted them, ascribing their desertion to the inevitable operations of fate, and assuring them, that neither he nor the emperor would remember their past offences. At the same time he caused an order to be published throughout the camp, that no one should, upon any dispute, reproach his fellow soldier with mutiny or desertion^m.

The Gauls re-
solve upon
peace.

The Treve-
rians routed by
Sextilius Fe-
lix;

And by Cerea-
lis, who takes
Valentinus
their general.

The return of
the legions
which had
sworn allegi-
ance to the em-
pire of the
Gauls.

IN the mean time, *Civilis*, *Tutor*, and *Classicus*, having from different quarters assembled all their forces, attacked unexpectedly the intrenchments of the legions now at the very gates of *Treves*, forced them, put the cavalry to flight, and seized the bridge of communication over the *Moselle* in the midst of the city. News of
this

^m TACIT. C. 71—77.

The gallant
conduct of
Cerealis.

Civilis re-
ceives a total
overthrow.

He surprises
the Romans
in their camp;

But is obliged
in the end to
abandon his
own island,
and submit to
the Romans.

this general rout and havock being brought to *Cerealis*, while yet in his chamber, nay in his bed, (for he passed not the night in the camp) he started up, and, undaunted by all this confusion and distress, strove with his own hand to stop the fugitives; animated them, tho' void of armour, with his own example; and heading such as were remarkably brave, recovered the bridge, and secured it by a guard of armed men. Then hastening to the camp, and there rallying the dispersed legions, he not only drove out the enemy, but the same day forced their intrenchments, and recovered the city of *Cologne*, where he found the wife and sister of *Civilis* with the son of *Classicus*. *Civilis*, having after this unhappy fight recruited his forces with incredible expedition, posted himself in the old camp, where he was attacked by *Cerealis*, reinforced by the accession of three legions. But as the fields round about were naturally marshy, and *Civilis* had by a great dam diverted the course of the *Rhine*, which thence flooded all the neighbouring grounds, the *Romans* were easily repulsed, and their cavalry put to flight by some *German* squadrons sallying out against them. By the issue of this encounter, both the leaders were prompted, tho' from different motives, to put the whole to the issue of a general battle; *Civilis* eager to pursue his good fortune, *Cerealis* to cancel his dishonour. Accordingly the next day both armies appeared early in the field, and engaged with equal fury and resolution. After the conflict had lasted many hours, the *Germans* were in the end put to flight, and the war had been finished that day, had not the conquerors been prevented, by night approaching and a sudden storm, from pursuing the flying foe. After this overthrow, *Civilis* withdrew to the island of the *Batavians*: *Classicus*, *Tutor*, and a hundred and thirteen senators of *Treves* crossed the *Rhine* to raise new forces; wherein they were attended with such success, that soon after they returned with a vast multitude, and at the same time made a fourfold assault upon the *Roman* forces posted at *Avenacum*, *Vada*, *Grinnes*, and *Batavodurum*, now *Arnhem*, *Wageningen*, *Rhenen*, and *Duerstede*. They were every-where repulsed with great slaughter, and forced to cast themselves precipitately into the river. Notwithstanding this disappointment and defeat, *Civilis*, a few days after, entered in the dead of the night the camp of *Cerealis*, upon the bank of the *Rhine*, made a dreadful havock of the *Roman* soldiers, while, apprised of no danger, they were reposing in their tents, and carried off a great number of captives. The general, half awake and almost naked, escaped through a mistake of the enemy; for they had carried off the admiral's ship, distinguished by its flag, from a belief that *Cerealis* was in it. But he had passed that night elsewhere, as many believed, in the embraces of *Claudia Sacrata*, a native of *Cologne*. The centinels borrowed an excuse for their negligence from the dishonour of their general, alledging, that they were enjoined to keep silence for fear of interrupting his repose; so that, as speaking was restrained, they had dropped asleep. But, notwithstanding this advantage, *Civilis* was in the end obliged even to abandon his own island, and retire beyond the *Rhine*. *Cerealis* committed dreadful ravages all over the island of the *Batavians*; but, through policy usual to generals, left all the lands and dwellings of *Civilis* untouched, tempting at the same time the *Batavians* with an offer of peace, and *Civilis* with a promise of pardon, which he resolved to accept, finding his countrymen tired of the war, and inclined to prevent the desolation and ruin of the whole nation, by devoting him to punishment. Having therefore desired a conference, the bridge upon the river *Wabal* was broken down in the middle; and the two generals stepping forwards on each side, stood upon the opposite extremities. The issue of this conference was, as we learn from *Josephus*, the rest of *Tacitus*'s history being lost, an entire submission on one side, and an unreserved pardon on the other. The *Batavians* remained in the same condition they were in before the war broke out, that is, exempt from all manner of tributes, and only obliged to supply the *Romans* with troops when required; a condition this, bordering upon liberty.

DURING these transactions in *Germany*, *Vespasian* and *Titus* commenced consuls, the former the second time, and both absent. The senate was therefore assembled on the first of *January* by *Julius Frontinus*, city-prætor, when they decreed, that public thanks should be returned to the general officers, to the armies, and to the confederate kings, for having espoused with so much zeal the cause of *Vespasian*. From *Tertius Julianus* they took away the prætorship, for having forsaken his legion, when

- a when it was about to declare for *Vespasian*, and transferred that dignity to *Plotius Griphus*. Upon *Hormus*, *Vespasian*'s freed-man, they conferred the equestrian dignity. Soon after, *Frontinus* resigned, for what motive we are no-where told, his office, which was assumed by *Domitian*, whose name was prefixed to all letters and edicts, but the whole sway remained in *Mucianus*. The young prince, however, boldly exerted many acts of power, at the instigation of his intimates, or his own wanton will^a. Nay, *Suetonius* tells us, that in one day he disposed of above twenty offices in the city and provinces; and adds, that he was on that account gently rebuked by the emperor, who, in a letter to his son, returned him thanks for not having displaced him too, and sent one to succeed him. But *Antonius Primus* and
- b *Arrius Varus* gave *Mucianus* far greater umbrage: they were both renowned for their late famous exploits in war, in great credit with the soldiery, and beloved by the populace. *Antonius* was besides reported to have solicited *Scribonianus Crassus*, the brother of *Piso* whom *Galba* had adopted, to assume the sovereignty, *Mucianus* therefore, seeing he could not openly crush *Primus*, pretending a great friendship and value for him, heaped publicly mighty praises upon him in the senate, made him great promises in private, put him in hopes of the government of *Hither Spain*, void by the departure of *Cluvius Rufus*, &c. Having thus intirely gained him, he dismissed the seventh legion, which was inviolably attached to him, to their winter quarters, at a great distance from *Rome*; and at the same time sent the third
- c legion back into *Syria*, and the rest of the forces into *Germany*, to serve there under *Cerealis*. Having by this means quite broken the power of *Primus*, and disburdened the city of those who were apt to raise tumults and disorder, *Rome* returned to her former tranquillity, the laws resumed their force, and the magistrates their wonted functions^r.

- Domitian*, appearing now for the first time in the senate, spoke, in few words and with great modesty, of the absence of his father and that of his brother, and also concerning his own youth and insufficiency. Then he proposed, that all the honours which had been bestowed on *Galba*, but afterwards abrogated by *Otho*, should be restored. *Curtius Montanus* moved, that some public honour should be likewise
- d paid to the memory of *Piso*. The fathers ordained both; but of what regarded *Piso* nothing was executed. In the next place were drawn by lot commissioners, who were to cause restitution to be made of whatever had been usurped by violence during the war, and to restrain the public expences. To *Tertius Julianus*, as soon as it was known that he had fled to *Vespasian*, the office of prætor was restored; but *Griphus* still retained the ensigns of that dignity. Before the assembly broke up, one of the senators, by name *Junius Mauricus*, made suit to *Domitian*, that he would impart to the senate the registers of the late emperors, that they might thence discover who had been solicited to be admitted accusers, and against whom. But the young prince judiciously replied, that in an affair of this sort the sentiments
- e of the emperor must be first learnt. However, *P. Egnatius Celer*, the accuser of the celebrated *Sorranus Borea*, was condemned; but *Mucianus* haranguing in behalf of the informers, and exhorting the fathers to obliterate the impressions of all repentment, and forget the grievances arising from the necessity of the late times, all further prosecutions were dropt^s. This year *Mucianus* ordered the son of *Vitellius* to be put to death, pretending, that civil discord would never cease, unless the seeds of war were utterly extinguished. He treated *Antonius Primus* with such haughtiness, that he forced him to retire from *Rome* and recur to *Vespasian*, by whom he was received without any great marks of friendship or disfavour, the emperor's mind being under a conflict, on one side swayed by the great services of that commander,
- f by whose conduct the war was accomplished, on the other by letters from *Mucianus*. The other courtiers at the same time combined to disgrace him, charging him with arrogance, over-bearing and heightening the charge with the enormities of his former life. Neither failed he to raise to himself new enemies by his haughty carriage; for with excessive ostentation he used to recount his own exploits and deserts, treating the other commanders with the utmost contempt, especially *Cæcina*, whom he used to revile as a captive, and a man of no spirit, who had tamely submitted. Hence by degrees he sunk in his character; but from the emperor retained to the last some appearance of favour. Of him we find no further mention made by

Domitian goes the first time to the senate.

Mucianus speaks in behalf of the accusers.

Antonius Primus repairs to Vespasian.

^a TACIT. l. iv. c. 39.^r Idem, c. 11.^s Idem, c. 40—44.

by the ancient writers. *Mucianus* likewise displaced *Arrius Varus*, commander of the prætorian guards; and to make him some amends for the loss of this employment, bestowed upon him another, that of supplying the city with grain, which had been formerly discharged by persons of the first quality. To soften *Domitian*, who had a great kindness for *Varus*, he bestowed the command of the guards upon *Arretinus Clemens*, who was nearly allied to the house of *Vespasian*, and very dear to *Domitian*. The father of *Arretinus* had discharged the same trust with great credit under *Caligula*, whence his name was well-pleasing to the soldiery. The guards had been hitherto commanded by a Roman knight; but *Arretinus* was, as *Tacitus* informs us, by rank a senator ^t.

Vespasian
works some
miracles.

Vespasian, in the mean time, continued at *Alexandria*, where he is said to have worked some miracles. A blind man, commonly known at *Alexandria*, prostrating himself at his feet, implored a cure for his want of sight, telling the emperor, that he had been warned by the god *Serapis* to recur to him, and beseech him, that with his spittle he would condescend to wash his cheeks and the balls of his eyes. Another, lame in his hand, by the direction of the same god, prayed him to tread upon it. *Vespasian* at first derided them; but, as they continued to importune him, he began to waver, fearing on one side the imputation of vanity, and on the other drawn into hopes, through the intreaties of the suppliants and the arguments of flatterers. At length, considering himself as an instrument chosen by the gods to accomplish the cure, he undertook the task with a cheerful countenance, before a vast multitude intent upon the issue. Instantly the lame hand recovered full strength, and upon the eyes of the blind light broke in. *Tacitus* assures us, that even in his time both these events continued to be recounted and averred by those who had been eye-witnesses of them, and could reap no advantage from their flattery. *Vespasian* was hence seized with an eager desire of visiting the residence of the deity, in order to consult him about the state and fortune of the empire. He therefore commanded all to retire from the temple, and then entered himself. While he was there, he suddenly perceived one of the grandees of *Egypt*, named *Basilides*, standing by him, tho' he knew him to be then at a great distance from *Alexandria* and confined by sickness. However, he examined the priests, whether *Basilides* had that day entered the temple; asked such as he met, whether he had been seen in the city; then by horsemen, purposely dispatched, he fully learnt, that *Basilides* was at that instant eighty miles from thence ^v. *St. Austin*, without questioning the truth of these facts, attested by several writers of great authority, observes, that *Vespasian*, according to *Tacitus*'s account, ordered the physicians to examine first, whether such lameness and blindness were curable by human aid; who reported, that in the one the power of sight was not wholly extinct, but would return, were the obstacles removed; and in the other the joints were only distorted, and might be restored with regular pressure. Hence *St. Austin* concludes, that such cures were not above the power of men, and much less above that of the evil spirits, endowed with a superior knowledge, and on this occasion exerting it, to eclipse, if possible, the miracles wrought by the apostles and their disciples ^w. As for the vision in the temple, it might well have been the effect of a warm and strong imagination.

Arrives in
Italy.

Vespasian, imbarquing at last in the port of *Alexandria*, sailed for *Italy*; and, having visited in his passage the island of *Rhodes* and several cities of *Asia Minor*, landed, according to *Josephus*, on the south side of the promontory of *Iapygia* or *Otranto*. At *Brundisium* he was met by *Mucianus* and a great number of senators and Roman knights; and at *Beneventum* by his son *Domitian*. On his rout to *Rome*, he was received every-where with loud shouts of joy, with applauses, and acclamations; for every one entertained a mighty opinion of his virtues, and looked upon him as one sent by the gods to restore the empire to its former lustre and tranquillity. As he drew near the city, the far greater part of the inhabitants flocked out to welcome him, and conduct him in a kind of triumph to the capitol, the streets through which he passed being strewed with flowers, and the whole city, like a temple, filled with precious odours and perfumes. Altars were every-where raised and victims slain, with supplications to the gods, that *Vespasian* might rule the empire many years, and his son *Titus* after him; that the sovereignty might for ever remain in his family, and *Rome* flourish under them ^x.

How received
at Rome.

GREAT

^t Idem, c. 68.

^v TACIT. l. iv. c. 31. DIO, l. lxvi. p. 748. SUET. in Vesp. c. 7.

^w S. AUG.

^x JOSEPH. ibid. l. vii. c. 20.

- ^a GREAT things were expected of *Vespasian* by all ranks of men, and no one was disappointed in his expectation : for he made it his whole business to re-establish the commonwealth, and restore the empire to its former grandeur ; to conform to the laws, and see that all others conformed to them ; to consult the good of the whole and of particulars ; to prevent oppression, and to punish it ; to promote virtue, and reward it ; to enforce the observance of the laws by his example, as well as by his judgments ; and to merit the affections and fidelity of the people by his faithful care of them. His first care was, to revive the ancient discipline in the army ; for the soldiery had abandoned themselves to all manner of licentiousness, and committed innumerable disorders, not only in the colonies and municipal towns, *Revives the ancient discipline.*
- ^b but in *Rome* itself. He therefore discharged great numbers of them, especially of such as had served under *Vitellius*, and had been long inured to rapine and licentiousness ; in the others he punished the least transgressions with the utmost severity, not sparing even those to whose valour he owed the empire, nor omitting any opportunity of reforming the ancient discipline ; of which *Suetonius* gives us the following instance : A young nobleman, to whom he had given a considerable command, waiting upon him to return him thanks, and smelling fragrantly of rich oils and perfumes, the emperor, with a voice expressing his indignation, told him, that *he had rather he had smelt of garlick*, and took away the commission, which he had given him a few days before. He was no less severe with the marines, who
- ^c were appointed to carry letters and dispatches from *Puteoli* and *Ostia* to *Rome* ; for upon their petitioning him to have some allowance besides their usual pay for shoes, instead of complying with their request, he ordered, that for the future they should discharge their duty bare-foot, and caused this ordinance to be immediately put in execution ^y. He scarce ever failed to assist at the debates and deliberations of the senate, without assuming to himself any authority above the other senators, whom he frequently exhorted to speak their sentiments with freedom, telling them, that he had called them not blindly to approve what was his will and pleasure, but to receive their counsel, to trust and to follow it. Having taken upon him, soon after his arrival at *Rome*, the office of censor, he degraded such of the senators and knights *His conduct towards the senate.*
- ^d as he found unworthy of their dignities ; and supplied their places with such persons, either from the colonies or provinces, as were recommended to him by men of known integrity. By this means he increased the number of senators to a thousand, which by infinite massacres had been exhausted and reduced to two hundred ^z. He likewise strictly examined into all the courts of judicature, and there reformed innumerable abuses and grievances, appointed new judges, and caused the laws to be reduced and digested into a far less compass. He frequently administered justice himself in the forum, with great impartiality and universal applause. As *Rome* had lost much of its splendour by the late conflagration, and many houses lay still in ruins, he ordered the proprietors of the ground to rebuild them in a limited time, *Imbellishes the city.*
- ^e allowing any one to take possession of the ground, if the edifices were not raised within that term to a certain height. The capitol he had ordered to be rebuilt before he left *Alexandria*, and appointed *Lucius Vestinus*, a Roman knight, to direct and oversee the work. By him were assembled the soothsayers, who declared, that the remains of the former temple should be removed into the marshes ; that upon the same foundations the new one should be raised ; and that to the temple nothing new, except height, should be added. With this variation alone, the new temple was raised in a short time ; and this alone was judged wanting to the magnificence of the former. As the late fire had destroyed many public records, he restored three thousand tables of brass, which had been burnt, having with indefatigable pains
- ^f found out their true copies. In these were recorded all the decrees of the senate, all the ordinances of the people, all treaties, alliances, and privileges granted to any person or city, and all remarkable occurrences from the foundation of the city. In these and the like works, he expended vast sums. He was so far from seeking the destruction of any man, that he could not behold, without many sighs and tears, even the greatest criminals led to execution. To all he was courteous and affable, allowing persons of every rank to accost him with freedom, the gates of his palace being kept constantly open. He was so far from concealing the meanness of his former condition, that he frequently discoursed of it himself, and used to deride those

^y Suet. c. 8.^z Idem, c. 9. Dio, l. vi. p. 666.

those who, to flatter him, undertook to derive his pedigree from the founders of *Reate* and the companions of *Hercules*. He despised titles, and with much ado was prevailed upon to accept that of *the father of his country*; a title to which no one had ever a better claim. The king of *Parthia* having wrote to him thus; *Arsaces, king of kings, to Flavius Vespasianus*; he, without finding fault with the title, or resenting it as an affront, directed his answer thus; *Flavius Vespasianus to Arsaces, king of kings*; shewing thereby in what contempt he had such titles. He was so far from taking delight in public honours, that when he triumphed with his son *Titus* over the *Jews*, being quite tired with the length of that ceremony, he was heard to say, that he deservedly suffered for having at his age desired a triumph, as if such an honour had ever been due to his ancestors, or hoped for by himself. He bore with incredible patience the many lampoons, that were dispersed all over the town, reflecting upon his avarice; and the invectives of the philosophers, whom he had banished the city. One of these, by profession a *Cynic*, by name *Demetrius*, meeting him one day out of town, reviled him in a most outrageous manner; but the good emperor, instead of chastising him for his insolent behaviour, contented himself with telling him, that he was a *Cynic* indeed! He gave no ear to whisperers, nor ever put any one to death, whose crimes were not notorious and plainly proved. His friends having one day admonished him to beware of *Metius Pomponianus*, who was born, they said, under a constellation that promised him the empire, he immediately named him consul, adding pleasantly, *When he is invested with the sovereignty, he will, I hope, remember this good turn and requite it*. Tho' several conspiracies were formed against him, yet he could never be prevailed upon to punish the conspirators with death, saying, that they deserved rather pity than punishment, since they knew not what a weight and burden the empire was. He took the daughter of *Vitellius*, his inveterate enemy, under his protection, married her into a noble family, and allowed her a rich dower. He never sought to revenge the affronts which he had suffered in the reign of *Nero*, but generously forgave all who had injured or reviled him. Being in that prince's reign forbid the court, and not knowing what to do, he had recourse to *Phæbus*, the emperor's freed-man, asking him, whither he should go. *Phæbus* returned him no other answer, but that he might go hang himself, and thrust him out of his room. The freed-man coming to beg his pardon after he was made emperor, *Vespasian* was provoked no farther than to bid him be gone in the same terms. Tho' *Mucianus* assumed far greater authority than was suitable to the rank of a private man, and behaved with great haughtiness towards the emperor himself, bragging, that in his own hands he had had the empire, but freely bestowed it upon *Vespasian*; yet the emperor never rebuked him but in private; and having once complained of him to a common friend, he ended his complaints with these remarkable words; *Yet I myself am but a man, and consequently not free from blame*^a.

He forgets injuries.

Is generally charged with avarice.

Several instances of it.

THE only fault with which he is charged by the ancients is, his immoderate love of money, which he was not ashamed to procure by means altogether unworthy of an emperor. He not only revived the old impositions and taxes, which had been suppressed by *Galba*; but loaded the provinces with new tributes, bought commodities, that he might sell them to advantage, and descended to some very low and unusual imposts, laying one even upon urine, which gave occasion to his son *Titus* to remonstrate to him the meanness of such an imposition; but he presenting to his son the first money that thence accrued to him, asked him, whether the smell offended him? Neither did he scruple the selling of any office, nor pardoning any criminal, however enormous his crimes were, provided he could with a sum of money redeem himself from the deserved punishment. He is said to have preferred to the most profitable employments such of his officers as were noted for their avarice and rapaciousness, and to have made use of them as sponges, *by wetting them when they were dry, and squeezing them when they were wet*^b. He often strove to disguise his shameful avarice by some humourous joke. Thus certain ambassadors having acquainted him, that by the council of their nation a considerable sum of money was decreed for erecting him a statue in the form of a colossus, *Here is the basis*, said he, stretching out his hand; *lay the money down here, and the statue is reared*. One of his chief favourites having one day begged of him the superintendence

^a SUET. C. 8, 9, 11, 12, 14.

^b SUET. C. 16.

- a ence of his household for one, whom he pretended to be his brother, the emperor put him off for the present; and sending afterwards for the person whom he had recommended, he received of him the sum which was to have been paid to the other for his interest, and bestowed on him the employment. When the favourite returned to solicit in behalf of his pretended brother, *You must find out another brother*, answered the emperor; *for the person, whom you recommended, proves in the end to be my brother, and not yours*. One day while he was travelling in a litter, the muleteer stopped, under pretence of having his mules shod, but in reality to give an opportunity to one of accosting the emperor and craving some favour. Of this *Vespasian* was apprised, and therefore having pleasantly asked the muleteer what he had received for shoeing his mules, he obliged him to pay to him half the sum^c. Some writers
- b think, that he was covetous by nature, and tell us, that he was upbraided with avarice by an old herdsman, who earnestly intreating the emperor, upon his accession to the empire, to grant him his liberty without ransom, and being denied it, cried out so as to be heard by the whole multitude, *The wolf may change his hair, but not his qualities*. But other authors excuse him on account of the urgent necessities of the state, and the emptiness of the exchequer when he first came to the government; for he then publicly declared in the senate, that the republic could not possibly subsist without a supply of a hundred and forty millions of sesterces. This is by the generality of writers thought the most probable opinion, because he always employed his revenue to great and noble purposes, and laid it out with uncommon generosity. His
- c public works and edifices were very expensive; his presents and pensions numerous; his feasts and entertainments frequent and magnificent, &c. He supported a great number of poor senators; allowed five hundred sesterces a year to every decayed consular; restored to their former lustre a great many towns, that had been ruined by fire or earthquakes; repaired the public roads and aqueducts, &c. He was likewise a great encourager of learning, and the first who settled salaries upon the professors of rhetoric both *Greek* and *Latin*, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer. He invited to *Rome*, with great allowances, not only the most celebrated poets, but such artificers and workmen as were famous in any part of the world. Of the latter, one, well skilled
- d in mechanics, having offered to convey certain columns of vast weight into the capitol at a very small charge, the emperor rewarded him for his invention; but would not employ him, saying, We must not debar the common people from earning their livelihood^d. Such was in general the conduct of *Vespasian*. We shall now proceed to the most remarkable actions of his reign, digested according to the order of time.
- THO' *Vespasian* had, during his first consulship, restored *Rome* to her former tranquillity, yet he did not resign the fasces on the first of *January*; but, chusing for his colleague *M. Cocceius Nerva* afterwards emperor, continued to discharge that office till the calends of *March*, when he was succeeded by his son *Domitian*, as was *Nerva* by *Q. Pedius Castus*. This year *Titus*, having, by the taking of *Jerusalem*, quite
- e reduced the *Jewish* nation, returned to *Rome*, where he was received with all possible demonstrations of joy, and soon after honoured with a triumph, which was decreed by the senate both to him and his father; for *Vespasian* had begun that war with great success. They both triumphed about the latter end of *April*, displaying on that occasion all the wealth of the *Jewish* nation. To *Titus* was likewise decreed a triumphal arch, describing his noble exploits; which continues to this day almost intire, as a lasting monument of his victories over the *Jews*. The triumph was no sooner over, than *Vespasian* commanded the temple of *Janus* to be shut, a profound peace now reigning in every part of the empire. Soon after the temple of *Peace* was begun, but not finished, or at least not consecrated, till four years after; that is, till the year
- f 75 of the christian æra, when the rich spoils of the temple of *Jerusalem* were deposited there. *Titus*, before his arrival at *Rome*, had been by his father honoured with the title of emperor, and taken for his colleague in the tribunitial power; so that being, in a manner, his partner in the empire, he discharged all the functions of sovereignty. He even took upon him the command of the prætorian guards, by which means that office became, as *Aurelius Victor* observes, the most honourable employment in the whole empire. It appears from several ancient inscriptions, that *Vespasian* this year built some aqueducts, repaired the streets of *Rome*, and at a vast charge made highways in *Spain*^e.

Is by many cleared from that blame.

Instances of his generosity.

Triumphs over the Jews with his son Titus.

To whom he imparts the tribunitial power.

THE

^c Idem ibid. p. 207.

^d Idem, c. 17, 18.

^e VORBURG. hist. Rom. Germ. p. 350. ONUPH. in fast.

THE following year, *Cesennius Pætus*, whom *Vespasian* had appointed governor of Syria in the room of *Mucianus*, having wrote to the emperor, that *Antiochus* king of *Comagene* and his son *Epiphanes* had held private conferences with *Vologeses* king of the *Parthians*, and were disposed to revolt from the *Romans*, the emperor, without examining the charge, which *Josephus* suspects to have been quite groundless, allowed *Pætus* to take what measures he thought most proper. Hereupon *Pætus*, who bore some private grudge to *Antiochus*, entered his dominions in a hostile manner; and, being joined by *Aristobulus* king of *Chalcis* and *Sobemus* king of *Emesus*, seized *Samosata*, the metropolis of *Comagene*, defeated *Epiphanes* and *Callinicus*, the two sons of *Antiochus*, and obliged the king himself to take shelter in *Cilicia*, where he possessed some domains. The young princes found a safe asylum at the court of *Vologeses*, who entertained them in a manner suitable to their rank; but *Antiochus* was by *Pætus*'s orders seized in *Cilicia* and loaded with chains; which *Vespasian* no sooner knew, than he commanded him to be set at liberty. His kingdom, however, was reduced to a Roman province, known by the name of *Augusteuphratesiana*, or *Euphratesiana*, because it extended along the *Euphrates*. *Antiochus* was allowed to retire to *Lacedæmon*, whence he removed soon after to *Rome*, where both he and his two sons, whom *Vespasian* took under his protection, at the recommendation of the *Parthian* king, were supported suitable to their rank at the publick charge^f. The same year, the *Alani*, a people dwelling between the river *Tanais* and the *Palus Mæotis*, made a sudden irruption into the territories of the *Medes* and *Armenians*. *Tiridates* king of *Armenia* narrowly escaped being taken, while he attempted to oppose them; and *Pacorus* king of the *Medes* was obliged to abandon his kingdom to the mercy of the barbarians, who carried off an immense booty and a great number of captives; among the rest the wife of *Pacorus*. *Vologeses* king of the *Parthians*, alarmed at this sudden irruption, wrote to *Vespasian*, begging succours against so formidable an enemy, and desiring one of the emperor's sons to command them. *Domitian* earnestly solicited his father for that command; but the emperor did not think it adviseable to succour the *Parthians*, who rivaled the *Romans* themselves in power; and the barbarians retired of their own accord, without offering to invade the *Parthian* dominions. However, the refusal of the emperor occasioned some misunderstanding between the two powers; and on this occasion it was, without all doubt, that *Vologeses* wrote to *Vespasian*, styling himself *king of kings*, as we have hinted above; without deigning to give *Vespasian* even the title of emperor^g.

Comagene reduced to a Roman province.

The Alani invade Media and Armenia.

Vespasian reduces Greece, Lycia, &c. to Roman provinces.

Helvidius Priscus banished.

THE following year, *Domitian* being consul, the second time, with *Valerius Messalinus*, *Vespasian* reduced Greece, which *Nero* had declared free, and likewise *Lycia*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, *Samos*, *Thrace*, and *Cilicia*, to Roman provinces, alledging, that they were no longer capable of liberty, since they only made use of it to undo themselves by their intestine dissentions. *Pausanias* seems to acknowledge the truth of this charge^h. *Rhodes*, *Samos*, and the other islands were made one province, called, *The province of the islands*, or, *of the Cyclades*, of which the city of *Rhodes* was the metropolis. *Eusebius* speaks of a sedition, which, according to him, was raised at *Alexandria*, in the beginning of this year, by some *Jews*, who had fled from *Jerusalem*. *Vespasian* treated the authors of it with great mildness; but ordered *Lupus*, governor of *Egypt*, to demolish the temple, which the *Jews* had built in the territory of *Heliodopolis*ⁱ. This same year, *Vespasian* condemned to banishment the celebrated *Helvidius Priscus*. He was a native of *Terracina*, and the son of a centurion; but, by his bright and signal parts, soon distinguished himself in *Rome*. When he was yet very young, he applied himself to the study of philosophy, not, as many did in those days, to disguise indolence under a pompous name, but in order to engage in the public administration with a mind thoroughly fortified against all disasters. Ere he had risen higher than the quæstorship, he was chosen by the famous *Thrasea Pætus* for a husband to his daughter. From the character of his wife's father he copied nothing so studiously, as his undaunted liberty in speaking his sentiments, never to be shaken by fear, and ever unmoveable in what he judged conducing to the publick welfare. When *Thrasea* was condemned, he was driven into exile, but recalled by *Galba*, and honoured by *Vespasian* in the first year of his reign with the prætorship. As he was a zealous stickler for liberty, he spoke with great freedom in the senate against the arbitrary proceedings of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*; neither did he spare *Vespasian*, but inveighed against

^f JOSEPH. l. vii. c. 9. & l. vi. c. 29. l. vii. c. 29. DIO, l. lxvi. p. 757.

SUET. c. 8. Chron. Alexand. p. 587. ^h PAUS. in Acha. p. 222.

^g JOSEPH. ⁱ EUSEB. in chron.

- a against him with as much bitterness as his father-in-law had ever done against *Nero*. The emperor, however, patiently bore with him, till he began openly to solemnize the birth-day of *Brutus* and that of *Cassius*, and to encourage the people to follow their example, and attempt the recovery of their ancient liberty; then *Vespasian* caused him to be seized, but soon after dismissed him untouched, contrary to the opinion of all his friends. *Helvidius*, forgetful of the kindness the emperor had shewn him, pursued his former course; and was thereupon again accused and condemned to banishment. As he could not refrain, even in the place of his exile, from inveighing with great bitterness against the emperor, he was at length by the senate sentenced to death. *Vespasian* strove to save him, and sent to countermand the executioners; but his orders came too late, *Mucianus* having detained the messengers, under various pretences, till the sentence was put in executionⁱ. *Helvidius*, notwithstanding this his unaccountable behaviour, is greatly cried up by *Tacitus*^k, *Pliny* the younger^l, and *Juvenal*^m. As many other philosophers, following the example of *Helvidius*, strove to stir up the populace to sedition, they were all driven out of *Rome*ⁿ. His strange behaviour.

- THE following year, *Vespasian* was consul the fifth time, and *Titus* the third. Nothing memorable happened during their administration, except the census, which was performed by them in quality of censors, the emperor having assumed his son for his colleague in that dignity. This is the last census we find mentioned in history. They both retained the fasces till the calends of *April* of the following year, when *Vespasian* resigned them to *Domitian*, and *Titus* to *Mucianus*. This year the emperor consecrated the temple of *Peace*, and raised a colossus of brass one hundred and ten feet high, which had been designed for *Nero*; but instead of his head, that of *Titus* was placed upon it, or, as others will have it, the figure of the sun^p. The two following years, *Vespasian* being consul the seventh and eighth time, and *Titus* the fifth and sixth, nothing happened at *Rome*, or in any part of the empire, which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity. We read indeed in the chronicle of *Alexandria*, that in the eighth consulship of *Vespasian*, a woman, by name *Alcippe*, was delivered at *Rome* of an elephant; and in the chronicle of *Eusebius*, that a plague raged in the city with such violence for some time, as to sweep away above twenty thousand persons a day. But neither of that extraordinary birth, nor of so dreadful a plague, any notice is taken by the ancients, not even by *Pliny* the elder, who flourished under *Vespasian* and was in great favour with him. The last census.

- THE next year, *L. Ceionius Commodus* and *D. Novius Priscus* being consuls, the celebrated *Cneius Julius Agricola* was sent into *Britain* to govern that province, in the room of *Julius Frontinus*. As we shall have frequent occasion to speak of this renowned commander, we shall here briefly recount his course of life and pursuits, before he distinguished himself by his mighty exploits in this island. He was born in the colony of *Forojulium*, now *Frejus*, in *Narbonne Gaul*; and both his grandfathers were procurators to the emperors; a dignity peculiar to the equestrian order. His father, *Julius Gracinus*, was a senator, famous for his eloquence and philosophy, but put to death by *Caligula*, for refusing to accuse *Marcus Silanus*. His mother, *Julia Agricola*, a woman noted for her modesty, brought him up in his tender years under her eye and with great care. In his early youth he studied philosophy and law in the city of *Marseilles*, with more avidity, as he himself used to declare, than became a *Roman* and a senator, till the discretion of his mother checked his ardour. Reason and age afterwards qualified his heat; so that he contented himself with a limited measure of philosophy. He learnt the first rudiments of war in *Britain*, under *Suetonius Paulinus*, one of the greatest commanders of his age, by whom he was distinguished with particular marks of friendship and esteem. He was not one of those young men who turn warfare into riot, but studied to acquaint himself with the province, to be known to the army, to learn of such as had experience, to follow such as were worthy and brave, to seek for no exploits out of ostentation, to refuse none through fear. He would not assume the title and office of tribune, till he thought himself well qualified for that command: neither did he make use of it, as many did in those days, to indulge his pleasures with more liberty, to Julius Agricola sent into Britain.
- c phy, but put to death by *Caligula*, for refusing to accuse *Marcus Silanus*. His mother, *Julia Agricola*, a woman noted for her modesty, brought him up in his tender years under her eye and with great care. In his early youth he studied philosophy and law in the city of *Marseilles*, with more avidity, as he himself used to declare, than became a *Roman* and a senator, till the discretion of his mother checked his ardour. Reason and age afterwards qualified his heat; so that he contented himself with a limited measure of philosophy. He learnt the first rudiments of war in *Britain*, under *Suetonius Paulinus*, one of the greatest commanders of his age, by whom he was distinguished with particular marks of friendship and esteem. He was not one of those young men who turn warfare into riot, but studied to acquaint himself with the province, to be known to the army, to learn of such as had experience, to follow such as were worthy and brave, to seek for no exploits out of ostentation, to refuse none through fear. He would not assume the title and office of tribune, till he thought himself well qualified for that command: neither did he make use of it, as many did in those days, to indulge his pleasures with more liberty, to His birth, education, &c.
- f himself with the province, to be known to the army, to learn of such as had experience, to follow such as were worthy and brave, to seek for no exploits out of ostentation, to refuse none through fear. He would not assume the title and office of tribune, till he thought himself well qualified for that command: neither did he make use of it, as many did in those days, to indulge his pleasures with more liberty, to

ⁱ Dio in excerpt. Val, p. 705. col. 66. p. 750. Suet. c. 15. JUVENAL. satir. 5. PLIN. l. vii. ep. 19. ^k TACIT. l. iv. c. 4. ^l PLIN. l. iv. ep. 21. ^m JUVENAL. sat. 5. ⁿ Suet. c. 8. Dio, l. lxvi. p. 751. ^o CENSORINUS de die natali. PLIN. l. vii. c. 43. ONUPH. in fast. p. 208. ^p Suet. c. 19. PLIN. l. xxxiv. c. 7. Dio, ibid.

His prefer-
ments.

or to absent himself from duty; but to encourage others, by his example, to bear with patience the toils attending the profession of arms. As *Paulinus* was engaged in a mighty war with the *Britons*, of which we have spoken in the reign of *Nero*, *Agricola* had an opportunity of improving himself in the knowledge of military affairs under so great a master. Departing from *Britain* to *Rome*, to enter there upon the public offices, he was first sent into *Asia* as quæstor, where he had *Salvius Titianus* for proconsul. But neither the province, in itself very rich, nor *Titianus*, though bent upon all acts of rapine, and ready, upon the smallest encouragement, to have purchased a mutual connivance in iniquity, corrupted his probity. He was afterwards created tribune of the people, but passed the year of his tribuneship in repose and inactivity, being well apprised, that under *Nero* sloth and heaviness served for wisdom. With the like indolence he held the prætorship, exhibiting, however, as was incumbent upon the prætors, public sports, according to the measure of his wealth, and in a manner no-ways favouring of prodigality, but still deserving popular applause. Being afterwards appointed by *Galba* to survey the gifts and oblations belonging to the temples, by a diligent search he procured full restitution of all, save what had been sacrilegiously taken away by *Nero*. The year following, his mother was killed by the soldiers of *Otho*, upon her estate at *Intemelium*, now *Vintimiglia*; and the estate itself plundered, with great part of her treasure, which had proved the cause of the murder. As *Agricola* hastened from *Rome*, to pay her the last duty and solemnize her funeral, he had tidings upon the road, that *Vespasian* had assumed the title of emperor, and instantly espoused his party. Upon his return from *Intemelium*, he was employed by *Mucianus* to levy forces; and soon after, as he discharged that trust with great uprightness and fidelity, preferred to the command of the twentieth legion, then in *Britain*, their own commander being found void of authority to controul them and keep them to their duty. *Vettius Bolanus* was at that time governor of *Britain*; but as he ruled with great gentleness, *Agricola* had no opportunity of distinguishing himself by any military exploits. *Bolanus* was succeeded by *Petilius Cerealis*, who at his first entrance attacked the *Brigantes*, reckoned the most powerful people of the whole island; and, after many encounters, some of which proved very bloody, held most part of their country as his conquest, or continued to ravage it by war. Under him *Agricola* had room to display his valour and abilities. For trial of his skill and courage, *Cerealis* often committed to his conduct part of the army; and sometimes, according to the measure of his success, set him at the head of forces still larger, sharing with him both the dangers and the glory. But *Agricola* was so far from vaunting his own exploits, that, on the contrary, he ascribed to his general, as to the author of all, his success and good fortune.

UPON his return from *Britain*, where he had commanded a legion, he was by *Vespasian* raised to the rank of a patrician, and afterwards appointed governor of *Aquitain*; which trust he discharged with great uprightness and general satisfaction. He was after three years recalled, and honoured with the consulship; which office he discharged during the two last months of the preceding year. While he was consul, it was generally said, that for his province *Britain* would be assigned him, from no words that had dropped from him about it, but because he was deemed equal to that office: and common fame, as *Tacitus* well observes, does not always err, but often directs the public choice. Before he ended his consulship, he contracted his daughter to *Tacitus* the historian, who was yet very young, and gave her to him in marriage as soon as he had resigned the fasces. He was then forthwith promoted to the government of *Britain*, and at the same time honoured with the pontifical dignity. He succeeded *Julius Frontinus*, who had not only maintained the conquests made by *Petilius Cerealis*, his predecessor, but had himself fought with great success, having intirely reduced the warlike nation of the *Silures*, though, besides the bravery of the enemy, he had been likewise obliged to struggle with the difficulties of places and situation. *Agricola* arrived in *Britain* about the middle of summer, when the *Roman* soldiers, supposing the service of the season to be concluded, were bent upon inaction and repose, as were the enemy upon an opportunity to harass the *Romans*. The *Ordovices*, that is, the inhabitants of *North-Wales*, had, not long before his arrival, cut in pieces a band of horse stationed upon their confines,

and

† *TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 4---9.*

‡ *Idem ibid. c. 9.*

^a and by so notable an essay roused to arms the whole province. The summer was already near over; the *Roman* troops were severed, and lay dispersed over the province; and the soldiers had assured themselves of rest for the remaining part of the year. But, notwithstanding these discouragements, and the remonstrances of some, who judged it better only to guard the places that were threatened, *Agricola* resolved to march against the enemy without delay. Having therefore drawn together the flower of the legions and a small body of auxiliaries, he led them against the *Ordovices*. But, as the enemy kept themselves upon the ridges of the mountains, and dared not descend into equal ground, *Agricola*, in order to inspire his men with equal courage, by sharing with them equal danger, marched in person at the head of his army, and led them to the encounter upon the ascent. The soldiers, animated by the example of their general, attacked the enemy with great resolution, put them to flight, and made such a dreadful havock of them, that almost the whole nation was cut off. Animated with this success, in order to maintain the fame he acquired by this action, and to strike the enemy at once with general terror, he resolved to reduce the island of *Anglesey*, which had been formerly conquered by *Paulinus*, but lost again by the general revolt of *Britain*. As this counsel was suddenly concerted, and consequently ships were wanting, he detached a chosen body of auxiliaries, such as knew the fords, and, according to the usage of their country, were dextrous at swimming, and able to manage in the water themselves, their horses, and arms. These, unincumbered with baggage, made a descent and onset so sudden, that the enemy were quite struck with consternation, as they apprehended nothing but a fleet and transports, and believed no enterprise difficult and unfurmountable to men, who began the war with such resolution. Thus they sued for peace, and immediately surrendered the island to *Agricola*, whom they already considered as a renowned commander, since at his first entrance into the province, a time which other governors were wont to spend in shew and parade, he had achieved such feats, and under so much toil and danger, with amazing success. *Agricola* was so far from being elated with this conquest, that he would not so much as bestow upon it the title of victory, nor by letters acquaint the emperor with the good fortune that had attended his arms, in the recovery of an island which had been formerly subject to *Rome*. But, by thus suppressing the fame of his actions, he acquired a far greater reputation, than if he had studied to divulge them, every one considering how vast must his views be, since he thus smothered in silence such great exploits already performed. As he was well acquainted with the temper of the people in his province, and had also learnt from the conduct of others, how little arms avail to settle a province, if victory is followed by grievances and oppressions, he resolved to cut off all the causes of war. Beginning therefore with himself and those about him, he regulated his own household; a task which to many proves no less difficult than that of governing a province. By none of his domestics was transacted any thing concerning the public. In preferring the soldiers to a higher rank, he was swayed by no personal interest or partiality, nor by the recommendations of centurions, but by his own opinion and knowledge. He would know all that passed; but would not punish all that was amiss. He readily pardoned small faults; but such as were great, he punished with proportionable severity. In conferring offices and employments, he rather chose men who would not transgress, than such as he must afterwards condemn for transgressing. Tho' the tribute had been augmented, yet he softened it by a just and equal distribution of all public burdens, and utterly abolished whatever exactions had been devised for the gain of particulars, and were therefore borne with more regret than the tribute itself. For the publicans used, under colour of securing the tribute, to seize all the corn of the inhabitants, lock up their barns, and oblige them to purchase their own grain at a high price, and afterwards sell it back again to them at a low rate: besides, the unhappy people were enjoined to take long journies; and carry grain cross the several countries to places extremely distant; insomuch, that several communities, instead of supplying the winter-quarters, which lay adjoining, were obliged to furnish such as were remote, unless they redeemed themselves from that trouble with considerable sums. All these grievances were utterly suppressed by *Agricola* in his first year; by which means the *Britons* began to be reconciled to the *Roman* government, and to live in a state of peace; a state which, through the neglect and connivance of former governors, had been till then no less dreaded than

His exploits in Britain during his first campaign.

Recovers the island of Anglesey.

Redresses the grievances complained of by the Britons.

Reconciles them to the Roman government.

that of warⁱ. The other exploits of *Agricola* in this island, we shall relate in their proper places.

The adventures of Julius Sabinus.

THE following year, *Vespasian* being consul the ninth time, and *Titus* the seventh, *Julius Sabinus*, who, as we have related above, had stirred up the *Gauls*, and caused himself to be proclaimed *Cæsar*, was at length discovered, seized, and put to death. After his defeat, he had fled to his country-dwelling, and set it on fire, in order to raise a report, that he had perished: and truly he was there believed to have suffered a voluntary death; but, in the mean time, lay concealed with his treasures (for he was immensely rich) in a cave which he had caused to be dug in a solitary place, and which was known only to two of his freed-men, upon whose fidelity he could depend. He might have easily withdrawn into *Germany*; but could not prevail upon himself to abandon his wife, whom he tenderly loved. She is called by *Dion Cassius*, *Peponilla*; by *Tacitus*, *Eppenia*; and by *Plutarch*, *Empona*; which name, according to that writer, in the ancient language of the *Gauls*, signified a heroine. *Sabinus*, that no one might doubt of his death, did not for some time even deceive his wife, who solemnized his exequies with great pomp, bewailed him with many tears, and at least, no longer able to bear the loss of a husband whom she so tenderly loved, resolved not to outlive him, and began to abstain from all food. Hereupon *Sabinus*, by means of *Martialis*, one of his freed-men, informed her, that he was still alive, and acquainted her with the place where he lay concealed, warning her at the same time to suppress her joy, lest the secret might be thence betrayed. *Empona*, tho' in the utmost transports of joy, continued to bewail him as dead; but, in the mean time, passed great part of the night with him, and sometimes whole weeks, pretending business in the country. She had even two children by him, who were born and brought up in the cave, *Empona* concealing the whole with exemplary fidelity and wonderful address; nay, she found means even to convey him to *Rome*, upon what motive we know not, and from thence back to his cave, so well disguised, that he was by no one known. But, after he had passed nine years in this condition, he was at length discovered by some persons, who narrowly watched his wife, upon her frequently absenting herself from her own house, and followed her to the cave, without being discovered. *Sabinus* was immediately seized and sent to *Rome*, loaded with chains, together with his wife, who throwing herself at the emperor's feet, and presenting to him her two tender children, strove with her tears and entreaties to move him to compassion. *Vespasian* could not forbear weeping at so moving an object; but nevertheless condemned both her and her husband, and caused them to be soon after executed. The two children were saved, and with great care brought up at the public expence. One of them died some time after in *Egypt*; and *Plutarch* tells us, that he saw the other, named *Sabinus*, at *Delphos*, while he was writing his book of *love*, in which he has inserted this adventure^k. That writer tells us, that nothing more tragical, nothing more displeasing to the public, happened during the whole reign of *Vespasian*, than the death of *Sabinus* and his wife; nay, to this his unseasonable severity, he ascribes all the misfortunes which afterwards befel him and his family. What diverted the emperor from exerting his usual clemency and good-nature, when he might have done it with general applause and universal satisfaction, we are no-where told.

He is discovered.

And put to death, with his wife.

Cæcina and Marcellus conspire against Vespasian, but are put to death.

NOT long after the execution of *Sabinus*, *Alienus Cæcina*, of whom we often spoke in the reign of *Vitellius*, and *Epirus Marcellus*, an abandoned accuser in the reign of *Nero*, entered into a conspiracy against the emperor, and drew into it great numbers of the prætorian guards. But, before the conspiracy was ripe for execution, one of the conspirators betrayed the whole to *Titus*, and even delivered to him a copy of the speech, which *Cæcina* was to pronounce to the soldiers after the assassination, written with his own hand. This was sufficient evidence; and therefore *Titus*, the night after this discovery, having invited *Cæcina* to sup with him, caused him, without any farther inquiry or trial, to be murdered in the banquetting-room. As for *Marcellus*, he was tried and condemned by the senate; but prevented the execution of the sentence, by cutting his throat with a razor^l. Before *Vespasian* resigned the consulship, he was seized with a pain in his bowels, which obliged him to repair from *Campania*, where he then was, to *Rome*; and from thence to *Cutylæ*,

ⁱ Idem, c. 10---20. ^k TACIT. hist. l. iv. c. 67. DIO. l. lxvi. p. 752. PLUT amat. in Tit. c. 6. DIO. l. lxvi. p. 752. TACIT. l. iv. c. 6.

^l SUET.

- ^a *Cutylæ*, his paternal estate in the neighbourhood of *Reate*, which he usually visited every summer, in order to drink certain waters, in great request on account of their extreme coolness. Here he was seized first with a fever, and afterwards with a flux, occasioned by the immoderate use of the cold waters, which brought him to such weakness, that all about him began to despair of his recovery. However, he still attended the dispatch of business, received ambassadors, and gave audience to his ministers. Once, as he found himself ready to faint away. *If I am not mistaken*, he cried out, *I am going to be a god*, ridiculing the custom of the *Romans*, who placed their emperors, after their death, in the number of their gods, and honoured them with divine worship. Upon the approach of death, he cried out again with his usual bravery and resolution, *An emperor ought to die standing*: but, while he endeavoured to rise, he expired in the hands of those who sustained him. His death happened on the twenty-fourth of *June*, in the seventy-eighth year of the *Christian* æra, after he had lived sixty-nine years, seven months, and seven days, and reigned ten years wanting six days, from the time he was proclaimed emperor in the city of *Alexandria*. His death was universally lamented; and his memory gratefully preserved, by such as were true friends to their country. In war, he was next to *Julius Cæsar*, and to *Augustus* in peace; and seemed to have been by providence raised on purpose to preserve so vast an empire from utter destruction. Greatness and majesty, says *Pliny*, worked no alteration in him, save that of making his power of doing good answerable to his will. He was the second *Roman* emperor, if not the first, who died a natural death; and the first who was succeeded by his son. And here we cannot help observing the rashness of some blind zealots, in ascribing to divine vengeance the fate of such as slew *Cæsar* the dictator. Not one of the assassins, they cry, died a natural death. But neither did *Cæsar*, who destroyed the state, nor any of his successors, except *Augustus*, of whom it is also doubted, to the present emperor. *Tiberius* was smothered by *Macro* his favourite, *Caligula* was slain by the officers of his guards, *Claudius* was poisoned by his wife *Agrippina*, *Nero* stabbed himself, *Galba* was murdered by the soldiers, *Otho* fell by his own hand, and *Vitellius* was executed like a common malefactor. *Augustus* was thought to have been poisoned by his wife *Livia* ^w. Such was the end of these usurpers; and may the like doom overtake all who tread in their footsteps! *Vespasian* is said to have been so confident, that the empire was by the laws of fate destined to him and his posterity, that he affirmed in the senate, he should, in spite of all plots and conspiracies, retain the sovereignty to his death, and be succeeded in it by his two sons. His obsequies were performed with extraordinary pomp by *Titus*. The *Romans* were at this time so preposterously fond of mimics and farces, that they were exhibited even at the funerals of persons of quality, when the pantomimes used to personate the deceased, counterfeit their speech, and imitate their actions. At the obsequies of *Vespasian*, a celebrated pantomime, by name *Favor*, personating the deceased emperor, demanded aloud, what the whole expence of the ceremony amounted to; and being told, to one hundred thousand sesterces, *Give me the money*, said he, stretching out his hand and counterfeiting the emperor's speech, *and throw my carcase, if you please, into the Tyber* ^x. *Vespasian* founded various colonies in different parts of the empire, viz. one at *Emmaus*, about sixty furlongs from *Jerusalem*, to which place he gave the name of *Nicopolis*, or *the city of victory*; one at *Cæsarea*, which was from him called *Flaviana*, with the addition of *Prima*, as being the first in dignity of all the cities in *Palestine*. *Develte*, or as some call it *Deülte*, in *Thrace*, *Sinope* in *Pontus*, and *Flaviobriga* in *Spain*, now *Bilboa*, are by some writers reckoned among the colonies founded by *Vespasian* ^y. *Neapolis* in *Samaria*, called formerly *Sychem*; *Samofata*, the capital of *Comagene*, *Tripolis* in *Phœnicia*, *Chalcis* and *Philadelphia* in *Syria*, *Cyrene* in *Libya*, *Critia* in *Bithynia*, and *Eumeneæ* in *Phrygia*, bore each the name of *Flaviana*; whence some writers conclude *Roman* colonies to have been settled in all these cities, either by *Vespasian* himself, or one of his children ^z. Several writers flourished in *Vespasian's* time, but of them we shall speak in our notes (D).

The death of Vespasian.

His character

His colonies.

Vespasian

^w Vide TACIT. annal. i. sub init. & DIO. l. lvii. BAUD. p. 291.^x SUET. c. 19.^y Vide SPANH. l. vii &^z Vide BAUD. p. 769. & NORIS de epoch. Syro-Macedon.(D) These were, *Suetonius Paulinus*, of whose warlike exploits we have spoken in the reign of *Nero* when he governed *Britain*. He likewise distinguished himself in the war between *Otho* and *Vitellius*.

Titus declared emperor.

His education
studies &c before his accession to the empire.

Vespasian was succeeded in the empire by his eldest son *Titus*, who was born the thirtieth of *December*, about the time of the death of *Caligula*, that is, in the year 40. of the *Christian* æra; so that he was now thirty-nine years of age. He was brought up with *Britannicus* in the court of *Nero*, and is said to have tasted the poison which was given to the young prince at the emperor's table. We are told, that an astrologer being consulted by *Narcissus*, the celebrated freed-man of *Claudius*, about the lot of *Britannicus*, returned answer, that by the laws of fate the empire was not destined to him, but to *Titus*, who happened to stand by him. He lived in great friendship with *Britannicus*; whence, soon after his accession to the empire, he erected two statues to his memory, one of gold in the palace, and another of ivory, which was by his orders publicly carried among other statues at the *Circensian* games. *Titus*, from his tender years, attended with great application the study of rhetoric and poetry, and made great progress in both, being commended by the ancients as an excellent poet, and an eloquent speaker upon any subject whatever, and without premeditation. He served first in quality of tribune in *Germany*, and afterwards in *Britain*; and in both provinces gained no less reputation by his modest and engaging behaviour, than by his courage. Upon his return from *Britain*, he betook himself to the bar, and pleaded some causes of great importance with uncommon applause. While he was yet very young, he married *Arpicidia Tertulla*, whose father was only a *Roman* knight, but had been captain of the prætorian guards. Upon her death, he married *Martia Furnilla*, descended of an illustrious family, but divorced her after he had one daughter by her, named *Julia Sabina*. After his quæstorship, which he discharged with great applause, he was advanced to the command of a legion, and attended his father into *Judæa* in quality

lius, and was without all doubt one of the best commanders of his age. He left behind him an account of an expedition; which he undertook beyond mount *Atlas*, in the year 41. of the *Christian* æra, and the last of *Caligula*'s reign, against the *Moors*, who took up arms to revenge the death of *Ptolemy* their prince, murdered by *Caligula*, as we have related in the reign of that prince. This account has not reached our times; but is quoted by *Pliny* (9). He outlived *Otho*, whose cause he had espoused; but from *Pliny* it appears, he was dead in the year 77. that is, in the eighth year of *Vespasian*'s reign (10). Some writers, through a strange mistake, have confounded *Suetonius Paulinus* with *Suetonius Lenis*, the father of *Suetonius* the historian, who served only as a military tribune in the army of *Otho*, which *Suetonius Paulinus* commanded in quality of general (11). *Licinius Mucianus*, who is often quoted by *Pliny* in what relates to the history and geography of the eastern countries (12). In the year 75. the seventh of *Vespasian*'s reign, he was busy in collecting the discourses and letters of the ancient *Romans*, and had already published eleven volumes of speeches, and three of letters (13). He is supposed to have died in the eighth year of *Vespasian*'s reign. *Pliny* tells us, that he always carried about with him a living fly, which he superstitiously looked upon as a preservative of the fight (14). *Julius Secundus*, who is one of the persons introduced in the dialogue of orators, commonly ascribed to *Tacitus*, wrote the life of one *Julius Asiaticus*, and promised the lives of other illustrious persons. He likewise published some speeches or orations highly commended by *Quintilian* (15). In the same dialogue, *Vipsanius Messala* acts the chief part. He was tribune of the seventh legion, sprung from an illustrious family, and the only one, as *Tacitus* informs us, who engaged in the civil war between *Vespasian* and *Vitellius* upon wor-

thy designs. He pleaded with great eloquence in the senate, tho' not yet arrived at the age of a senator, in behalf of his brother *Aquilius Regulus*, charged as the accuser and destroyer of many illustrious citizens in the reign of *Nero* (16). He wrote, as appears from *Tacitus* (17), an account of the war between *Vitellius* and *Vespasian*; and is supposed to have published some other histories (18). *Modycratius*, the *Pythagoric*, a native of *Cadiz*, lived about this time, and published several philosophical tracts (19). *St. Jerom* commends him on account of his eloquence (22); and *Origen*, if *Porphyrius* is to be credited (21), perused with attention his writings, and improved by them. *Curatius Maternus*, a famous civilian and poet, flourished under *Vespasian*, and wrote several tragedies; one of which, intitled *Cato*, made a great noise, and would have given great offence to any of the emperors who preceded *Vespasian*. He is introduced in the dialogue of orators, speaking in defence of poetry (22). *Salvius Bassus* wrote several poems in the reign of *Vespasian*, which were highly esteemed by *Quintilian*, and *Vespasian* himself, who countenanced and with great generosity rewarded the poet (23). *Cluvius* wrote the history of *Nero*'s reign, and of the civil wars preceding that of *Vespasian* (24), and is frequently quoted by *Tacitus*. Most writers take him to be the same person with *Marcus Cluvius Rufus*, who governed *Spain* in the reigns of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*. Of him *Tacitus* observes, that he was in great favour with *Nero*, and acquired mighty wealth, without injuring any man either in his life or fortune (25). He was, as the same writer observes, an eloquent man, and well qualified for affairs in time of peace, but void of experience in war (26). None of the writings of these authors have reached our times, except some sentences quoted by the ancient grammarians.

- (9) *Plin. l. v. c. 1.* (10) *Idem ibid.* (11) *Vide Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 26,* (12) *Plin. l. v. c. 27.* (13) *Tacit. orat. c. 37.* (14) *Plin. l. 28. c. 2.* (15) *Quint. l. x. c. 1.* (16) *Tacit. l. iv. c. 42.* (17) *Tacit. orat. c. 14.* (18) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. i. c. 28.* (19) *Fonsius de script. hist. philo- soph. c. 5.* (20) *Euseb. chron.* (21) *Idem hist. eccles. l. vi. c. 19.* (22) *Tacit. orat. c. 2. 3. 11.* (23) *Tacit. ibid. c. 5. Quintil. l. x. c. 1.* (24) *Tacit. annal. xiii. c. 20.* (25) *Tacit. l. iv. c. 49.* (26) *Idem, l. i. c. 8.*

a lity of his lieutenant. In that war, he distinguished himself, as appears from *Josephus*, in a very eminent manner; reduced, while he served under his father, some strong holds; and gained the reputation both of a brave and prudent leader. Being sent by *Vespasian* to congratulate *Galba* upon his accession to the empire, and to receive his directions concerning the prosecution of the war against the *Jews*, it was rumoured abroad by the populace at *Rome*, that *Galba* had sent for him in order to adopt him. Ground for this report was administered, as *Tacitus* observes, by the condition of the emperor, ancient and childless, and the great character of *Titus*, who was judged equal to any degree of fortune, however elevated. But having received at *Corinth* certain advice of the murder of *Galba*, he returned to his father,

b and reconciled to him *Mucianus* governor of *Syria*; for between *Vespasian* and him, as the one ruled over *Judæa* and the other over *Syria*, great animosities reigned, occasioned by their governing two neighbouring provinces^a. He was left by his father in *Judæa* to prosecute the war against the *Jews*. Upon their parting, *Titus* gave a signal instance of his good-nature and affection towards his brother *Domitian*. For the emperor, being informed that *Domitian* had already abandoned himself to all manner of debauchery, and assumed more authority than was suitable to a son only, was highly incensed against him. *Titus* therefore, upon the departure of his father for *Italy*, pleaded with great affection and earnestness in favour of his brother, warning the emperor to beware of being rashly incensed by intelligence from such as brought criminal representations. To your own son, said he, it is but just you should bear a spirit of gentleness, free from all prejudice. Not from fleets, not from legions, are such powerful bulwarks found for the support of the imperial dignity, as from a numerous issue in the imperial house. The number of our friends is diminished with time; they often desert us to follow fortune; or because we cannot gratify their desires. But from our own blood we may always promise ourselves ready assistance, and unshaken fidelity. In our good fortune many will partake with us, but our nearest in kindred alone will bear us company in our adversities. Even between brothers, added he, concord and unanimity will not prove lasting, if their common parent sets them not first an example. *Vespasian*, who by this reasoning

c was not so much reconciled to *Domitian*, as charmed with the tender affection of *Titus*, desired him to be of good cheer, and to study how to aggrandize the commonwealth by war and the exercise of arms; adding, that it should be his task to insure the public peace, and that of his family^b. Of the conduct and warlike achievements of *Titus*, during the war which he carried on with stupendous success against the *Jews*, we have spoken at length in our history of that nation. After the reduction of *Jerusalem*, instead of returning to *Rome*, he went to *Alexandria*, where he assisted at the consecration of the ox *Apis*, wearing a diadem; which, together with his putting off from time to time his journey for *Italy*, and his giving a private audience at *Zeugma* to the ambassadors of the *Parthian* king, occasioned a report, as if he designed to revolt from his father, and make himself emperor of the east. This rumour obliged him to hasten his departure for *Rome*, where he was received with loud shouts of joy, and a few days after honoured with one of the most magnificent triumphs the city had ever beheld. He was dignified by the senate with the title of *Cæsar*, and by his father taken, in a manner, for his colleague in the empire; for with him he exercised the censorship, the tribunitial power, seven consulships, and managed all the affairs of the empire, writing even letters, and drawing up all edicts in his father's name. *Tacitus* tells us, that he was more strict and reserved in his own reign, than in that of his father; and *Suetonius* charges him with pride, cruelty, and even avarice. When any one, says the latter writer, gave him, by his unguarded conduct, the least umbrage, he hired people to demand his doom in the theatre, and in the camp of the prætorian guards, and then condemned him without further proof or trial. In administering justice, he was easily

d biaised by presents, sold several employments of great trust unknown to his father, and indulged himself in festivity and pleasures, spending great part of the night in riotous banquets, with the most dissolute of the *Roman* youth, with young eunuchs, and a numerous herd of catamites and prostitutes. His passion for *Berenice*, the daughter of *Agrippa the great* and sister of *Agrippa II.* king of *Ituræa*, was highly

e Returns to Rome, and triumphs.

f Is charged, while yet a private man, with pride, cruelty, and avarice.

^a *TACIT.* hist. l. ii. c. 77. *SUET.* in *Tit.* c. 1, 2, 3, 5. *PHILOSTR.* in vit. *Apoll. Ty.* l. vii. c. 3. *JOSEPH.* bell. Jud. l. iv. c. 29.

^b *TACIT.* l. iv. c. 52.

Governs with great moderation.

His conduct towards his brother.

Confirms all the grants of his predecessors.

His complaisance to the people.

His clemency.

highly censured by the *Roman* people, who looked upon him as a second *Nero*; ^a so that scarce ever any man arrived at the empire with a more sullied reputation, or more abhorred by the populace^c. But, upon his accession to the empire, all these accusations turned to his praise and advantage, no prince having ever governed with greater moderation, humanity, and good-nature. Soon after his father's death, he dismissed the beautiful queen *Berenice*, who had followed him to *Rome* with her father *Agrippa*, the last king of *Judæa*; and obliged her not only to withdraw from the city, but from *Italy*, tho' he was passionately fond of her; and this merely out of complaisance to the senate and people, who were displeased to see their emperor thus captivated with the charms of a foreign woman^d. Tho' his brother *Domitian* pretended to an equal share in the government, and raised great disturbances in the city, by giving out and arrogantly maintaining, that his father had left him partner in the empire, but that the will had been falsified; yet he could not prevail upon himself either to punish or banish him, but on the contrary treated him as his colleague in the empire, conjuring him often in private, with tears in his eyes, not to hate a brother, who bore him a sincere and tender affection, and was willing to allow him a due share in the administration^e. *Pliny* observes, that *Julius Bassus* dreaded *Titus* on account of his intimacy with *Domitian*; but that he received no injury at the hands of the former, whereas he was banished by the latter. The emperors, ever since the reign of *Tiberius*, had paid no regard to the ordinances of their predecessors granting to cities, or particular persons, privileges, immunities ^c or exemptions, till such grants were confirmed by themselves; which they did with great reserve, causing the charters to be first carefully examined, as if they had been first granted by themselves. But *Titus*, without suffering any one to apply to him, confirmed them all by one general edict; and his example was followed by most of his successors. He could not prevail upon himself to dismiss any who applied to him dissatisfied, or without some hopes of success; whereupon, being admonished by some of his friends, that he promised more than he could well perform, he replied, that no man should depart dissatisfied from the presence of a prince. It is well known, that being told one night he had bestowed no favour that day, he expressed his dissatisfaction and regret, with that memorable saying, *My friends, I have lost a day*. He treated the people with extraordinary kindness and complaisance: having designed to exhibit a shew of gladiators, he signified by a proclamation, that it should be exhibited, not according to his own taste and pleasure, but that of the people; and he was so far from refusing what they desired, that he earnestly solicited them to declare what they liked best, complying with their taste, tho' disagreeing with his own. He allowed free access to him, even while he was bathing, and received all with great affability and condescension, yet so as to maintain the dignity of his rank and the majesty of an emperor. No man's property he ever coveted; nay, he often refused the usual presents and such contributions as were due to him: and nevertheless, of all his predecessors, none was more generous than he, nor expended larger sums in private bounties, in shews, in buildings, &c. After he dedicated the famous amphitheatre, and finished with incredible expedition certain baths close to it, he exhibited, at an immense charge, a shew of gladiators, a naval battle in the old naumachia, and brought into the arena five thousand wild beasts of all kinds. When he entered upon the office of chief pontiff, he solemnly declared, he took upon him that dignity in order to preserve his hands undefiled, and pure from the shedding of blood; and truly from that time he never was accessory to any man's death, though he might have exerted his revenge with great justice: but, however provoked, he spared the criminals, declaring, that he had rather die himself, than put another to death. Of this his great clemency he gave the following instance: two patricians having conspired against him, were discovered, convicted, and sentenced to death by the senate. But the good-natured emperor freely forgave them, admonishing them only in private, that in vain they aspired to the empire, which was given by destiny, exhorting them to be satisfied with the rank in which by providence they had been placed, and offering them any thing else which it was in his power to grant. At the same time he dispatched a messenger to the mother of one of them, who was then at a great distance, and under great concern about the fate of her son, to assure her, that her son

^a SUET. C. 6, 7. TACIT. *ibid*.

^d SUET. C. 7.

^e *Idem* in Dom. c. 2. & 9.

- a son was not only alive, but out of danger. He invited them the same night to his table, and having the next day placed them by him at a shew of gladiators, when the weapons of the combatants were, according to custom, presented to him, he desired them to survey them^e. The law of majesty he utterly abrogated, and would not suffer any person to be prosecuted for speaking disrespectfully of himself, or the other emperors his predecessors, saying, *If they blacken my character undeservedly, they ought rather to be pitied than punished; if deservedly, it would be a crying piece of injustice to punish them for speaking truth. As for my predecessors, if they are truly gods, they are in a condition to revenge, when they think fit, the injuries done them, and stand in no need of my assistance and power^f.* The accusers were the only persons against whom he proceeded with unrelenting severity, causing them to be publicly whipt, to be exposed to public view, and to the insults of the populace in the forum, the amphitheatre, and the circus, and then to be either sold for slaves, or banished to desert islands^g. In short he was a prince, according to *Suetonius*, in whom all virtues centred, without the alloy of one single vice.

Abolishes the law of majesty

His severity towards the informers.

- TOWARDS the end of the year 79. of the christian æra, and first of *Titus's* reign, *Campania* was alarmed with a most dreadful and almost incredible eruption of mount *Vesuvius*, which laid waste the country to a great distance, and utterly consumed a great many cities with their inhabitants, and among the rest *Pompeii* and *Herculanum*. The former had suffered much by an earthquake in the year 63. of the christian æra; but had been rebuilt and embellished with several stately edifices, especially a theatre, in which the people were assembled, and intent upon the public shews, when the city was swallowed up by an earthquake, which attended the eruption of the flames from the mountain. The cities of *Puteoli* and *Cumæ* were greatly damaged, what by the earthquake, what by the burning ashes; which, if the ancients are to be credited, reached *Africa*, *Egypt*, and *Syria*, and at *Rome* turned suddenly, to the great terror of the inhabitants, day into night. *Pliny* the elder, who was then at *Misenum*, where he commanded the fleet riding there, having discovered this cloud on the first of *November*, and not yet knowing whence it issued, went immediately on board one of the galleys, and sailed towards mount *Vesuvius*. He was soon met by great numbers of persons, who, in small boats, were flying from the dreadful conflagration; but nevertheless, prompted by his curiosity, he pursued his course, tho' stones, ashes, and earth began already to shower down upon his vessel; nay, we are told, that, to his great surprize, he found a new cape formed by the earth and huge stones, thrown out by the mountain. However, he proceeded with great intrepidity, and reaching *Stabiae* between *Pompeii* and *Surrentum*, tho' the inhabitants had all abandoned the place, passed the night there, the better to observe, during the darkness, the mountain, which seemed all on a blaze. The same night a dreadful earthquake happened at *Stabiae*, and such a huge quantity of stones fell, that *Pliny* resolved to put to sea, but was prevented by contrary winds. At length the fire approaching, he attempted to save himself by flight; but, tho' supported by two of his domestics, he soon fell, suffocated, as is supposed, by the thickness of the air and the insupportable stench of sulphur. His body was found three days after, and interred by his nephew *Pliny* the younger, who was then at *Misenum*, and narrowly escaped the same fate, as he himself relates at length in his epistles^h. On this occasion the poet *Cæsius Bassus* was consumed, with his house, by the flames; and likewise *Agrippa*, the son of *Claudius Felix*, formerly governor of *Judea*, and of *Drusilla*, daughter to *Agrippa*, the last king of the *Jews*ⁱ. This is the first eruption of mount *Vesuvius* we find mentioned in history.

A dreadful eruption of mount Vesuvius.

The death of Pliny the elder

- THE same year, *Titus* assumed the title of emperor with the usual solemnity, on account of the advantages which the brave *Agricola* had gained in *Britain*, during his second campaign in that island; for having applied himself in the winter with great care to the redressing of the grievances, of which the *Britons* but too justly complained, in the beginning of the summer he assembled his army, and marched farther into the country, commending such of his men as in marching observed duty and rank, and checking such as were loose and straggling. He himself always chose the ground for incamping; the friths and woods he himself always first examined; and to the enemy, in the mean time, allowed not a moment's quiet, but was ever harassing them with sudden incursions. Then having sufficiently alarmed and terrified them, he used to spare

Agricola's second campaign in Britain.

spare

^e Suet. c. 9. epist. 16, 20.^f Dio, l. lvi. p. 354.
ⁱ Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 5.^g Suet. c. 10.^h Plin. l. vi.

Several communities submit and give hostages.

Through what part of Britain he marched.

Titus repairs the damages done by the eruption of mount Vesuvius.

And by a fire at Rome,

Exerts his good nature during a plague at Rome.

Finishes the amphitheatre.

spare them, in order to tempt and allure them with the sweets of peace. By this conduct several communities, which till that day had held out upon equal terms, and maintained themselves in a state of independency, came to lay down their arms, gave hostages, and suffered fortresses to be erected in their territories; which was done with so much care and skill, that no part of *Britain* conquered by the *Romans* till that time escaped being annoyed by them^k. This is the account which *Tacitus* gives us of what *Agricola* performed in the second summer's expedition; but as he speaks in general, without naming any particular place, it is no easy matter to determine through what part of *Britain* *Agricola* marched his army, and how far into the country; what friths he passed over; what communities submitted and gave hostages, and in what places the fortresses were erected which *Tacitus* mentions. However, a modern writer^l, whom our readers may consult, endeavours by many learned conjectures to prove, that *Agricola* in his second campaign marched directly from *Anglesey* into *Scotland*, and penetrated as far as the frith of *Edinburgh*; that he bent his rout through the county of *Annandale* and the adjacent counties, where remains of ancient *Roman* camps are still to be seen, some of which the learned antiquarian concludes, from *Tacitus*'s account of them, to have been made by *Agricola*; that the friths he passed were those of *Dee*, *Ribble*, *Liverpool*, and *Solloway*; and finally, that the communities or cities, which suffered themselves to be begirt, as *Tacitus* expresses it, with garisons and fortresses, were those on the isthmus between *Clyde* and *Forth*. We refer our readers to the above-mentioned writer for a more distinct explanation of these particulars.

THE following year, *Titus*, now consul the eighth time, with his brother *Domitian* the seventh, gave many remarkable instances of his humanity and good-nature, in repairing, at his own expence, the losses which the unhappy inhabitants of *Campania* had suffered by the late eruption of mount *Vesuvius*. He sent into *Campania* two consulars with large sums, to be employed in rebuilding the cities which had been overturned, and applied to the relief of the poor sufferers the goods and estates of such, as had perished on this occasion and left no heirs; nay, went in person into *Campania*, and with his own hand distributed immense sums among those, who seemed most worthy of his compassion^m. While he was in *Campania*, a dreadful fire broke out in *Rome*, which lasted three days and as many nights, and reduced to ashes a great many private and public buildings, the library of *Augustus*, with all the books lodged in it, great part of the capitol, the theatre of *Pompey*, &c. *Titus* was no sooner informed of this calamity, than he hastened back to the city, and publicly declared, that the whole loss should fall upon him, and that, at his own charge, he would repair the damage suffered by particulars. He was as good as his word; for tho' many cities and foreign princes, by whom he was no less beloved than by *Romans*, offered to bear their share in the expence, he could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept their offers, as *Nero* had done on the like occasion; but chose rather to sell even the ornaments and furniture of his own palace and country-houses, in order to raise money wherewithal to defray the immense charges he was at in rebuilding the temples, the public edifices, and the dwellings of particulars. This conflagration was followed by the most dreadful plague that had ever raged in *Rome*. *Dion Cassius* ascribes its rise to the ashes of mount *Vesuvius*, which had covered the country all round to a great distanceⁿ. *Titus* left no remedy, human or divine, unattempted, to abate the malignity of the distemper, exerting at the same time all the care and regard of a prince, all the tenderness and compassion of a father, comforting the distressed multitude with his edicts, and relieving them with large and daily bounties^o. Towards the end of this year he finished the famous amphitheatre, which is elegantly described by *Martial*^p, who likewise mentions the baths that were ended about the same time. The amphitheatre, whereof the stately remains are still to be seen, had been begun by *Vespasian*, and stood, as we we learn from *Dion Cassius*, in the midst of the city, tho' its ruins lie in the outskirts of modern *Rome*. *Titus*, when he dedicated, according to custom, that noble and stately edifice, exhibited most magnificent shews, which lasted an hundred days, and raised the spirits of the people, ready to sink under the calamities they had suffered^q.

IN

^k TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 20, 21.

^l GORDON. itiner. septentrion.

^m SUET. c. 8.

ⁿ DIO, l. lvi. p. 756.

^o Idem ibid, SUET. c. 8.

^p MART. lib. de spect. epigr. 1.

^q DIO, p. 757. & MARC. VELSER. monument. August. lapid. 35.

- a In the mean time, *Agricola* employed his second winter in measures extremely advantageous and salutary; for to the end that the people, wild and dispersed over the country, and thence easily stirred up to war, might, by a taste of pleasures, be reconciled to inactivity and repose, he first privately exhorted, and then publicly assisted, them, to build temples, houses, and places of public resort, reprimanding such as were slow, and commending those who were assiduous and forward in such pursuits. He took care to have the sons of their chiefs instructed in the liberal sciences, finding their genius superior to that of their neighbours the *Gauls*; and such was his success, that those, who had lately scorned to learn the *Roman* language, were now become fond of its elegancies: thence they began to assume the *Roman* apparel, and the use of the gown grew frequent amongst them. Thus by degrees they proceeded to the charms and allurements of vice and effeminacy, to magnificent galleries, sumptuous bagnios, elegant entertainments, &c. all which things were, as *Tacitus* judiciously observes, by the unexperienced, styled politeness, but at the bottom were nothing but baits of slavery. In the beginning of the summer, *Agricola* took the field again, and in pursuit of his conquests discovered new people, and continued his devastations through the several nations quite to the mouth of the *Taus* or *Tay*. Whence such terror seized the enemy, that they durst not attack him, though his troops were sorely harassed by terrible tempests; so that he had time to secure the places he had conquered by erecting forts. It was observed of *Agricola* by men of experience, that no commander ever chose his posts with more skill, in regard of their situation and convenience, and that no place of strength founded by him was ever taken by storm, or abandoned as not defensible. From these strong-holds frequent excursions were made; and, as they were supplied with provisions for a year, the *Romans* passed the winter in them without the least apprehension, every single fort defending itself; so that the enemy, in all their attempts upon them, were baffled, and thence reduced to despair, not being able, as formerly, to repair by their success in the winter, the losses they had sustained in the summer. In these expeditions *Agricola* never assumed to himself the glory of exploits performed by others; but to each commander, to each centurion, yielded the praise which was due to his achievements. By some he is said to have been too severe and sharp in rebuking; and truly, as he abounded in courtesy towards those who readily complied with their duty, so to the slothful and negligent he appeared stern and severe. But his anger was easily appeased: he harboured no rancour in his heart, thinking it more honourable to give open offence, than to foster secret hatred. The emperor *Titus*, in his eighth consulship, and consequently this year, repaired some ancient aqueducts, and at a vast expence paved with large stones the road from *Rome* to *Ariminum* cross the *Apennines*, where is still to be seen, not far from the present city of *Fossombrone*, a huge rock cut through on this occasion.
- c THE next consuls were *Sex. Annius Silvanus* and *T. Annius Verus Pollio*. The latter is by some writers supposed to be the grandfather of the emperor *M. Aurelius*, who was, according to *Capitolinus*, raised by *Vespasian* to the rank of a patrician, discharged twice the office of consul, and governed *Rome* with general satisfaction. This summer, the fourth since *Agricola's* arrival in *Britain*, was by him employed in settling and securing the places which he had already conquered, viz. all the countries on this side of the *Glota* and *Bodotria*, now the *Clyde* and *Forth*, into which rivers the tide from the opposite seas flows so far up the country, that their heads are parted only by a narrow neck of land, not above twenty miles over. This isthmus the *Romans* secured with forts and garisons, and penned up the inhabitants, as it were, in another island; so that they might have made the two rivers *Glota* and *Bodotria* the boundaries of their conquests, and suffered the nations beyond them to live undisturbed. But the ambition of the *Romans*, which they disguised under the specious name of glory, knew no bounds; hence *Agricola* pursued his conquests the next and the following summers, as we shall relate according to the order of time. In the east, one *Terentius Maximus*, passing himself upon the people for *Nero*, raised great disturbances in that province, and likewise in the countries bordering upon the *Euphrates*; but, being pursued by the *Roman* troops, he took refuge in the territories of the *Parthians*, where he was entertained by king *Artabanus*, who was then at variance with the *Romans*; but nevertheless, upon the approach of their army, thought it advisable to abandon the cause of the impostor.

Agricola brings the Britons to love the Roman customs.

He extends his conquests to the Taus or Tay.

He employs the fourth summer in securing the places already conquered.

THIS

* TACIT. vit. Agri. c. 22.

† ONUPH. in fast. p. 210. GOLTZ. p. 56.

‡ TACIT. ibid. c. 23.

§ ZONAR. p. 195.

New honours
conferred upon
Titus.

Is taken ill,
and leaves
Rome.

His death:

His character

Is universally
lamented.

Domitian ac-
knowledge
emperor.

THIS year, the senate, not out of flattery, but a sense of gratitude, conferred new honours upon *Titus*. What honours these were, we are no-where told; but the good emperor lived not to enjoy them, being suddenly snatched away, to the inexpressible grief of the *Roman* people. *Suetonius* tells us, that he exhibited certain shews, during which he shed many tears in the presence of the multitude, and retired, as soon as they were over, into the country of the *Sabines*, greatly grieved, because the victim, while he was sacrificing, had broke loose, and a dreadful clap of thunder had been heard, though the day was quite bright, and not a cloud to be seen. The first night he lay out of *Rome*, he was seized with a burning fever; but nevertheless pursued his journey in a litter, being desirous to end his days in the same house where his father died. We are told, that finding himself on the road greatly indisposed, and not doubting but his end approached, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, complaining, that he was thus to be cut off in the vigor of his age, when, during the whole course of his life, he had been guilty of one action only, which seemed to require repentance. What action that was, he did not declare; but *Dion Cassius* is of opinion, that it was his freely forgiving his brother *Domitian*, who had conspired against him, when, by inflicting upon him the deserved punishment, he might have prevented the many evils and calamities, which the excellent emperor was well apprised his brother, when invested with the sovereignty, would bring upon the state^w. Others think, that the criminal conversation he was said to have had with his brother's wife, occurred then to his memory. But *Suetonius* clears him from this aspersions, upon the solemn protestation of *Domitia* herself, who, had the charge been true, would have rather gloried in it, as she did in all other crimes, than denied it^x. *Titus* having with much-ado reached *Cutylæ*, his paternal estate, expired there soon after his arrival, on the thirteenth of *September*, in the forty-first year of his age, after having reigned two years, two months, and twenty days. *Philostratus* tells us, that he was poisoned by his brother *Domitian*^y. *Plutarch* ascribes his death to the immoderate use of baths^z, and adds, that one *Regulus*, who, out of complaisance, used to bathe with him, died of an apoplexy. *Suetonius* writes, that *Domitian*, who had ever sought the destruction of his brother, caused the room to be cleared before he was dead, ordered all those who could afford him any assistance to withdraw; but that writer does not charge *Domitian* with any other kind of violence^a. He far excelled, in the opinion of the ancients, all his predecessors, even *Vespasian* himself, in every virtue becoming a prince, and was equalled by few of his successors. He knew no purpose of being higher than others, but to do good to all. He was a stranger to all parade and ostentation, chusing to live with his people rather as a father with his children, than a prince with subjects; whence he was deservedly styled, *the love and delight of mankind*. What pity that such princes, such friends to the world, and protectors of men, should ever die! His death was no sooner known, than a general sadness, an universal consternation, appeared in *Rome*, which in a short time spread all over the provinces to the most distant bounds of the empire. The senators, without being summoned according to custom, hastened to the palace, and having caused the doors of the chapel, where they met, to be shut for a while, in order to indulge their grief, they opened them again, and in the presence of the multitude heaped more praises upon him after his death, than they had ever done while he lived amongst them; a plain proof of the sincerity of their esteem and affection. *Domitian* caused him to be ranked among the gods, and was the first who paid him divine honours; but at the same time studied both in private and in public to revile his memory, and lessen the esteem and veneration, which all orders of men had for so worthy and deserving a prince^b. *Titus* left only one daughter, named *Julia Sabina*, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the following reign.

Titus was succeeded by his brother *Domitian*, who, without the least opposition or contradiction, was immediately acknowledged emperor, notwithstanding the bad opinion which many entertained of him. He was born on the twenty-fourth of *October* of the year 51. of the christian æra, his father being then consul elect, and appointed to discharge that office the month following. He is styled on several medals, which have reached our times, *Titus Flavius Sabinus Domitianus*^c. He passed his youth in great poverty, and is said to have been a pathic to *Nerva*, who succeeded him, for hire, and likewise to one *Clodius Pollio*, formerly prætor, who kept a note under

^w DIO, l. lxvi. p. 758.

^z PLUT. de sanit. p. 2. 4.

^x Suet. c. 10.

^a Suet. in Domit.

^y PHILOSTRAT. vit. Apol. Ty. l. vi. c. 14.

^b Idem ibid.

^c GOLTZ. p. 58. Suet. c. 1.

- a under *Domitian's* own hand, by which he bound himself, for a sum of money, to comply, when required, with his lewd and unnatural desires. He did not apply himself from his tender years to the study of history, poetry, eloquence, or any other liberal art or science; hence in all his speeches and harangues he made use of the eloquence of others. He took great delight in archery; in which he was so wonderfully expert, that he was frequently seen to shoot a great number of arrows between the fingers of one of his domestics, whom he placed at a great distance with his hand expanded, telling before between which fingers the arrow would pass, and never missing his aim^d. He was naturally cruel, suspicious, and addicted to revenge; greedy of honours, but impatient of the least toil or labour; affected the reputation of a brave commander, but carefully avoided exposing himself to any danger. *Suetonius* thinks, that his cruelty was chiefly occasioned by his timorousness, and no ways natural to him. Being at *Rome* when his father assumed the title of emperor, *Vitellius* placed guards about him; but he might nevertheless have easily escaped, several messengers having, by various disguises and shifts, reached him from *Antonius Primus*, and shewed him from what place he might fly, and upon what guard and security depend; nay, even those who guarded him, offered themselves for companions of his flight; but he, apprehending from thence that they designed to betray him, could not by any means be prevailed upon to make his escape^e. Upon the burning of the capitol, whither he had retired with his uncle *Sabinus*, he concealed himself in the room of one of the ministers of the temple, and the next morning was conveyed by his freed-man beyond the *Tiber*, in the disguise of one of the priests of *Isis*. When *Primus* had made himself master of the city, and all apprehensions of hostility had ceased, he discovered himself to his father's generals, and was by the soldiers thronging about him saluted *Cæsar*^f; which title was confirmed to him the day following by the senate. From that time to the arrival of his father, he bore the chief sway in *Rome*; but gave no attention to the cares of government, abandoning himself to all manner of voluptuousness, and making use of his power only to indulge his vicious inclinations with more liberty. He took *Domitia Longina*, the daughter of the famous *Domitius Corbulo*, from her husband *L. Ælius Lamia*, married her some time after, and had a son by her, who was honoured with the title of *Cæsar*, but died an infant, and was by *Domitian* ranked among the gods^g. That he had other children, though not mentioned by any historian, appears from the epitaph of one *Pierius*, still to be seen at *Rome*, who is styled *the emperor's freed-man, and preceptor to his children*. The monument was raised by *Flavia Nicea*, wife to *Pierius*, with the permission, as is expressed in the inscription, of *Hermas*, the chief freed-man of *Domitia Augusta*; for with this title *Domitius* honoured his wife *Domitia Longina* in the second year of his reign^h. In the beginning of his father's reign, being jealous of the glory which his brother had acquired in the *Jewish* war, he resolved to go into *Gaul*, and take upon him the command of the army which was employed against *Civilis*. *Mucianus* did all that lay in his power to divert him, as he was quite unexperienced in military affairs, from such a resolution; but *Domitian* continuing obstinately bent upon that expedition, *Mucianus* resolved to attend him, in order to check his ardour, lest, following the impetuosity of his age and instigated by evil counsellors, were he once master of an army, he might disconcert all measures, whether for peace or war. After many procrastinations and delays, they both set out at length; but received, ere they reached the *Alps*, tidings of the defeat of the *Treverians*. Hereupon *Mucianus* communicated, as no more than his own sentiments upon the present occasion, what he had long proposed and concealed, viz. that since, by the favour of the gods, the forces of the enemy were broken, with an ill grace would *Domitian* proceed, now the war was nigh concluded, and rob another of the whole glory. He added, that were the empire threatened with danger, it behoved the emperor's son to venture his person in battle; but to contend with the *Caninefates* and *Batavians*, was beneath him. Let *Domitian*, continued he, retire to *Lions*, and from thence display the power and fortune of the empire at hand, neither engaging in small hazards, nor failing to meet such as are greater. Thus *Mucianus* prevailed upon him to retire to *Lions*. From thence *Domitian* was believed to have tried by secret inter-agents to corrupt the fidelity of *Cerealis*, and to have proposed, whether he would commit to him the army and empire, if he came in person. It remained uncertain what designs he fostered, whether
- He resolves to head the army against *Civilis*.
- He attempts to corrupt *Cerealis*.
- he

^d Suet. c. 19.^e Tacit. hist. l. iii. c. 59.^f Idem, c. 74.^g Suet. c. iii. Spanh. p. 650.^h Vide Spanh. p. 12. & Suet. c. 3.

*Retires, and
feigns a love
for learning
and poetry.*

he meditated a war against his father, or intended to arm himself with power and forces against his brother; for *Cerealis*, by several evasions, eluded his suit, as that of one, who, with a childish fondness, longed for things to which he was not equal. *Domitian* perceiving, that *Cerealis* despised his youth, relinquished all functions of government, even the smallest; and, burying himself in solitude, feigned a zeal for learning, especially for poetry, thence to conceal his ambition and other passions, and to escape the jealousy of his brother. Some writers tell us, that on this occasion he applied himself in earnest to the study of poetry, and with wonderful success. *Pliny* the elder seems to have admired his poetical compositions^k, and likewise *Quintilian*^l; for both cry them up, not through flattery, says *Vossius*, as is manifest from the translation of *Aratus*, which has reached us, and was, without all doubt, done by *Domitian*^m. *Lactantius* ascribes to him the learned comment on that translationⁿ; but *Vossius* is of a different opinion^o. *Valerius Flaccus* the poet, who flourished under *Vespasian*, speaks of a poem written by *Domitian* on the taking of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*^p. He likewise wrote a book in prose about the means of preserving the hair, which is quoted by *Suetonius*^q. But while he pretended to place his whole delight in these studies, and affected a fondness for solitude, the king of the *Parthians* having demanded succours against the *Alani*, as we have hinted above, he earnestly solicited his father for the command of those troops; and when he found the emperor no-ways inclined to assist the *Parthians*, he applied to the eastern princes, soliciting them with promises and presents to desire supplies, and himself to lead them. But *Vespasian* was too well acquainted with his views and temper, to trust him with the command of an army. Upon the death of his father, he deliberated a long time with himself, whether he should openly revolt, and tempt the fidelity of the prætorian guards, by offering them a larger donative than his brother had promised them; but his courage failing him, he bore no other title, during the reign of *Titus*, but that of *Cæsar, prince of the Roman youth*; a title now peculiar to the presumptive heir to the empire^r. His brother no sooner expired, than he hastened to *Rome*; and repairing to the camp of the prætorian guards, was there by the soldiery, after having promised them the usual donative, saluted emperor. At the same time he assumed, as appears from several ancient inscriptions, all the other titles annexed to the sovereignty, which other emperors had taken successively^s. Some medals, which have reached our times, gives us room to suppose, that, in the first year of his reign, he took upon him the title of *Germanicus*, probably on account of his journey to *Lions* during the revolt of the *Gauls* and *Batavians*; for we know of no other expedition which could give him, however vain and ambitious, the least colour for assuming that surname or title^t.

*Has some
thoughts of
revolting.*

*He reviles the
memory of his
brother.*

*His conduct in
the beginning
of his reign.*

Domitian, now invested with the sovereign power, which he had long and impatiently coveted, performed in the first place the obsequies of the deceased emperor, and pronounced himself his funeral oration, with an affected concern, bewailing the loss of a brother so dear to him, and by whom he was so tenderly beloved; but that his grief was only assumed, he made soon appear, by publicly reviling the memory of that excellent prince, by blaming his conduct, and persecuting all those whom he had distinguished with particular marks of his favour; nay, he openly declared in the senate, that to him both his father and brother were indebted for the empire, and that they had only restored to him what was his own gift. However, in the beginning of his reign, he studied to gain the affections of his people, by a conduct worthy of a great prince, disguising his vices, and affecting the opposite virtues. He shewed such an abhorrence to all manner of cruelty, that he once resolved, by an express edict, to forbid the sacrificing of oxen, or any living creature. He was so far from betraying any bias to avarice, that, on the contrary, he gave daily instances of a temper truly princely and munificent, presenting his officers and ministers with large sums, in order to raise them above the temptation of accumulating wealth by methods sordid and mean. He could not be prevailed upon to accept such inheritances as were left him by persons who had children; and because one *Ruscus Cæpio*, by his will, obliged his heir to pay a certain sum to every new senator, he declared the will void, and would not suffer it to be executed to the prejudice of his own children. All debts above five years standing, which were owing to the exchequer, he freely

^k TACIT. l. iv. c. 86. ^l PLIN. in præfat. ^m QUINTIL. l. x. c. 1. ⁿ VOSS. poet. Lat. c. 3.
^o LACT. l. i. c. 22. ^p VOSS. hist. Lat. p. 115. ^q VAL. FLAC. l. ii. ver. 12. ^r SUET. c. 18.
^s Idem, c. 2. ^t ONUPH. in fast. p. 210. ^u Idem ibid. ^v Vide BIRAGI numif. p. 131, 132.

- a freely forgave; and after the division of lands amongst the veterans, restored the remainder to the ancient proprietors, tho' he might, after the example of other emperors, have appropriated it to himself. He forbid, on pain of banishment, all the officers of the treasury to sue any one for debts, that were not clear and undoubted^u. He confirmed at once, as *Titus* had done; all the grants made by his predecessors, increased the pay of the soldiers, and finished, at an immense charge, all the public buildings, which had been begun by *Titus*. *Plutarch* tells us, that he expended above twelve thousand talents only in the gilding of the capitol; and that nevertheless each hall and gallery of his own palace far excelled that stately temple in magnificence^w. To the ancient edifices, which he either repaired or rebuilt, he added an incredible number of new ones, having a great passion for building, and seeming desirous, as *Plutarch* expresses it^x, to change every thing into stones and gold. He was assiduous and quite unbiaſſed in the administration of justice, punished with the utmost severity such judges as were convicted of having received bribes, and kept the magistrates of the city, as well as the governors of the provinces, in such awe, that they were never known to have behaved with so much modesty as in his time, tho', after his death, many of them abandoned themselves, as *Suetonius* informs us, to all manner of rapine and extortion^y. Tho', after his accession to the empire, he utterly neglected all kind of literature, and was never known to have perused any book, except the memoirs of *Tiberius*, yet he repaired the libraries which had been burnt in his brother's reign, procuring copies of such as had been consumed in the flames, and sending persons to *Alexandria* to transcribe those that were lodged in that famous library^z. Authors observe, as a thing very remarkable in *Domitian*, that, in the beginning of his reign, he used to retire every day for some time into his room, where his whole employment was to catch flies, and pierce them with a sharp bodkin; which custom gave occasion to *Vibius Priscus*, when he was asked, whether any body was with the emperor, to answer pleasantly, *Not so much as a fly*^a.
- Domitian*, in the first year of his reign, took upon him, as other emperors had done, the consular dignity, and chose for his colleague *Titus Flavius Sabinus*, his cousin-german, the son of *Flavius Sabinus* governor of *Rome*, who was put to death in the reign of *Vitellius*, as we have related above. The emperor resigned the fasces on the thirteenth of *January*; but to whom, we are no-where told, and assumed the title of censor; which office he discharged with great applause, restraining, with several edicts, the licentiousness, which generally prevailed amongst all ranks of men. He enacted severe laws against the authors of such writings as any ways reflected on persons of distinction; degraded a senator, by name *Cæcilius Rufinus*, for no other reason, but because he took great delight in dancing. From such women as led scandalous lives, he took away the privilege of being carried in litters, and declared them incapable of enjoying legacies or inheritances. He struck a *Roman* knight out of the list of judges, for taking his wife again after he had divorced her for adultery. One of his freed-men having erected a monument for his son, with the stones which were designed for the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he caused it to be demolished, and the bones and ashes of the deceased to be thrown into the sea. He would not suffer the comedians and pantomimes to act on the public stage; but confined them to private houses and gardens. Many persons of both sexes convicted of adultery, he punished with death, &c^b. These regulations and acts of justice were received with great applause; but the death of *Flavius Sabinus*, which happened in the end of this, or the beginning of the following, year, caused an universal dread in the city; for the emperor, without any regard to his own blood, caused him to be assassinated, for no crime of his own, but only because the public crier had, by mistake, instead of consul, proclaimed him emperor in the assembly of the people^c. *Sabinus* had married *Julia* the daughter of the emperor *Titus*; which marriage proved the source of *Domitian's* jealousy, if *Philostratus* is to be credited^d, and the chief cause of *Sabinus's* death. In the mean time, the brave *Agricola* vigorously pursued his enterprizes in *Britain*. In the first year of *Domitian's* reign and the fifth of the *British* war, he passed the frith himself in the first ship that landed, subdued in many successful encounters nations till that time unknown, and placed forces in that part of *Britain* which fronts *Ireland*, not that he apprehended any danger from the inhabitants of that

His magnificence in public buildings.

Repairs the public libraries.

Enacts several wholesome laws.

Puts Flavius Sabinus to death.

Agricola pursues his conquests in Britain.

^u Suet. c. 9. ^w Plut. vit. Public. ^x Idem, ibid. ^y Suet. c. 8. ^z Idem, c. 20.
^a Idem, c. 3. ^b Suet. c. 7, 8. ^c Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 766. ^d Philostrat. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. vii. c. 3.
 panegy. Zonar. p. 197. ^e Suet. c. 10.

that island, but because he already entertained thoughts of reducing it; for, as it lies between *Britain* and *Spain*, and is capable of an easy communication with the coast of *Gaul*, *Agricola* considered, that it would prove of infinite use in linking together those powerful members of the empire. A petty king of the country, expelled by domestic dissention, was already received into protection by *Agricola*, and, under the appearance of friendship, reserved for a proper occasion^a. For these conquests *Domitian* assumed the title of *imperator* the fourth time, having taken it three time before^c, for what victories we find no-where recorded.

THE following year, *Domitian* entered upon his ninth consulship, having *Q. Petilius Rufus* for his colleague, whom *Onuphrius* calls *Virginus Rufus*, and takes for the celebrated *Virginus Rufus*, who so often refused the empire offered him by the soldiery^f. But *Phlegon*, speaking of a woman, who was, according to him, delivered of several serpents at *Trent*, tells us, that this happened during the ninth consulship of *Domitian*, and the second of *Petilius Rufus*^e. He is likewise styled *Petilius Rufus* in an ancient inscription in *Greek* discovered at *Smyrna* in the year 1679. and from thence conveyed to *Rome*^b. This year *Domitian* enacted a law, forbidding, under severe penalties, the castrating of children, and regulating the prices of such as were eunuchs already; for they were all slaves and brought from foreign countriesⁱ. *Philostratus* tells us, that *Domitian* was chiefly prompted to enact this law by a secret envy to the memory of *Titus*, who was greatly addicted to eunuchs, and had constantly many of them about him. Be that as it will, the law was generally applauded, and continued in force in the time of *Justin* the martyr^k. The same year, according to *Eusebius*^l, he punished four vestals convicted of incest, *viz.* two sisters of the family of the *Ocellates*, *Varonilla*, and *Cornelia*. The three former he allowed to chuse the manner of their death; but *Cornelia*, who had been pardoned before, he caused to be buried alive, and her accomplices to be whipt to death in the midst of the comitium. Those who had debauched the other three were only condemned to banishment^m. In the mean time, *Agricola* continued his conquests in *Britain*, or rather *Caledonia*. On the the summer which began the sixth year of his administration, as it was apprehended, that the nations beyond *Bodotria*, or the frith of *Edinburgh*, would all take arms, and that all the ways and passages were beset with the enemy's forces, his first step was to coast, and examine, by means of his fleet, the large communities beyond the frith, probably those of the counties of *Fife*, *Angus*, *Mernes*, and *Aberdeen*, which lie beyond *Edinburgh* frith. As the fleet constantly attended the army, the same camp often contained the foot and the horse and the marines, all intermixed, and severally magnifying their own feats, hazards, and adventures. The soldiers boasted their laborious marches over steep mountains and thick forests; the sailors their dangers amidst the tempests and waves, all vying together according to the usual vaunts and ostentation of soldiers. As for the *Britons*, upon the sight of the fleet, they were seized, as from the captives was learnt, with consternation and dismay, finding the recesses of the sea now discovered, and the last refuge of the vanquished cut off. The several people therefore inhabiting *Caledonia* had immediate recourse to arms, and advancing with great parade, still made greater by common report, boldly attacked the *Roman* forts, and caused no small terror and alarm amongst the soldiers; inso-much, that there were some, who, covering real cowardice under the appearance of prudence, advised *Agricola* to return to this side of *Bodotria*, seeing it was less shameful to retire back of their own accord, than to be repulsed and given by force. As *Agricola* was informed, that the enemy designed to attack him in different bodies, he divided his army into three parts, and thus marched to prevent their surrounding him; for they surpassed him in numbers and in the knowledge of the country. Hereupon the *Caledonians* changed their measures, and in one body fell upon the ninth legion, as the weakest of all. As the attack was in the night, they slew the guards, entered the trenches, and were already pursuing the slaughter in the camp itself, when *Agricola*, having learnt from his scouts what rout the enemy had taken, and following their track, commanded the lightest of his foot and cavalry to charge them, while yet engaged, in the rear, and the whole army to give a mighty shout. Thus the *Caledonians* were dismayed with double distress, and to the *Romans* their courage returned; so that they fell upon the enemy with great resolution, and drove them

Domitian
enacts other
excellent laws

Punishes some
vestals convicted
of incest.

Agricola's
further con-
quests in Bri-
tain.

The Caledo-
nians attack
the ninth le-
gion, but are
repulsed.

^a TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 24.

mir. c. 24.

p. 71.

^b NORIS. epist. consul. p. 55, 56.

^c EUSEB. in chron.

^d GOLTZ. p. 58.

^e SUET. c. 8.

^f ONUPH in fast. p. 211.

^g SUET. c. 7.

^h PHLEG.

ⁱ JUSTIN. apol. ii.

- a them to the gates of the camp, where a bloody encounter ensued, the *Romans* who were come to the relief of their companions pressing them in the rear, and those who were in the camp in the front, and both exerting their whole might, the former to shew that they brought relief, the latter to appear not to have wanted it. At last the *Caledonians* were routed; and had not the bogs and woods covered their flight, by this victory the war had been ended. This battle, in the opinion of the writer whom we have quoted above ^a, was fought in the county of *Fife*; for *Agri- cola's* army was at that time, as is evident from *Tacitus*, on the north side of *Bodotria*, or the frith of *Edinburgh*; and the remains of a *Roman* camp are still to be seen in that county, at a place called *Lochore*. To the south of the camp is a large morass, in which are daily dug up roots of different trees; whence the above-mentioned writer concludes it to have been formerly a great wood, and thence strengthens his conjecture, that the ninth legion was attacked there; for *Tacitus* tells us, that if the bogs and woods had not served for shelter to the fugitives, that victory would have put an end to the war. The *Roman* soldiers, elated with this success, and thinking nothing could now prove unsurmountable to their bravery, demanded to be led into the heart of *Caledonia*, and to the utmost limits of *Britain*, which they hoped to find out by a constant course of victories. Thus those, who a little before had been so wary and so wise, were now after victory full of boasts and intrepidity. Instead of returning to this side of *Bodotria*, they were for penetrating to the utmost bounds of *Britain*. On the other hand, the *Caledonians*, ascribing the victory gained by the *Romans*, not to their superior courage, but to the skill and address of their general, lost nothing of their spirit and resolution, but armed their youth, removed their wives and children into places of security, and, in general assemblies of their several communities, engaged them in a league, which they ratified by solemn sacrifices. And thus they mutually retired for the winter, with minds on both sides equally irritated and bent upon war and revenge ^o. The same summer a cohort of *Usipians*, levied by the *Romans* in *Germany*, and thence transported to *Britain*, having slain the centurion and some *Roman* soldiers, placed among them to teach them the discipline, imbarqued in three vessels, with a design to return to their own country, forcing the pilots to conduct them. But one of these forsaking them and making his escape, or bringing them back, as we read in *Dion Cassius*, to *Britain*, they suspected, and therefore killed the other two, and abandoned themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves; which, after having long tossed them hither and thither, carried them quite round about *Britain*; infomuch, that, departing, according to *Dion*, from the eastern, they returned to the western, coast, where the *Roman* army was then incamped ^p. *Tacitus* tells us, that having sailed quite round the island, they were driven on the coasts of *Germany*, where, their vessels being lost, they were seized as pirates by the *Suevians* and *Frisians*; and being sold for slaves, some of them by change of masters were brought over to the *Roman* side of the *Rhine*, where they became famous by relating such an extraordinary adventure, and by discovering, that *Britain* was an island. Their provisions had soon failed them; so that they were obliged to make frequent descents, and engage with several of the *British* nations, in which conflicts they often proved victorious, and were sometimes defeated. They were at length reduced to such streights, as to feed upon one another, first upon the weakest, then upon whomsoever the lot fell. This happened in the eighty-third year of the christian æra, and the second of *Domitian's* reign. The same year, the emperor undertook an expedition against the *Cattans*, whom *Tacitus* describes as the most polite and most warlike nation in *Germany*. *Domitian* attacked them, without the least provocation, and while they were quite unprepared for war; laid waste part of their country; took a small number of peasants prisoners; and then, upon advice that the enemy were drawing their forces together, hastened back, and returned to *Rome* with all the pomp and parade of a conqueror ^q. The senate, for this pretended victory, decreed him a triumph, in which were led before his chariot great numbers of slaves by him bought, and attired like *Germans*. On occasion of this mock victory, he promised to increase the pay of the soldiers; but, not having wherewithal to discharge his promise, and at the same time supply his other extravagances, he soon after betook himself to all manner of rapine and violence. From this time forward, *Domitian* constantly wore in the senate, and at all public assemblies, the triumphal robe ^r.

The Roman soldiers demand to be led into the heart of Caledonia.

Britain discovered to be an island.

Domitian attacks the Cattans, and for his mock victory is honoured with a triumph.

THE

^a GORDON. itin. septent. p. 36. ^o TACIT. ibid. c. 24. ^p DIO, l. lxvi. p. 754. ^q Idem, l. lxvii. p. 760. ^r Idem ibid. SÜET. c. 12. ZONAR. p. 196.

The Caledonians draw together thirty thousand men.

Galgacus's speech to them.

THE following year, *Domitian* being consul the tenth time, with *Appius*, or, as others call him, *Oppius Sabinus*, the brave *Agricola* pursued his conquests in *Caledonia* with wonderful success. In the beginning of the summer, he lost, to his great grief, his son, about a year old; a misfortune which he neither bore with an ostentation of firmness and constancy, like many other great men, nor with lamentations and tears, worthy only of women. Against this affliction war proved his chief remedy. Having therefore sent forward his navy, in order to spread a mighty terror, by committing devastations in several places, he put himself at the head of his army lightly equipped; and to it added some of the bravest *Britons*, whose fidelity had been well proved by long experience in peace. Thus he arrived at the *Grampian* hills, upon which the enemy were already incamped. For the *Caledonians*, nothing daunted by the issue of the late battle, and boldly waiting, either to take revenge or to suffer bondage, had, by embassies and confederacies, drawn together the forces of all their communities, to the number of thirty thousand; and their youth from every quarter were still continuing to flock in, as were also such of their elderly men as were yet vigorous, and had signalized themselves in war, carrying with them their several ensigns of honour formerly gained in the field. Upon the approach of the *Roman* army, the *Caledonians* with great eagerness prepared for battle; and *Galgacus*, who surpassed all their other leaders both in valour and descent, is said to have encouraged them with the following speech, which the learned *Lipsius* looks upon as one of the finest pieces of eloquence ever committed to the *Roman* language:

“ When I consider the causes of the war and the necessity to which we are reduced, great is my confidence, that this day and this your union will give a happy beginning to the liberty of the whole island. Bondage we have never borne; and we are so beset, that beyond us there is no further land, nor any security left us from the sea, while the *Roman* fleet is hovering upon our coasts. Thus what brave men covet for glory, is to cowards become the safest expedient of all others, I mean present recourse to battle and arms. The other *Britons*, in their former conflicts with the *Romans*, had still a remaining source of hope and succour in this our nation: for of all the people of *Britain*, we are the most noble, placed in its remotest regions, and at a great distance from those nations that are held in bondage by the enemy; so that our eyes are yet unpolluted with the sight of lawless and usurped power. To us, who are the utmost inhabitants of the earth and the last who enjoy liberty, this extremity of the globe, this remotest recess, unknown even to common fame, has proved the only protection and defence. At present, the utmost boundary of *Britain* is laid open; beyond us no more people are found, nor aught but seas and rocks; and already the *Romans* have advanced into the heart of our country. Against their pride and ambition you will in vain seek a remedy or refuge from any obsequiousness or humble behaviour. These plunderers of the earth, these ravagers of the universe, finding countries to fail them, endeavour to rifle the wide seas and the ocean. If the enemy be wealthy, he inflames their avarice; if poor, their ambition. Neither the eastern world, nor the western, vast as they are, can satiate these general robbers. Of all men, they alone thirst after acquisitions, both poor and rich, with equal avidity and passion. Devastations, murders, and universal destruction, they by a lying name style *empire* and government; and when they have spread a general devastation, they call it peace. Dearest to every man, by the instinct of nature, are his children and kindred. These are snatched from us to supply their armies, and doomed to bondage in other parts of the earth. Our wives, daughters, and sisters, however they escape violence from them as from open enemies, are debauched under the appearance of friendship. Our goods are their tribute, our corn their provision, our bodies and limbs their tools for the drudgery of making cuts through woods and drains in bogs, under continual blows and outrages. Other slaves, whom nature and fortune have destined to servitude, are but once sold, and thenceforward nourished by their lords. The *Britons* are daily paying for their servitude, are daily maintaining and feeding their imperious lords and oppressors. Moreover, as in a tribe of domestic slaves, he who comes last is scoffed by his fellows, and serves for sport to them; so in this ancient state of slavery, to which the world is reduced, we, as the latest slaves, and thence held the most contemptible, are now destined to destruction. For we have no fields to manure,

* LIPS. in vit. Agr. c. 31. not. 46.

a “ manure, no mines to dig, no ports to make; works for which they might be
 “ tempted to reserve us. Besides, magnanimity and a daring spirit, in subdued na-
 “ tions, is always distasteful to jealous and arbitrary rulers. And truly our situation,
 “ so solitary and remote, the more security it affords to us, the greater jealousy it
 “ raises in them. Since therefore you are thus bereft of all hopes of mercy, rouse
 “ your courage in defence both of your lives and glory. The *Brigantes*, even under
 “ the conduct of a woman, burnt their colony, stormed their intrenchments, and,
 “ had not such auspicious beginnings degenerated into sloth, might have with ease cast
 “ off the yoke and recovered their former liberty. Let us, who are yet unsubdued,
 “ who still preserve our forces intire, and want not to acquire, but only to secure,
 b “ liberty, shew at once, in the very first encounter, what kind of men *Caledonia* has
 “ reserved for her own vindication and defence, Do you believe the *Romans* to be
 “ equally brave in war, as they are vicious and dissolute in peace? No; not from
 “ their valour they have derived their renown, but from our quarrels and divisions,
 “ which they have dextrously converted to the glory of their own army; an army
 “ compounded of a motly multitude of different nations, which by success alone are
 “ held together, and consequently cannot fail to dissolve upon any misfortune or
 “ disaster: unless you suppose the *Gauls* and *Germans*, and many of the *Britons*,
 “ whom with shame I mention, to be attached to them with any real affection: they
 “ have been all longer their enemies than their friends; and what restrains them at
 c “ present is, nothing but awe and terror; which being once removed, those who
 “ cease to fear will immediately begin to give proofs of their hatred. Whatever can
 “ incite men to victory, is found on our side. The *Romans* have no wives to encou-
 “ rage and urge them: they have here no fathers or mothers to upbraid them for fly-
 “ ing. In number they are but few, ignorant of the country, and thence struck with
 “ dread, whilst whatever they behold around them is wild and strange, even the air
 “ and the sky, with the woods and the sea; so that the gods seem to have delivered
 “ them up inclosed and fettered into our hands. Let not the vain shew and glare of
 “ gold and silver terrify us; this is what can neither wound nor save. In the very
 “ army of the enemy we shall find many on our own side: the *Britons* will own and
 d “ espouse their own cause, and abandon one foreign and unnatural to them: the *Gauls*
 “ will remember their former liberty: what the *Usipians* have lately done, the other
 “ *Germans* will do, and abandon the *Romans*. And what else have we to fear? their
 “ forts are ungarisoned; their colonies peopled with the aged and infirm; the municipal
 “ cities are weakened and rent into parties and factions, while the people are averse
 “ to obedience, and the magistrates rule with injustice. Here you see a general, here
 “ an army; there tributes and mines, with a long train of calamities and curses, ever
 “ attending a state of slavery. Whether all these are to be for ever imposed and borne,
 “ or we forthwith avenge ourselves for the attempt, this very day must determine.
 “ As therefore you advance to battle, look back upon your ancestors, who lived in
 “ the happy state of liberty; look forward to your posterity, who, unless you exert
 e “ your valour in this very field, must live for ever in a miserable state of servitude.”
 This speech was received with songs, according to the custom which then prevailed
 among the *Caledonians*, with joyful shouts, and a terrible din. Already their bands
 moved, and the glare of their arms appeared, while the most resolute were running to
 the front. As the army was forming in battle array, *Agricola*, tho’ he saw his men full
 of alacrity and hardly to be restrained, yet chose to discourse them in the following
 strain: “ It is now the eighth year, my fellow soldiers, since, through the auspicious
 “ fortune of the *Roman* empire and by your own valour, you have been pursuing
 “ the conquest of *Britain*. In so many marches, in so many battles, you have had
 f “ constant occasion to exert your bravery against the enemy, or your patience against
 “ the obstacles of nature. During all these struggles, we have found no cause of mu-
 “ tual regret, I to have conducted such soldiers, or you to have followed such a cap-
 “ tain. We have both passed the limits which we found, I those known to ancient
 “ governors, you those of former armies. The utmost bound of *Britain* is found,
 “ not by fame only and report: but we possess it with our arms and camps. *Britain*
 “ is intirely discovered, and intirely subdued. While we were marching, and fatigued
 “ with passing mountains, rivers, and bogs, I have often heard every man remark-
 “ ably brave cry out, When shall we see the enemy? when be led to battle? Already
 “ they

*Agricola's
speech to his
men.*

TACIT. *ibid.* c. 30—32.

He engages
the Caledoni-
ans under the
command of
Galgacus.

“ they are come, roused from their fastnesses and lurking-holes. Here you see the
 “ end of all your wishes ; here is room for all your valour, and all things promising
 “ and propitious, if you conquer ; but equally disastrous, should you be overcome.
 “ To have thus marched over a tract of country so immense, to have passed through
 “ thick and gloomy forests, to have crossed arms of the sea, is matter of great
 “ glory and applause, while we advance against the enemy ; but if we fly from
 “ them, whatever is now most to our advantage, will prove most to our disadvan-
 “ tage and ruin. We are not so well skilled in the country as the enemy, nor have
 “ we the like store of provisions ; but we have hands and weapons, and in these all
 “ things. For myself, I have been long since convinced, that neither for the sol- b
 “ diers, nor for the general, is there any safety in turning their backs upon the foe.
 “ Hence an honourable death is far preferable to a life with reproach ; and security is
 “ inseparable from renown. Neither would it be a fate void of glory to fall in this
 “ utmost verge of the world and nature. Were people unknown to you now arrayed
 “ against you, were you to engage men never before tried, I would animate you by
 “ the examples of other armies. At present only recollect and enumerate your own
 “ exploits, only ask and consult your own eyes. These are the same men, who, but
 “ the last year, trusting to the darkness of the night, attacked by stealth a single
 “ legion, and were by the terror of your shouting utterly overthrown. These, of all c
 “ the *Britons*, are the most timorous and most prone to flight ; and therefore have
 “ thus survived all the rest. As in forests and woods, beasts of the greatest strength
 “ are driven thence by superior force, and the timorous and spiritless are scared even
 “ at the cry of the pursuers ; so all the bravest *Britons* are long since fallen by the
 “ sword, and only the most fearful and dastardly remain, whom at length you have
 “ found, not because they intended to stay and make head against you, but because
 “ they are overtaken and surprised. They stand in the field, struck with dread and
 “ bereft of all spirit ; whence you may without much danger gain over them a glori-
 “ ous and memorable victory. Here conclude your warfare ; here complete your
 “ expeditions and efforts, and put an end to a struggle of fifty years, with one great d
 “ and important day ; so that the army may not be charged either with protracting
 “ the war, or with any cause for reviving it.” *Agricola* had scarce ended his speech,
 when the soldiers, transported with joy, flew to their arms. *Agricola*, seeing them
 sufficiently animated and inflamed, drew them up in battle array, placing the auxi-
 liary foot, to the number of eight thousand men, in the centre, and three thousand
 auxiliary horse in the wings. The legions he would not suffer to advance, but com-
 manded them to stand in battle-array close to the intrenchments ; for the victory,
 he thought, would be the more glorious, were it, by sparing them, gained without
 spilling any *Roman* blood ; and, on the other hand, they were still a sure succour,
 should the rest be repulsed. The *Caledonians* were ranged upon the rising grounds e
 in such manner, that the first band stood upon the plain, and the rest rose succes-
 sively upon the brows of the hills, one rank close above the other, as if they had
 been linked together. The enemy’s chariots of war and cavalry filled the interja-
 cent field. Then *Agricola* fearing, as the enemy far surpassed him in number, lest
 he should be attacked at once in the front and on each flank, opened and extended
 his front. As thence his ranks proved more weak, many advised him to bring on
 the legions ; but he, in all difficulties more prone to hope than to fear, without
 hearkening to their advice, dismissed his horse, and advanced on foot before the
 ensigns. The onset was begun at a distance, wherein the *Britons* displayed great
 courage and equal skill, eluding, with their huge swords and small bucklers, the
 missile weapons of the *Romans*, whilst of their own they poured a torrent upon f
 them, till *Agricola* encouraged three *Batavian* cohorts and two of the *Tungrians*,
 to close with the enemy, and bring them to an engagement hand to hand, as what
 to the veteran soldiers by a long practice was become familiar, but proved to the
 enemy very uneasy and embarrassing, as they were armed with little targets and
 with swords of enormous size ; for the swords of the *Britons*, as they were blunt at
 the end, were quite unfit for a close encounter. Hence the *Batavians* doubled their
 blows, wounded the enemy with the iron bosses of their bucklers, mangled their
 faces, and beating down all who withstood them in the plain, were already carrying
 the attack up to the hills ; insomuch, that the other cohorts, encouraged by their
 example,

“ Idem ibid. c. 33, 34

- a example, fell upon the enemy with equal ardour, and made a dreadful havock of all who opposed them; nay, such was the hurry of the conquerors, that they left many of the enemy behind them but half dead, and others not so much as wounded. In the mean time, their cavalry betook themselves to flight, and their chariots of war, mixing with the battalions of foot, and intangled with the unevenness of the place, occasioned in the plain a general disorder and confusion. The engagement had not the least appearance of a combat of cavalry; for standing obstinately foot to foot, they pressed to overthrow each other by the weight and bodies of their horses. Besides, the chariots, abandoned and straggling, and likewise the horses destitute of managers, and thence wild and affrighted, were running to and fro just
- b as the next fright drove them; insomuch, that all of their own side who met them, or crossed their way, were beaten down by them. In the mean time, the *Britons*, who were lodged upon the ridges of the hills, and had hitherto no share in the encounter, looking with scorn upon the small number of the *Roman* forces, began to descend slowly, and to surround them in the rear, while they were pursuing their victory. But *Agricola*, who had apprehended this very design, detached against them four squadrons of horse, which he had reserved near him for the sudden exigencies of the field. These falling upon the enemy, with great vigor and intrepidity, obliged them to retire, and put them in great disorder: then, turning against the *Caledonians* their own devices, they wheeled about, and attacked the enemy in
- c the rear. Hereupon the *Caledonians* began to retire in great confusion, and nothing was to be seen all over the open fields but pursuits, wounds, and captivity, and the present captives always slaughtered when others occurred to be taken. Some of the enemy fled in large troops, with all their arms, before a smaller number who pursued them; others, quite unarmed, rushing into danger, offered themselves through despair to instant death. On all sides lay scattered arms, and carcases, and mangled limbs; and the ground was dyed with blood. Some bands of the vanquished still fought with incredible resolution and bravery; and when they drew near the woods, they rallied, and surrounded the foremost pursuers, who, without knowing the country, had ventured too far: whence the conquerors must have suffered some
- d notable disaster, had not *Agricola*, who was constantly flying from one quarter to another, ordered the bravest cohorts lightly equipped to invest the enemy on all sides, and some of the cavalry to dismount and enter the narrow passes, while the rest of the horse advanced into the more open and passable parts of the wood. The *Caledonians*, perceiving the *Romans* to continue the pursuit with regular and close ranks, betook themselves to flight, not in united bodies as before, but quite scattered, no man regarding or awaiting another, but all in the utmost confusion making towards the deserts and the most remote places. The *Romans* followed them close; and the pursuit was not ended, but with night and a satiety of slaughter. Of the enemy, ten thousand were slain; of the *Roman* army, three hundred and forty,
- e among whom was *Aulus Atticus*, commander of a cohort, who, by his own youthful heat and also by a fiery horse, was hurried into the midst of the enemy^w (E).

The Caledonians are utterly routed.

And pursued by the Romans with great slaughter.

THE

^w Idem, c. 35—38.

(E) We will not take upon us to ascertain the precise place of this memorable action, our antiquaries being greatly divided in their opinions about it. However, we cannot help observing, that the chief argument, which the author of the *Itinerarium Septentrionale* makes use of to confute the opinions of other antiquaries, equally concludes against his own. For he approves of no place, but where some vestiges are still to be seen of a *Roman* camp capable of containing the army which *Agricola* had with him at this battle. Hence he rejects the opinions of those who pretend, that the battle was fought in the *Mearns*, or at the *Blair of Athol*, because no remains of a *Roman* camp are to be seen in either of these places. Against such as maintain *Ardoch* in *Strathallan* and *Innerpeffery* to be the spot on which the fate of *Caledonia* was determined, he alledges, that the camps, which are to be seen there, were not capable of containing the army which *Agricola* led out against the *Caledonians*. Having thus confuted the opinions of other antiquaries, he offers

his own, which is, that the real place, where the battle was fought, is in *Strathern*, half a mile south of the kirk of *Comerie*, there being still to be seen in that place a *Roman* incampment, divided into two partitions or squares, which are joined together with a vast rampart of stone and earth. Our learned antiquary tells us, that having calculated the number of men contained in the southmost camp, according to the allowance of ground made by *Polybius* for every foot-soldier, he was most agreeably surprised to find it contained the precise number of foot which *Tacitus* says *Agricola* had along with him at the battle of *Mons Grampius*, viz. eight thousand auxiliaries; and that the other square, where he supposes the horse lay, contained exactly three thousand horsemen. For *Tacitus*, says he, plainly informs us of the number of *Agricola's* army at that battle; for, speaking of his disposing of the troops, he says thus; *Instinctos ruentesque ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quæ octo millia erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria millia cornibus affunderentur*: that

THE following night proved a night of great joy to the conquerors, both from victory and spoil. But the *Caledonians*, both men and women, crying and howling, wandered in despair: some dragged away their wounded; others were heard calling their lost friends; all abandoned their houses, and some in rage even set fire to them: not knowing where to shelter themselves, they fled from one lurking-hole to another; then met to consult, and from their counsels gathered some hope; sometimes, at the sight of their dearest pledges of nature, they were moved to pity, sometimes to resolution and fury: nay, some, out of compassion and tenderness, murdered their children and wives. The next day displayed more fully the greatness of the victory; on all sides a profound silence, solitary hills, a thick smoke rising from the houses on fire, and not a living soul to be found by the scouts. When from these, who had been dispatched out into all quarters, it was learnt, that no certain traces could be discovered whither the enemy had fled, and that they had no-where rallied in bodies, *Agricola*, considering that the summer was already far spent, and consequently that he could not pursue the operations of the war, led his army into the country of the *Horestians*, that is, as is commonly supposed, into *Angus*. Having there received hostages, he ordered the admiral of the fleet to sail round *Britain*, furnishing him with proper forces for that expedition, which he happily accomplished; and thence proved *Britain* to be, as it was thought before, an island. On this occasion were discovered and subdued the isles of *Orkney*, till then unknown. *Thule*, now called *Iseland*, or, as others will have it, *Shetland*, was likewise found, hitherto hid, to use the expression of *Tacitus*, by winter, under eternal snow. In the mean time, *Agricola* himself led on the foot and horse with a slow pace, that the minds of these new-conquered nations might be awed and dismayed by prolonging his march through them. He then put his army into winter quarters. Soon after, the fleet, having sailed round the island, returned with great fame to the port whence it had departed. That port is called by *Tacitus*, *Trutulensis*, which is utterly unknown. Some, instead of *Trutulensis*, read *Rbutupensis*, supposed to be *Sandwich* haven. But from *Tacitus* it is manifest, that the fleet at that time attended *Agricola* in *Caledonia* or *Scotland*; and consequently must have sailed from some port of that kingdom. Thus, after many struggles and contests, *Britain* was at length intirely reduced; but the *Romans* did not long continue masters, at least of *Caledonia*, what *Agricola* won being soon after lost by *Domitian*. The poet *Juvenal* speaks of a *British* king, by name *Arviragus*, who was at war with the *Romans* in *Domitian's* reign^x; and all the *Scotch* historians tell us, that, upon the departure of *Agricola*, the *Caledonians* possessed themselves of the castles and forts raised by him in their country. As for the *Roman* historians, they scarce take any notice of the *British* affairs till the reign of the emperor *Hadrian*, who came over into *Britain*, where he built a wall eighty miles in length, in order to separate the *Romans* from the barbarians, as *Spartianus* styles them^y.

Agricola immediately acquainted *Domitian* by letters with the success that had attended his arms in *Britain*, and the situation of affairs there. The account he conveyed

^x JUVEN. satir. iv. v. 38.

^y SPART. in vit. Hadriani.

that is, *Thus encouraged and rushing forward, Agricola formed them so, that the body of auxiliary foot, who were eight thousand men, composed the centre, and three thousand horse were placed in the wings. But were these eight thousand auxiliary foot and three thousand horse all the troops, Agricola had with him at this battle? Does not Tacitus to the words we have just quoted subjoin, Legiones pro vallo stare, ingens victoriæ decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti, & auxilium, si pellerentur: that is, The legions stood just without the intrenchments, that the victory might be the more glorious, were it gained without Roman blood; and that the legions might be ready to succour the auxiliaries, if repulsed. Hence it is evident, that Agricola, besides the eight thousand auxiliary foot and three thousand horse, had some legions with him, for which there was no room, according to our antiquary's own calculation, in the above-mentioned camp. If therefore his chief argument has any force, it confutes, with-*

out leaving room to any reply, his own opinion, as must evidently appear to every reader. Besides, to us it seems quite absurd to suppose, as that writer does, that some vestiges must still remain of all the *Roman* camps in this island, and indeed elsewhere, notwithstanding the innumerable changes and alterations that must have happened, unknown to us, in the course of so many ages. How many camps were made by the *Romans* in *Germany*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*, of which no traces remain in our days! Great cities have been overturned and utterly destroyed, by the devourer of all things, time; inasmuch, that antiquaries are at a loss about the places where they stood. But, admitting our author's supposition, it is evident from his own arguments, that the battle was not fought in the place for which he contends, the camp there being capable of containing only eight thousand foot and three thousand horse; besides which, *Agricola* had with him several legions, as is plain from the words of *Tacitus* (18).

(18) *Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 35.*

He orders his fleet to sail round the island.

He puts his troops into winter-quarters.

Britain intirely reduced.

- a veyed to him was plain and modest, without all ostentation, or any pomp of words. The emperor received it with joy in his countenance, but with anguish in his heart, Domitian is being well apprised, that his late mock triumph over the *Germans* was held in public derision; whereas now a true and mighty victory, gained by the slaughter of so many thousands of the enemy, was every-where sounded by the voice of fame, and received with universal applause. He could not brook that the name of a private man should be exalted above that of the prince: to the emperor alone, he thought, properly appertained the glory and renown of being a great general. Tortured with these anxious thoughts, and indulging his humour of being shut up in secret, a certain indication that he was meditating some bloody design, he at last judged it the best course upon this occasion, to smother his rancour, till the fame of these conquests, and the affection of the army to *Agricola*, were somewhat abated. To him, therefore, he caused to be decreed by the senate the triumphal ornaments, a statue crowned with laurel, and whatever else is bestowed instead of a real triumph, heightening these honours with many expressions full of esteem and respect. But, in the mean time, he resolved to recal him; and that this might not be ascribed to jealousy or envy, he caused a report to be spread abroad, that to *Agricola* was destined the province of *Syria*, a government then vacant by the death of *Atilius Rufus*, a man of consular dignity, since the same was reserved only for men of the first rank. There were many who believed, that an imperial freedman, one much trusted with the secret designs of his master, was by him dispatched to carry the instrument appointing *Agricola* governor of *Syria*, with orders to deliver it to him, were he still in *Britain*, for he had already named him a successor; that the freedman met *Agricola* crossing the chanel, and, without so much as speaking to him, returned directly to *Domitian*. Whether this account be true, or only a fiction, framed in conformity to the character and genius of *Domitian*, is, according to *Tacitus*, uncertain. *Agricola* had already surrendered to his successor, probably *Sallustius Secundus*, the province, now settled in perfect peace and tranquillity. To avoid all popular distinction and concourse of people to meet him, he entered *Rome* by night, and by night went, as he was directed, to the palace, where he was received by the emperor with a short embrace, without a word said, and then passed undistinguished amongst the crowd of courtiers. From this time forward, to lessen the reputation he had acquired of a military man and a gallant commander, a name ever distasteful to those who live themselves in idleness, he resigned himself intirely to inactivity and repose. In his dress he was modest; in his conversation affable and free, and never found accompanied by more than one, or at most two, of his friends: insomuch, that many, especially such as judge of great men from their retinue and parade, when they beheld and observed *Agricola*, could not conceive, whence proceeded his mighty fame; and indeed few there were, who could account for the motives of his conduct. Notwithstanding the retired life he led, he was frequently accused in his absence before *Domitian*, and as often in his absence acquitted. What threatened his life was no crime of his, nor complaint of any particular for injuries received, nor any thing else, save the glorious character of the man, and the perverse disposition of the emperor, hating all excellence and every virtue. With these causes concurred the worst sort of enemies, such as extolled him in order to destroy him. Besides, such times afterwards ensued, as would not suffer the name of *Agricola* to remain unmentioned; so that he was in constant danger of being sacrificed to the jealousy of the emperor, but nevertheless lived nine years longer^z; whence we shall have occasion to speak of him again in the course of this reign.
- f THE same year, *Carionerius*, king of the *Cherusians*, a *German* nation, being driven out by the *Cattans*, because he had submitted to the *Romans* and delivered hostages to them, had recourse to *Domitian* for assistance. But the emperor, not caring to engage in a war with that fierce nation, contented himself with conveying to his friend and ally a sum of money, instead of troops, which, he said, he could not at that juncture well spare^a. About the same time, one *Ganda*, a *German* virgin and prophetess, and revered in *Germany* as a deity, arrived at *Rome*; and being there well received by *Domitian*, after some private conferences with him, returned to her own country^b.

THE

^z TACIT. *ibid.* c. 38—42.^a DIO, l. lxvii. p. 760.^b Idem, p. 761.

THE year following, *Domitian* was consul the eleventh time, and had for his colleague one *Fulvius*, whom *Onuphrius* takes to be *T. Aurelius Fulvius*, or *Fulvus*, the grandfather of *Titus Antoninus*. He was a native of *Nisime*, twice consul and governor of *Rome*. This year *Domitian* took the title of emperor four times, but for what victories we find no-where recorded. We read indeed in *Dion Cassius*, that the *Suevians* and *Lygians*, whom that writer places in *Mæsia*, solicited *Domitian* for succours, who sent them only an hundred horsemen; which so provoked the *Suevians*, that joining the *Iazygians*, a people of *Sarmatia*, they advanced with a design to pass the *Danube*, and lay waste the *Roman* territories^c. *Dion Cassius* does not acquaint us with the issue of this bold undertaking; but *Tacitus*, having told us in one place, that the *Sarmatians* and *Suevians* entered into an alliance against *Rome*^d, adds in another^e, that, soon after the return of *Agricola* out of *Britain*, the *Romans* lost intire armies in *Mæsia*, in *Dacia*, in *Germany*, and in *Pannonia*, all by the bad conduct of their generals, either altogether cowardly or fool-hardy. From several medals it appears, that *Domitian* returned this year to *Rome* from some expedition, of which not the least mention is made by the historians: perhaps he marched in person against the *Suevians* and *Iazygians*; at least several medals were stamped this year in memory of a signal victory, real or pretended, gained over the *Germans*^f. The emperor, after his return to *Rome*, abandoning himself to all manner of cruelty, caused the nativity to be cast of all the illustrious persons in the city, and put such of them to death, as were said by the astrologers to be destined to the empire. *Metius Pomposianus*, against whom some ill-designing persons had on the same account endeavoured in vain to stir up the emperor *Vespasian*, was on this occasion banished *Italy*, and confined to the island of *Corfica*, where he was soon after by *Domitian*'s order put to death. *Nerva*, who succeeded him in the empire, would have suffered the same doom, had not an astrologer assured the emperor, that he had no reason to be afraid of *Nerva*, who could not live many days. He encouraged informers more than any other prince had done, tho' in the beginning of his reign he had treated them with great severity, and solemnly declared, that he would never give ear to their informations. Amongst these, the most famous were *Metius Carus*, *Catullus Messalinus*, and *Bebius Massa*, three robbers, as *Pliny* calls them^g, who enriched themselves and the emperor, with spoils of many thousand illustrious and innocent persons. *Carus* is often mentioned by the poets *Juvenal* and *Martial*, and by *Pliny*, against whom he presented a memorial to *Domitian*^h. *Catullus Messalinus* was blind, but nevertheless one of the most mischievous informers who frequented the court: he died about the latter end of *Domitian*'s reign; whence it is plain, that *Cataneus* was mistaken in supposing him to be the same person with *Catullus*, governor of *Cyrene*, who died, according to *Josephus*, in the reign of *Vespasian*ⁱ. Authors observe, that this year multitudes of senators and knights were accused of treason, and either sentenced to death by the senate, or ordered by *Domitian* to dispatch themselves. Of these the most illustrious were, *Ælius Lama*, whom he caused to be publicly executed only for a jest; for the emperor, who, as we have observed above, had taken away his wife, commending one day his voice, *Lamia* answered, *Yet, alas! I must be silent*. *Civicus Cerealis* was murdered during his proconsulship of *Asia*, under colour, that he designed to raise disturbances in the state, but in reality because he had accepted the government of *Asia*, which had fallen to him by lot. Hence *Agricola*, when to his lot the proconsulship of *Asia* or *Africa* was to fall, declined the employment, and presented a petition to the emperor, begging to be excused. *Domitian* not only granted him his request, but suffered himself to be on that account presented with formal thanks. Neither to *Agricola* did he give the salary which was wont to be paid to proconsuls, and which he himself had continued to some. *Salvius Coccianus* was put to death for celebrating the birth-day of the emperor *Otho*, who was his uncle by the father's side; *Sallustius Lucullus*, who had succeeded *Agricola* in the government of *Britain*, for suffering a new kind of lances to be called after his own name; *Junius Rusticus* for publishing a writing in commendation of the celebrated *Thrasea* and of *Helvidius Priscus*; *Maternus*, a renowned philosopher, for having declaimed in public against tyranny and tyrants. All the professors of philosophy and every laudable science,

^c Idem ibid.^d TACIT. hist. l. i. c. 2.^e TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 41.^f Vide BIRAG. numism.

p. 134. & NORIS. ep. consul. p. 175.

^g PLIN. panegy.^h Idem, l. iii. ep. 4.ⁱ Vid.

CATAN. in not. ad Plin. jun. & JOSEPH. de bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 39.

- a science, says *Tacitus*, were expelled and driven into exile: and that nothing which was worthy and honest might any-where be seen, not only against persons, but against books commending virtue or patriotism, a new kind of cruelty was exerted; for in the forum the works of men famous for their genius and parts were publicly burnt^k. Every thing gave the jealous tyrant fear and offence. Was a man nobly born and popular? he withdrew the affections of the people, rivalled the prince, and threatened a civil war. Was he afraid of popularity and lived retired? he gained fame by shunning it, was still an eye-sore, and his best fate was to leave his country. Was he virtuous and his life and morals without blame? he was another *Brutus*, and by the purity of his manners upbraided the vicious behaviour of the emperor. If a man seemed dull and unactive, he only put on the disguise of stupidity and sloth, till he found room for some bloody purpose. If he had a different character, and was a lively and active man, then it was plain, he did not so much as feign a desire of private life and recess, but avowed a bustling republican spirit. If he was rich, he was too wealthy for a subject; and great wealth in private hands boded ill to princes: if he was poor, he was thence the more enterprising and desperate. In short, no man could possess any advantage or quality that rendered him acceptable to his fellow-citizens, and a blessing to his country, to his friends, or to himself, but such quality and advantage was sure to awaken the jealousy and vengeance of the tyrant, and procure his doom. Hence *Tacitus*, speaking of these unhappy times; Mighty, says he, was the testimony which we gave of our patience; for, as our forefathers had beheld the ultimate perfection of liberty, so did we of bondage; since, through dread of informers, we were bereft of the common intercourse of speech. Nay, with our utterance we had likewise lost our memory, had it been equally in our power to forget as to be silent^l. Against the defence of innocence accused, against the most evident truth and justice, the ears of the emperor were ever shut; but calumny whispered by any informer had equal weight with real crimes proved by authentic witnesses. Falshood and flattery, says *Dion Cassius*, envy and rapaciousness, passed for evidence; justice was converted into cruelty, and judgment into rage; the tribunals, erected for justice and preservation of life and property, were turned into shambles; and what had the names of pains and penalties was in truth robbery and assassination. The persons of the accusers were considered as sacred and inviolable; the more they were detested by the public, the more they were protected by the emperor; and, in proportion as they deserved death and ignominy, had countenance and preferment. Their vilest forgeries, convicted and owned against the lives and fortunes of the greatest men, drew down no punishment upon them^m. In the midst of his cruelties, he abandoned himself to all manner of lewdness and debauchery, and was on that score no less infamous, than the most vicious of his predecessors. His avarice was equal to his lewdness and cruelty; not that he had any natural bias to that vice, says *Suetonius*; but having exhausted his treasury by the many buildings he raised, by the magnificent sports and shews which he exhibited, by increasing the pay of the soldiers, and by other wild and extravagant expences, he betook himself to all sorts of rapine and extortion, seizing, upon the least information, the estates of the most wealthy citizens: the least action or word against the majesty of the prince, was made use of as a pretence for stripping them of whatever they possessed. He confiscated inheritances, appropriating to himself all the effects of persons whom he never knew, if he could find but one witness to depose, that he had ever heard the deceased say, that *Cæsar* was his heir. With these and such-like artificial contrivances, he reduced to beggary the most opulent persons, not only in *Rome* and *Italy*, but in all the provinces of the *Roman* empire. His officers and procurators exacted the tributes and taxes with the greatest rigor and severity imaginable; but above all, he oppressed the *Jews* in a most cruel manner, not excepting even such of them as had renounced their religion; and with the like severity treated those, says *Suetonius*, meaning, no doubt, the *Christians*, who lived in *Rome* after the manner of the *Jews*, and seemed to profess the same superstitionⁿ. The heavy tributes, and the rigor used by the officers in exacting them, occasioned great disorders and frequent revolts in the distant provinces. In *Africa*, the *Nasamonians*, whom most geographers place in the province of *Cyrenaica*, no longer able to bear the heavy imposts

The deplorable
condition of
Rome.

Encourages
informers.

Abandons
himself to all
manner of
lewdness.

His avarice
and extortions

The Nasamo-
nians revolt.

^k Suet. c. 20. Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2.

^l Tacit. ibid.

^m Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 759.

ⁿ Suet. c. 12.

But are utterly cut off.

Domitian assumes the title of Lord, and that of God.

The shameful flattery of the Romans.

imposts with which they were loaded, and the insults and extortions of the collectors, rose up in arms this year, defeated *Flaccus* governor of *Numidia*, stormed his camp, and put great numbers of his men to the sword. But *Flaccus* was soon revenged on them; for being informed, that, elated with their success, they had abandoned themselves to jollity and carousing, he rallied his men, and coming unexpectedly upon them, while they were intoxicated with the wine they had found in the *Roman* camp, he cut them all off to a man. *Zonaras* seems to insinuate, that he extirpated the whole nation, without any regard to sex or age^o; and *Aristides* tells us, that by an order from one of the emperors, the whole race of the *Nasamonians* was cut off^p. However, that some of that race outlived this dreadful slaughter, is evident from *Ptolemy* the geographer, who places them, as people still in being, to the south of *Libya Marmarica*^q. *Domitian*, puffed up with the victory gained by his lieutenant over the *Nasamonians*, bragged in the senate, that he had cut off the whole nation; for to himself he ascribed, as *Dion Cassius* observes^r, all the advantages gained by his officers, tho' he bore not the least share in them, and to others every miscarriage, however occasioned by a strict observance of his orders. As he hated and suspected every man of parts, especially such as had acquired any military renown, the commanders of the armies, to recommend themselves to his favour, carefully avoided signalizing themselves by any military exploits, chusing rather to bear the insults of the enemy, than to expose themselves to the dangers arising from the jealousy of the prince^s. The same year he first assumed, according to *Eusebius*, the title of *Lord* and that of *God*, not being ashamed, in dictating an ordinance to one of his secretaries, to begin it thus; *Our Lord and our God orders and commands*, &c. About the same time he enacted a law, obliging all to pay him divine worship; and from that time forward no man dared to call him by any other name but that of *Lord* and of *God*^t; nay, some writers^u tells us, that, by an express law, all other titles, either in speaking or writing to him, were to be suppressed. Of this impious flattery we have many instances in the poets *Juvenal* and *Martial*. *Pliny* complains, that all the streets leading to the capitol were constantly crowded with droves of victims to be sacrificed before his statues^v. He pretended to be, and would be called, the son of *Minerva*, for which goddess he professed a particular veneration. He would not suffer any statues to be erected to him in the capitol, but such as were of pure gold or silver, and of a fixt weight. He filled the city with triumphal gates and arches, and by an immense number of monuments, raised at a vast charge, endeavoured to transmit to posterity the memory of his pretended victories^x. He was the first who was ever known to have been seventeen times consul. Not satisfied to have assumed the title of *Germanicus*, on account of his pretended victory over the *Cattans*, he caused the month of *September* to be distinguished with the same name, and the month of *October* with that of *Domitian*; because in the latter he was born, and in the former declared emperor. In short, before the end of the fourth year of his reign, he surpassed, if *Dion Cassius* is to be credited, all his predecessors, *Nero* not excepted, in pride, cruelty, rapaciousness, and all other vices, which complete the character of an accomplished tyrant^y.

The institution of the Capitoline sports.

Some account of the Dacians

THE following year, *Domitian* entered upon his twelfth consulship, having *Servius Cornelius Dolabella* for his colleague. This year were instituted the *Capitoline* sports, so much spoken of by the writers of those days, according to whom they were to be exhibited once in five, but, according to our way of reckoning, once in four years; for they were celebrated, as the *Olympic* sports, at the end of four years complete, and in the beginning of the fifth. As they were exhibited in honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, the emperor presided at them in person, attended by the priest of *Jupiter*, and the college of the *Flavian* priests^z. To this year *Eusebius* fixes the war with the *Dacians*, the most bloody and dangerous which the *Romans* sustained, during the reign of *Domitian*. The *Dacians* were looked upon by the *Romans* as the most warlike nation they were then acquainted with. They were not only men for the most part of great strength, but of equal courage, despising death, which they considered as the end of a transitory, and the beginning of a happy and lasting, life; whence with great intrepidity they braved the greatest dangers. This doctrine they had learnt of an ancient philosopher, by name *Zamolxis*, whom some suppose to have been the disciple

^o ZONAR. p. 197. ^p ARIST. p. 194. ^q PTOL. l. iv. c. 5. ^r DIO in excerpt. Val. p. 709.
^s PLIN. l. viii. epist. 14. ^t SUET. c. 13. ^u AUR. VICT. & OROS. l. vii. c. 10. ^v PLIN. paneg. p. 99. ^x SUET. c. 13. ^y DIO, ibid. p. 710. ^z SUET. c. 4.

- a disciple of *Pythagoras*; others to have flourished long before his time^a. *Dion Cassius* observes, that these people were by some *Greek* writers called *Getæ*; but by the *Romans* *Daci*, which was their proper appellation; for the *Getæ* dwelt beyond mount *Hæmus*, near the mouth of the *Danube* and the *Euxine* sea; but the *Dacians* more to the west and nearer *Germany*; that is, according to the opinion of most modern geographers, in the countries now known by the names of *Moldavia*, *Valachia*, and *Transylvania*. But the emperor *Aurelian* having afterwards placed them on this side of the *Danube*, (we speak with respect to *Rome*) they gave their name to that part of *Illyricum* which they possessed; and this is the province, which, in the fourth and fifth centuries, was known by the name of *Dacia*. As for the ancient *Dacia*, it was then held by the *Goths*, whom *Jornandes* throughout his history confounds with the *Dacians*^b. At this time one *Duras* ruled over the *Dacians*; but after having for some time held the sovereignty, by an instance of moderation hardly to be matched in history, resigned it of his own accord to one *Decebalus*, whom he judged better qualified for the discharge of so great a trust than himself; for *Decebalus* was a man of great prowess and experience in war, and equally skilled in affairs of state^c. He is by *Jornandes*^d and *Orosius*^e called *Dorpanæus* and *Diurpanæus*; for a prince of that name reigned, according to them, in *Dacia*, when the defeat of *Fuscus* happened, of which we shall speak anon; and, on the other hand, we are told by *Dion Cassius*, that *Fuscus* was overthrown in battle by *Decebalus*. As to the issue of the war which he maintained against *Rome*, *Tacitus* speaks thus, without descending to any particulars: In the commonwealth there ensued such times, as would not permit the name of *Agricola*, lately returned from *Britain*, to remain unmentioned; so many were the armies we had lost in *Mæsia*, *Dacia*, *Germany*, and *Pannonia*, all by the misconduct of our generals. The question and contest was not now about maintaining the limits of the empire, and guarding the rivers which served for its boundaries, but about defending the standing incampments of the legions, and preserving our own territories. Thus, when public calamities were following one another, and each year was become signal for slaughters and misfortunes, *Agricola* was, by the common voice of the populace, required for the command of our armies; for all men were comparing his vigor, his resolution, and experience in war, with the sloth and timidity of the others. The best of *Domitian's* freed-men advised and pressed him to this choice out of pure affection and duty, as did the worst, out of virulence and envy, hoping by that means to compass the destruction of *Agricola*. But that jealous and distrustful prince dreaded nothing so much, as to see a man of courage and reputation at the head of an army^f. Thus much *Tacitus* in general of the war with the *Dacians*, in which the *Romans*, according to that historian, sustained great losses, and had many armies slaughtered, many brave officers killed, and many taken prisoners. For a more particular and distinct account of this destructive war, we must recur to, and depend upon *Jornandes*. According to him, the *Dacians*, dreading the effects of the emperor's avarice, broke the alliance which they had made with his predecessors, crossed the *Danube*, drove away the troops stationed on the banks of that river; and falling upon *Appius*, or *Oppius*, *Sabinus*, governor of *Mæsia*, defeated and killed him, committing every-where most dreadful devastations, and seizing all the forts and castles raised in their neighbourhood by the *Romans*. Hereupon *Domitian*, having with all possible expedition raised a formidable army, marched himself at the head of it into *Illyricum*. Upon his approach, *Decebalus* dispatched ambassadors to him, declaring, that he was ready to put an end to the war and renew the former treaties. But *Domitian*, instead of returning any answer to the deputies, ordered the flower of his forces to advance against the *Dacians*, under the conduct of *Cornelius Fuscus*, captain of the prætorian guards. He was, according to *Tacitus*^g, of an illustrious descent, and had in his early youth, from a passion for solitude and repose, divested himself of the senatorial dignity. Upon the death of *Nero*, he declared for *Galba*, by whom he was created procurator of *Illyricum*. Afterwards he embraced the party of *Vespasian* against *Vitellius*, and to the flame of war added, to use the expression of *Tacitus*, fresh fuel; for he took not so much delight in the rewards of perils, as in the perils themselves. He was second in the command of the forces under the famous *Antonius Primus*, and honoured by the senate, after the death of *Vitellius*, with the ornaments of the prætorship.

They make
war upon the
Romans.

Domitian
jealous of
Agricola.

The Romans
defeated by the
Dacians, and
their general
killed.

^a STRABO, l. vii. p. 297. SUID. Phot. c. 166. ^b Vide LLOYD. dist. historic. p. 405. BAUD. p. 237. JORNAND. Got. c. 12, 13, &c. ^c DIO, ibid. p. 709--761. ^d JORNAND. c. 13. ^e OROS. l. vii. c. 20. ^f TACIT. vit. Agric. c. 41. ^g TACIT. hist. l. ii. c. 86.

ship. *Domitian* conferred upon him the command of the prætorian guards. But after all, he was not, if *Juvenal* is to be credited ^h, sufficiently qualified for the chief command of an army. Hence *Decebalus*, despising such a general, sent a fresh embassy to *Domitian*, offering to conclude a peace with him, upon condition that each *Roman* paid him yearly two *oboli*; and threatening, if they rejected his proposal, to pursue the war with vigor, and destroy their territories with fire and sword. The *Romans* were so provoked with the insolence of this proposal, that they demanded to be led forthwith against the enemy. Accordingly *Fuscus*, having caused his army to pass the *Danube* on a bridge of boats, entered the *Dacian* territories, where, after several skirmishes, *Decebalus* and *Fuscus* agreed to put the whole to the issue of a general engagement. Both armies fought with equal bravery and resolution, and the victory continued long doubtful; but in the end the *Romans* were utterly routed, and *Fuscus* himself slain. The *Dacians* took one eagle, a great quantity of arms, all the engines of war, and a vast number of captives, who were afterwards found in the enemy's castles, and released by the emperor *Trajan* ⁱ.

They are defeated a second time.

The *Dacians* receive a great overthrow.

Domitian defeated by the *Marcomani-ans*. Concludes a dishonourable peace with the *Dacians*.

THE news of this defeat alarmed *Domitian*, who was already returned to *Rome*, where he made a no less dreadful havock of the senate and people, than the *Dacians* had done of the soldiery. He strove at first to smother the dismal tidings; but finding they were by common fame divulged all over the city, and even magnified, he left *Rome* a second time, giving out, that he would head the army in person. But arriving in *Mæsia*, he stopped in a city of that province, and sent forward his generals against the enemy. Many bloody battles were fought with various success, fortune being sometimes favourable to the *Romans*, sometimes to the *Dacians* ^k. *Julianus*, one of the *Roman* commanders, gained a signal victory, by obliging his soldiers to write their names on their bucklers, that he might by that means the more effectually encourage or upbraid each particular ^l. On this occasion *Vezinas*, who among the *Dacians* was next in authority to *Decebalus*, finding no other means to make his escape, concealed himself amongst the dead, and in the night retired undiscovered. *Decebalus* apprehending the *Romans* might, after their victory, lay siege to his capital, felled, during the night, a great number of trees in a neighbouring wood, covered the trunks of them with armour, and, by that contrivance, prevented the *Romans*, who mistook them for soldiers, from pursuing the advantages of their victory. However, *Decebalus* was at length reduced to great straits, and obliged to sue for peace; which *Domitian* would not grant him upon any terms whatsoever. But, instead of pursuing the war with vigor, and forcing him, as he might easily have done, to submit at discretion, he turned his arms against the *Quadians* and *Marcomanians*, because they had sent him no succours during the war with the *Dacians*. These two nations, though signal in force and renown, declining to involve their respective countries in an unnecessary war, sent deputies to the emperor, begging him to forbear hostilities, which they were not conscious to themselves to have provoked. But *Domitian*, instead of hearkening to their intreaties, caused their ambassadors, in defiance of the right of nations, to be murdered; which so provoked those warlike people, that, drawing together all their youth, they took the field, engaged *Domitian*, and put him to flight. Then the cowardly prince, now no less dejected upon his defeat, than lately elated with his victory, dispatched ambassadors to *Decebalus*, with offers of peace, upon very advantageous terms; which the *Dacian* thought it adviseable to accept, since his army had been greatly weakened by the many battles he had fought. However, he refused to go in person to *Domitian*; but sent his brother to treat with the emperor, whom *Domitian* received with particular marks of friendship and esteem, delivering to him a diadem for *Decebalus*, and by that means acknowledging him for king. Besides the diadem, he presented him with large sums, sent to him, at his request, a great number of artificers and workmen of all professions, and engaged to pay him yearly a certain sum, which, to the reign of *Trajan*, was punctually conveyed to him; but that prince would not submit to the payment of so shameful a tribute, saying, That he had never been overcome by *Decebalus* ^m. *Domitian*, upon the conclusion of such an opprobrious peace, acquainted the senate by letters, that he had at length obliged the *Dacians* to submit to the *Roman* yoke; and at the same time dispatched to *Rome* the ambassadors of *Decebalus*, with a letter written to him by

^h JUVEN. sat. iv. ver. 112. ⁱ JORNAND. de reb. Goth. c. 13. ^k OROS. l. vii. c. 8. ^l DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 773. ^m JUV. sat. iv. ver. 111. ⁿ TACIT. hist. l. i. c. 2. ^o DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 762, & in excerpt. Val. p. 709. ^p DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 762. & l. lxxviii. p. 771. ^q MART. l. v. epigr. 3.

a by that prince, or, as was most commonly believed, feigned by the emperor himself, wherein the *Dacian* owned himself conquered, and no longer able to withstand the gallantry of the *Roman* troops, led on by so brave and valiant a commander as *Domitian*. Hereupon the senate decreed him a triumph, which he enjoyed upon his return, triumphing at the same time over the *Dacians*, of whom he had with an annual tribute purchased a peace, and over the *Quadians* and *Marcomanians*, by whom he had been utterly defeated and driven out of the field^a; for his triumphs, says *Pliny*^b, were ever certain proofs of signal advantages gained by the enemy. However, the poets, who flourished under him, extol these mock victories, and compare them to those gained by the *Scipios* and *Cæsars*. *Domitian*, before he left *Dacia*, caused a stately monument to be erected to the memory of *Cornelius Fuscus*^c. *Pliny* complains that *Domitian*, in his marches and journeys, behaved more like an enemy than a prince, exacting immense sums from the inhabitants of the countries through which he passed, pillaging their houses, laying waste their fields, and obliging them to supply, at a vast charge, with all manner of provisions both him and his numerous retinue^d.

The following year, *Domitian* was consul the thirteenth time with *L. Saturninus*; but nothing happened, during their administration, which authors have thought worth transmitting to posterity. But the following year, when *Domitian* was consul the fourteenth time with *L. Minucius Rufus*, is remarkable for the celebration of the secular games, so called, because they were to be solemnized once in an age. They had been celebrated but forty-one years before by *Claudius*; but *Domitian* computed the time from their being exhibited by *Augustus*^e. They ended, as appears from several medals which have reached our age, some time after the ides of *September* in the eighth year of *Domitian's* reign^f, while *Tacitus* the historian was prætor^g. *Domitian*, pursuing this year the carnage he had begun, before he left *Rome* to wage war with the *Dacians*, filled the city with funerals, putting all those to death, who, on account of their birth or virtue, gave him the least umbrage^h. This general slaughter was in all likelihood produced by the revolt of *L. Antonius*, which happened this year. *L. Antonius* was governor of *Upper Germany*, where he had two legions under his command. Being provoked with the cruelties and tyrannical conduct of the emperor, and depending upon the fidelity of his soldiers, whose affections he had gained by his mild and obliging behaviour, he at once took upon him the title of emperor, and as such was acknowledged by the forces he commanded, and likewise by most of the *German* nations, who promised him powerful succours, not from any esteem or kindness they had for him, but through hatred to *Domitian*. The news of this revolt no sooner reached *Rome*, than *Domitian*, quitting the city, hastened to suppress it, leading with him the prætorian guards and the flower of the troops quartered in *Italy*, all the senators, and the greater part of the *Roman* knights, even such as had absented themselves from the city and long led a retired life, lest they should be afterwards accused of having abandoned the emperor in time of danger; a charge which might have cost them their lives. But he had not proceeded far on his march, ere he received a certain account of the total overthrow of *Antonius*, whose army was intirely cut off, and he himself slain by *L. Maximus*, according to some writers, or, as others will have it, by *Appius Norbanus*ⁱ. Perhaps these four names belonged to one and the same person; at least a letter written by *Domitian* to *L. Appius Maximus* has reached our times^j; and one *Appius Maximus* is said in an ancient inscription to have happily ended the war in *Germany*^k. While the armies of *Antonius* and *Maximus* were engaged on the banks of the *Rhine*, the river swelled all on a sudden to such a height, that the *Germans*, who came to the assistance of *Antonius*, could not cross it; so that his army was intirely cut off. *Antonius* himself being killed in the battle, his head was cut off and sent to *Rome*^l. *Suetonius* tells us, that the very day on which the battle was fought, an eagle, placing herself upon one of the emperor's statues at *Rome*, covered it with her wings, making a noise which expressed a kind of joy; and that at the same time a report prevailed all over the city, that *Antonius* was overcome, and utterly defeated; nay, that he was killed, and that his head was brought to *Rome*, which several persons affirmed they had seen^m. *Maximus* on this occasion displayed

But is honoured with a triumph.

He celebrates the secular games.

The revolt of L. Antonius.

Who is defeated and killed.

no

^a DIO. p. 761. SÜET. c. 6. EUSEB. in chron.

^b PLIN. paneg. p. 21.

^c MART. l. vi. p. 76.

^d PLIN. ibid. p. 35, 36.

^e SÜET. c. 4.

^f ONUPH. lud.

^g TACIT. annal. xi. c. 12.

^h EUSEB. in chron.

ⁱ DIO. l. lxxvii. p. 764.

Idem in excerpt. Val. p. 709. PLUT. in vit. Æmil.

^j Vide ONUPH. in fast. p. 216.

^k Idem ibid.

^l SÜET. c. 6. DIO, in excerpt. Val. p. 709.

^m PLUT. in Æmil. p. 489. SÜET. ibid.

Great numbers
of persons exe-
cuted.

A counterfeit
Nero in Asia.

no less prudence after the victory, than he had done courage in gaining it; for upon the death of *Antonius*, he seized and burnt all his papers, that the emperor might not make use of them to the prejudice of any man. *Domitian*, however, made a diligent search after his accomplices, torturing in a most cruel manner persons of all ranks and conditions, upon the least suspicion of their having been privy to the conspiracy, or having lived in friendship and intimacy with *Antonius*. On this occasion great numbers of persons were executed or banished, and their estates seized. Of the many who were accused, two persons only escaped unpunished, viz. a tribune of senatorial dignity, and a centurion, who saved their lives at the expence of their reputation, by making it appear, that they had been pathics, and consequently incapable of engaging in any hazardous enterprize, or having any interest in matters of this nature, either with the general or the army^b. After this revolt, *Domitian* would not suffer two legions to be quartered in the same camp during the winter; but kept them all separate and at some distance from each other, lest, depending upon their strength, they should form dangerous designs, and raise new disturbances^c. This year another counterfeit *Nero* appeared in *Asia*; and having, with a great multitude of followers, struck terror into the neighbouring provinces, retired to the court of the *Parthian* king, who received him with great marks of distinction, supplied him with a chosen body of troops, and seemed inclined to quarrel on his account with the *Romans*. But in the end he was prevailed upon by *Domitian* to deliver him up to the governor of *Syria*^d. This, without all doubt, is what gave occasion to the poet *Silius* to celebrate the emperor's triumph, and extol his victories over the *Ganges*, the *Bactrians*, and, in short, over all the countries of the east^e.

THE following year, *T. Aurelius Fulvius* and *L. Atratinus* being consuls, *Domitian* took the title of emperor three times; but for what exploits we know not. Some writers, and amongst the rest the learned cardinal *Noris*, are of opinion, that *Domitian* this year undertook a second expedition against the *Germans*^f, the more because the poet *Statius* supposes the *Germans* to have been by *Domitian* twice conquered^g. But these triumphs were in all likelihood only for pretended victories and real overthrows. Thus we have seen him triumph over the *Dacians*, of whom he had purchased a peace, by engaging to pay them an annual tribute, and over the *Marcomanians* and *Quadians*, by whom he had been shamefully put to flight. The next consuls were *Domitian*, the fifteenth time, and *M. Cocceius Nerva*, who was afterwards raised to the empire, the second time; for he had been consul in the second year of *Vespasian's* reign. Some modern writers^h tell us, that having been banished by *Domitian* the year before, in this he was recalled, and honoured with the consulship. They quote *Dion Cassius*; but in that writer we find no such account. *Philostratus* indeed writes, that *Nerva*, who succeeded *Domitian*, was banished to *Tarentum*; but from his words it is manifest, that *Nerva* did not incur the displeasure of *Domitian*, till he had finished his second consulshipⁱ. Nothing happened this year, either at *Rome* or in the provinces, which the few historians, who have written of these times, and whose works have reached us, thought worth recording. The consuls of the following year were *M. Ulpius Trajanus*, who succeeded *Nerva* in the empire, and *Acilius Glabrio*. As *Glabrio* was a man of great strength and activity, the emperor obliged him to fight in the arena with a huge lion, whom he overcame and killed. The people with loud shouts applauded his victory; which roused the jealousy of the emperor, who thereupon, under colour of some crime or other, banished him, and soon after caused him to be murdered in the place of his exile, as if he had attempted to raise disturbances in the state^k. A modern writer would fain persuade us, that he was put to death for professing the christian religion^l; but the arguments which he makes use of are destitute of all solidity and quite trifling. This year *Domitian* exhibited a great many shews, both in the amphitheatre and the circus, which are celebrated by the writers of those times, as the most costly and magnificent that *Rome* had ever beheld. Near the *Tiber* he caused a vast lake to be dug, in which a sea-fight was represented with such numbers of ships as amounted to complete fleets. In the combats of gladiators, not only men, but women, entered the lists. In the amphitheatre two great combats were exhibited, one of horse, the other of foot: with the former, which was quite new, the populace were so taken, that, forgetting the emperor's cruelties,

Acilius Gla-
brio put to
death.

Domitian ex-
hibits magnifi-
cent shews.

^b SUET. c. 10. ^c DIO. p. 764. ^d TACIT. l. i. c. 2. ^e SEUT. c. 6. ^f SIL. l. iii. p. 51.
^g NORIS. ep. conf. p. 175. ^h STAT. Theb. l. i. ver. 19. ⁱ PETAV. chron. & CALVIS. ^j PHILOST.
vit. Apol. Ty. l. vii. c. 3. ^k DIO. p. 766. SUET. c. 10. ^l BARON. ad ann. 74.

year *Domitian* undertook an expedition against the *Sarmatians*, who had cut in pieces a whole legion with the officer who commanded them^c: but as to the issue of this war, we are quite in the dark: all we know is, that on this occasion he quarrelled likewise with the *Marcomanians*, and on his return assumed the title of emperor, for the twenty-second and last time. He returned to *Rome* in the month of *January*, and, instead of triumphing, contented himself with presenting a crown of laurel to *Jupiter Capitolinus*^d. *Statius* and *Martial*^f make frequent mention of this war, extolling, with their usual flattery, the supposed exploits and pretended victories of their hero.

The calamity
of the times.

THE following year, *L. Nonnius Asprenas* and *Sextilius Lateranus* being consuls, *Domitian* began to rend the commonwealth with cruelties without all respite, as *Tacitus* expresses^e, and to put in execution the design, which he had long since formed, of utterly extirpating the senate, and destroying all who were any-ways considerable, either for their birth or virtue. That historian describes the miseries of these calamitous times in general terms thus: The islands were peopled with exiles; the rocks contaminated with murder and blood. But more hideous still were the ravages of cruelty at *Rome*. It was treasonable to be noble; capital to be rich; criminal to have borne honours, criminal to have declined them; and the reward of worth and virtue was quick and inevitable destruction. Nor were the iniquities of the informers more shocking, than their great and distinguishing rewards; for upon some were bestowed, as the spoils of the state, the pontifical dignities and those of the consulship; others were sent with the character of procurators into the provinces; some were made prime ministers and confidants at home; and, in every station exerting all their terrors and pursuing their hatred, they controuled and confounded all things. Slaves were suborned against their masters, freed-men against their patrons; and such as had no enemies were betrayed and undone by their friends. The age, however, continues our historian, was not so utterly destitute of all virtue, as not to afford commendable examples of friendship and magnanimity. There were mothers who accompanied their banished sons; wives who followed their husbands into exile; in relations were found resolution and succour; in sons-in-law constancy and duty; in slaves such fidelity as baffled all the menaces and horrors of the torture; illustrious men struggling under the greatest distress, supporting it with constancy, and displaying a fortitude in death equal to that of the most celebrated ancients^a. The same writer, after having recounted the death of *Agricola*; He saw not, adds he, the court of the senate besieged, nor the senate inclosed with armed men, nor the butchery of so many persons of consular dignity, nor the flight and exile of so many women of the prime nobility, all effected in one continued havock. Even *Nero* with-held his eyes from scenes of cruelty: he indeed ordered murders to be perpetrated, but saw them not. The principal part of our miseries under *Domitian* was, to be obliged to see him, and be seen by him, at a time when all our sighs and sorrows were watched and marked down for condemnation; when that cruel countenance of his, always covered with a settled red, whence he hardened himself against shame and blushing, served him to observe all the pale horrors at once possessing so many illustrious menⁱ. Thus *Tacitus* describes in general terms the calamities of those unhappy times. The persons whom he mentions in particular to have been this year put to death by *Domitian*, are *Helvidius*, *Rusticus*, and *Senecio*. *Helvidius* was the son of the celebrated *Helvidius Priscus*, of whom we have spoken above. He had been raised to the consulship, in what year we know not; and was, on account of his extraordinary virtue, abilities, and accomplishments, in great credit with persons of all ranks, though he endeavoured, through fear of giving the emperor umbrage, to shun the applauses of the multitude, and conceal his talents in solitude and retirement. However, he was accused of treason, and it was pretended, that in a poem, by him composed, he had, under the borrowed names of *Paris* and *Œnone*, reflected on the emperor for divorcing his wife *Domitia*. When the accused appeared to plead his cause before the senate, one of the judges, by name *Publicius Certus*, formerly prætor, seized him with the assistance of some other senators, and, without allowing him to speak in his own defence, dragged him to prison, where he was by the emperor's orders soon after executed^k. As for *Certus*,^l

Helvidius,
Senecio, and
Rusticus put
to death.

^c Suet. c. 6.

^d Idem ibid.

^e Stat. syl. l. 3. p. 398, &c.

^f Mart. l. vii. epigr.

^g Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 44.

^h Tacit. hist. l. i. c. 2.

ⁱ Idem, vit. Agr. c. 44.

^k Suet. c. 10. Plin. l. ix. epist. 13.

thirteenth of July, the former to *M. Lollius Paulinus Valerius Asiaticus*, and the latter ^a to *C. Antius Julius Quadratus*. This year was remarkable for the death of the celebrated *Agricola*. His end proved afflicting to his family, says *Tacitus*, sorrowful to his friends, and matter of trouble even to foreigners and such as knew him not. The common people, during his sickness, were not only frequent in their visits to his house ; but, in all public places, in all private companies, made him the subject of their conversation : nor, when his death was divulged, was there a soul found, who did not lament it as a public misfortune. What heightened the general concern was, a prevailing rumour, that he was dispatched by poison. That there was any proof of this, *Tacitus*, his son-in-law, will not take upon him to aver. However, he tells us, that, during the whole course of his illness, *Domitian* caused frequent visits to be made him, indeed much more frequent than princes are wont to make, both by his favourite freedmen and his most trusty physicians ; whether from real concern for his health, or eagerness to learn the probability of his death, our historian will not determine. It is certain, that on the day in which he expired, continual accounts were by messengers, purposely placed, every instant transmitted to the emperor, informing him how fast his end was approaching ; and no one believed he would have been thus eager to hear tidings, had he been to feel any sorrow from hearing them. However, upon the news of his death, he affected to shew in his countenance some grief and concern ; for being now secure against the object of his hatred, he could more easily dissemble his present joy, than lately his fear. It is incredible, how great was the satisfaction which he expressed, when upon reading the last will of *Agricola*, he found himself left joint heir with his excellent wife and tender daughter. This he took to have been done out of judgment and choice ; so blinded he was by continual flattery, as not to know, that to no prince, ^b but a tyrant, did ever any good father bequeath his fortune. *Agricola* was born, according to *Tacitus*, on the thirteenth of June, during the third consulship of the emperor *Caligula*, and died on the twenty-fourth of August, during the consulship of *Collega* and *Priscus*, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, the ninety-third of the *Christian* æra, and twelfth of *Domitian's* reign. But as to the time of birth, some mistake has certainly crept into the text of *Tacitus*, there being but fifty-three years two months, and some days, from the thirteenth of June of the year of the *Christian* æra 40. when *Caligula* was the third time consul, to the twenty-fourth of August, in the year 93. *Agricola* therefore either died in the fifty-fourth year of his age, or was born in the second consulship of *Caligula*, that is, in the year 38. of the *Christian* æra. ^c *Tacitus* delivers the following glorious and affecting character of him : *His character.* If posterity desires to know his make and person, he was rather genteel and well-proportioned than tall : in his aspect there was nothing terrible ; his looks were extremely gracious and pleasing, a good man you would have readily believed him, and been glad to have found that he was a great man. Tho' he was snatched away, while his age was yet in full vigor ; yet, if his life be measured by his glory, he attained to a great length of days. For every true felicity, namely such as arises from virtue, he had already enjoyed to the full. As he had been likewise distinguished with the consular and triumphal honours, what more could fortune add to his lustre and renown ? Excessive wealth he coveted not ; an honourable share he possessed. ^d As behind him he left surviving his daughter and his wife, he may be even accounted happy, since by dying while his credit was no-ways stained, while his fame was in its full splendor, and his relations and friends in a state of security, he escaped the evils to come and the misery of the latter times. We shall close our account of this great commander, this virtuous citizen, with the tender and affecting words of *Tacitus*, who thus addresses him after his death : Happy therefore art thou, *Agricola*, not only as thy life was glorious, but as thy death was seasonable ! Thou didst, as I am informed by those who heard thy last words, accept thy fate cheerfully and with firmness ; as if, for thy part, thou wouldst have saved the credit of the prince. But to myself and thy daughter, besides the grief of having our father snatched from us, it proves a further accession of sorrow, that we had not an opportunity of attending thee in thy sickness, of cherishing thy drooping spirits, and pleasing ourselves with seeing and embracing thee. We should greedily have received thy instructions and precepts, and engraved them for ever in our hearts. ^e This

^a This is our grief, this our unspeakable misfortune, that, by our long absence from thee, thou wast already lost to us four years before thy death. Thou wast, no doubt, abundantly supplied with whatever thy condition required, by thy loving wife, the best of mothers, who attended thee. Yet fewer tears were shed at thy funeral, and at thy last hour somewhat was wanting to satisfy thine eyes. If for the manes of good men any place be allotted; if, as philosophers hold, the spirits of great men perish not with their bodies; pleasing be thy repose! Recal us, thy family, from this our weakness in bewailing thee, to the contemplation of thy virtues, for which it were unjust to lament or to mourn. Let us rather adorn thy memory with immortal praises, and by following, as far as our weakness will allow, and ^b adopting thy excellencies. This is true honour, this the duty incumbent upon every near relation. Thus I would have thy daughter and wife to reverence the memory of a father and husband, and to be ever ruminating upon all his doings and sayings; and rather to adore the image of his mind, than that of his person. Not that I mean to condemn the use of statues in marble or brass; but as the persons of men are frail and perishing, so are likewise the images of them: the form of the mind is eternal, and cannot be represented or preserved by art or materials foreign to its nature, nor otherwise but by a conformity of manners. What we loved in *Agricola*, what we admired, remains, and will for ever remain, imprinted in the minds of men, and conveyed through a continual succession of ages by the voice of fame to the latest posterity. Many of the ancients lie buried in an obscure and inglorious oblivion; but *Agricola* shall live recommended to future ages, and his fame continue for ever². Thus far *Tacitus*, who wrote the life of *Agricola* in the reign of the emperor *Trajan*, without which, and a short passage in *Dion Cassius*, the memory and exploits of one of the greatest commanders and best citizens, *Rome* ever bred, would have been buried in oblivion. *Tacitus*, as he himself informs us, had, together with his wife, been four years absent from *Rome* when his father-in-law died; but where, or on what account, we are no-where told. Some writers, without the least foundation, suppose him to have been banished by *Domitian*; but *Lipsius* is of opinion, that he retired of his own accord from the city, not being able, as he was ^d a man of a virtuous and humane spirit, to behold the sufferings of the *Romans* under so cruel and bloody a tyrant³.

THE same year, *Bebius Massa*, an infamous accuser, was himself accused of ex- *Bebius Massa*,
tortion by the *Bithynians*, whom he had plundered and oppressed, in a most tyran- a noted accu-
nical manner, while he governed that province. The senate appointed *Pliny* the ser, arraigned,
younger and *Herennius Senecio*, originally a *Bithynian* and formerly quæstor in the same province, to plead the cause of the *Bithynians*; which they did so effectually, that *Bebius* was condemned by the senate, and the consuls were ordered to seize his estate and effects. But as they, taken up with more pressing affairs, put off from day to day the execution of the judgment, *Senecio*, fearing the delinquent might in the mean time privately convey away part of his goods, resolved to apply to them ^e for an immediate execution of the sentence, and begged *Pliny* to act therein in concert with him. *Pliny* at first declined engaging in an affair which he thought foreign to the profession of a pleader; but, *Senecio* continuing obstinate in his resolution, he at length consented to solicit jointly with him the consuls to seize without delay the effects of *Bebius*, that reparation might thence be made of the losses sustained by the *Bithynians*. Accordingly they went together to the consuls, where they found *Bebius*, who, upon hearing their suit, was so provoked against *Senecio*, that he summoned him before the emperor, as guilty of treason. The very name of treason struck the whole assembly with terror. But *Pliny*, without betraying the ^f least fear, addressing *Bebius*, told him, he was sorry he did not charge him with *The constancy*
the same crime, since by his not accusing him, as well as *Senecio*, of treason, men and firmness
might believe that he had not acted against him with equal zeal, and that he should of *Pliny*.
be grieved if he knew that any one entertained of him so bad an opinion. This firmness and intrepidity in *Pliny* was by all highly applauded; and *Nerva*, who was at that time in exile at *Tarentum*, congratulated him by letters upon his steady conduct. *Pliny* himself wrote to *Tacitus*, acquainting him with what had passed, and begging him to insert it in his history, which he looked upon as a work that would never die; but the letter of *Pliny* has outlived that part of *Tacitus*'s history^b. This year

² Idem ibid. c. 45, 46.³ LIPS. vit. Tacit.^b PLIN. 1. vii. epist. 33. & 1. iii. epist. 4.

- a *Certus*, he was named for the consulship, which he seems to have discharged four years after, that is, in the second year of *Nerva's* reign, when *Pliny* demanded leave of the senate to arraign him as a criminal, in order to clear his friend *Helvidius*, and make his innocence appear, at least after his death, since no one had been allowed to speak in his favour while living. The senate put a stop to all prosecutions of this nature, but yet degraded *Certus*, and deprived him of the consular dignity; whence he died a few days after in great agonies and terror, imagining, as he himself owned, that *Pliny* pursued him with a drawn sword. *Pliny* published the speech which he pronounced against him in the senate; but it has been long since lost¹.
- b *Herennius Senecio* was, as we have related above, accused of treason by *Bæbius Massa*, whom he had accused of extortion at the suit of the *Bithynians*. The charge alledged against him was, that he had written the life of *Helvidius Priscus*, at the request of *Fannia* his widow, and made use of the memoirs with which she had furnished him. Tho' *Senecio* had with all possible care avoided such expressions as might seem in the least to reflect on the emperor, yet, because he could not help commending a man whom the prince had condemned, *Domitian* caused him to be sentenced to death, and the sentence to be without delay put in execution. *Fannia* owned of her own accord, that she had persuaded *Senecio* to write the life of her husband, and supplied him with materials for it. For this crime she was, by a decree of the senate, confined to a desert island, whither she carried with her, as her only comfort, the history of her husband's actions, which had been the cause of her banishment, tho' it was declared capital to read or keep it. *Arria*, her mother, the widow of the famous *Pæ- tus Thrasea*, was likewise banished; but they were both called home in the beginning of the reign of *Nerva*^m. The emperor, as *Tacitus* informs usⁿ, did not content himself with condemning *Senecio* for celebrating the praises of *Helvidius Priscus*, and *Arulenus Rusticus*, of whom anon, for those of *Pætus Thrasea*; but ordered the magistrates to commit their books to the flames, imagining, that in the same fire he should abolish the voice and utterance of the *Roman* people, with the liberty of the senate, and all the ideas and memory of mankind. The third person, mentioned by *Tacitus* to have been sacrificed by *Domitian* this year, was *Lucius Junius Arulenus Rusticus*. He professed the philosophy of the *Stoics*, was tribune of the people when *Pætus Thrasea* was condemned by a decree of the senate in the reign of *Nero*, and as such would have interposed against it, had not *Thrasea* himself restrained him^o. He was prætor in the short reign of *Vitellius*, by whom he was sent to *Petilius Cerealis*, one of *Vespasian's* commanders, to mediate an accommodation. On which occasion he was wounded by the soldiery, who sternly rejected all terms of peace; and, notwithstanding the character of an ambassador, altogether sacred, would have been massacred, had it not been for the protection of a guard appointed by *Cerealis*^p. The crime laid to his charge by *Domitian* was, his having, in a book published by him, commended *Thrasea*, and likewise *Helvidius Priscus*, as men of honour and integrity. He was accused by one *Marcus Regulus*, who even published a book filled with most bitter invectives against him^q. *Pliny* seems to have entertained a mighty opinion of his accomplishments and integrity^r, as does likewise *Plutarch*, who tells us, that he was by *Domitian's* orders put to death for no crime of his own, but merely to remove from the emperor's sight one who, with his exemplary life, seemed to reproach him with his debaucheries. That writer adds, that while he himself was one day declaiming in public, a soldier, entering the assembly, presented to *Rusticus*, who was hearkening to him with great attention, a letter from the emperor. Hereupon he immediately interrupted his discourse; but *Rusticus*, putting the letter, without even opening it, into his bosom, desired him to pursue his speech, and would not open the letter till *Plutarch* had done^s. *Dion Cassius* writes, that *Domitian*, not long before he was killed, dreamt, that *Rusticus* was pursuing him with a drawn sword^t. *Junius Mauricus*, the brother of *Rusticus*, who is highly commended by *Pliny*^u, was banished, as was likewise *Pomponia Gracilla*, the wife of *Rusticus*; but they were both recalled by the emperor *Nerva*^w. At the same time was executed by the emperor's orders one *Hermogenes* of *Tarsus*, being

Fannia, the wife of Senecio, and her mother Arria banished.

Several illustrious persons banished.

¹ PLIN. l. ix. epist. 13. & l. vii. epist. 33. ^m PLIN. l. vii. epist. 19. & l. ix. epist. 13. DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 765. SUET. c. 10. ⁿ TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 2. ^o TACIT. annal. l. xvi. c. 26. ^p Idem, annal. iii. c. 80. ^q TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 2. SUET. c. 10. DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 765. PLIN. l. i. epist. 5. ^r PLIN. l. i. epist. 14. ^s PLUT. curios. p. 927. ^t DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 767. ^u PLIN. l. i. epist. 14. ^w PLIN. l. i. epist. 14. & l. v. epist. 13.

a cruelties, they bestowed upon him higher encomiums, than they had ever given either to *Vespasian* or *Titus*. During the sea-fight, a violent shower fell; but nevertheless the emperor continued till the fight was ended, often changing his cloaths; and would not suffer any of the spectators to retire; whence, as the shower lasted some hours, many were seized with distempers, and some even died. *Dion Cassius* describes at length an entertainment, to which the emperor invited the principal men among the senators and knights; an entertainment, says that writer, which more than any thing else displays his tyrannical temper, and how wantonly he abused his power. At the entrance of the palace, the guests were received with great ceremony, and conducted to a spacious hall hung round with black, and illuminated with a few melancholy lamps, which were only sufficient to discover the horror of the place, and the several coffins, upon which were written in capitals the names of the several senators and knights invited. Great was their fright and consternation at the sight of so dismal a scene; for the emperor had often publicly declared, that he could not think himself safe so long as one senator was left alive, and that amongst the knights there were few whom he did not look upon as his enemies. After they had long waited, expecting every moment their last doom, the doors were at length all on a sudden burst open, when a great number of naked persons, having their bodies all over dyed black, entered the hall, with drawn swords in one hand, and flaming torches in the other. The guests, at this dreadful appearance, giving themselves up for lost, already felt all the agonies of death; but those whom they looked upon as their executioners, having for some time danced round them, set at once open the doors, and acquainted them, that the emperor gave the company leave to withdraw. Thus did *Domitian* insult these two illustrious orders, shewing, says *Dion Cassius*, how little he feared them, and at the same time with how much reason they might dread his resentment, since it was in his power to cut them all off, without exposing himself to the least danger^p.

He terrifies the senators and chief knights by a cruel device.

THE next consuls were *Domitian*, the sixteenth time, and *Q. Volusius Saturninus*. This year, the emperor observing a vast plenty of wine and as great a scarcity of corn, concluded from thence, that the husbandmen neglected the tillage of the earth to attend the cultivating of their vines. To prevent therefore this inconvenience for the future, he published an edict, forbidding any more vines to be planted in *Italy*, and commanding half the vines in the provinces to be immediately rooted up. Hereupon the cities of *Asia* sent a solemn embassy to him, begging he would suspend the execution of the edict with respect to their lands, since their chief revenues accrued from wine, and the neighbouring provinces abounded with corn. At the head of this embassy was *Scopelianus*, professor of eloquence at *Smyrna*, who, insinuating himself with wonderful address into the emperor's favour, prevailed upon him, if *Philostratus* is to be credited^q, to repeal the edict, and allow all nations subject to *Rome* full liberty of planting and cultivating what vines they pleased. *Suetonius* tells us, that to this he was chiefly prompted by the general discontent, which his edict produced amongst persons of all ranks, both in the city and the provinces, where many lampoons were published, one among the rest, importing, that, in spite of all edicts, wine would not be wanting for the sacrificing of *Cæsar*^r. But after all, *Eutropius*^s and *Vopiscus*^t speak of this edict as continuing in full force in most provinces of the empire, till the reign of the emperor *Probus*, that is, for the space of almost two hundred years. From several medals it appears, that the city of *Chalcis* in *Syria* began its æra in the autumn of this year, the 92d after the birth of *Christ*, according to the common method of computing, and the eleventh of *Domitian's* reign; whence some learned chronologers conclude, that this small kingdom, formerly possessed by the brother, and afterwards by the son, of *Agrippa*, the last king of the *Jews*, was then by *Domitian* united to the empire^u. It was in all likelihood on this account, that the city of *Chalcis* took the name of *Flavia*, which we suppose to have happened after the death of *Aristobulus*, who reigned at *Chalcis* in the year 72. of the *Christian* æra^w.

His edict against planting of vines.

The small kingdom of Chalcis united to the empire.

THE following year, *Pompeius Collega* and *D. Priscus* were consuls. *Pliny* names the former among the consulars who were still living in the reign of *Trajan*^x. From an ancient inscription it appears, that both consuls resigned the fasces on the thirteenth

^a Suet. c. 4. Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 762, 763.

^p Dio, ibid. p. 769.

^q Philostr. ibid. c. 17.

^r Suet. c. 14.

^s Eutrop. p. 240.

^t Vopis. p. 245.

^u Noris. de epoch. Syro.

Macedonum.

^w Joseph. bell. Jud. c. 28.

^x Plin. l. ii. epist. 11.

being accused of speaking disrespectfully of the emperor, under borrowed names, in a history which he composed: all those, who were concerned in transcribing or selling it, were condemned to be crucified^a. The same year, and chiefly out of hatred to *Rusticus*, who, as we have hinted above, professed the philosophy of the *Stoics*, all philosophers were, by a decree of the senate, driven out of *Rome*, and every laudable science expelled *Italy*, that nothing which was worthy and honest, says *Tacitus*, might any-where be seen^y. *Epietetus*, the famous *Stoic*, was, in virtue of this decree, obliged to abandon the city^z. *Lucius Telestinus*, who had been consul in the reign of *Nero*, chose rather to retire from his native country, as a philosopher, than to maintain his dignity there by renouncing that profession^a. *Pliny* bestows mighty encomiums upon the philosopher *Artemidorus*, who, on this occasion, left *Rome*. He had contracted great debts, but for laudable purposes, says *Pliny*, who supplied him with money to discharge them, when his other friends, tho' possessed of great wealth, abandoned him in his distress. The philosopher would afterwards have reimbursed *Pliny*; but he generously presented him with the sum which was owing to him^b. *Pliny* went frequently to visit him in the place of his retirement; by which means he exposed himself to no small danger, his actions and conduct being the more narrowly observed, as he was at that time prætor. He was himself well apprised, that *Domitian* suspected him, as he had lived in great intimacy with *Senecio*, *Helvidius*, and *Rusticus*. And truly, had not *Domitian* been seasonably cut off, *Pliny* would have undergone the same doom which most of his friends had suffered: for, after the emperor's death, a memorial was found among his papers, presented to him against *Pliny* by the celebrated informer *Metius Carus*^c. Some philosophers, dreading the resentment of the emperor, renounced their profession, and increased the herd of informers. Some, abandoning *Italy*, fled to the most western coasts of *Gaul*; and others to the deserts of *Libya* and *Scythia*. *Dion Chrysostomus*, a celebrated sophist, took shelter in the country of the *Getæ*, where he earned a livelihood by tilling the ground, and carrying water, having always with him, to comfort him in his distress, a treatise of *Plato* and an oration of *Demosthenes*^d. In the height of his persecution, *Apollonius Tyaneus* came to *Rome*, if *Philostratus* is to be credited^e, and was there received with great marks of esteem and veneration by *Caspius Ælianus*, commander of the prætorian guards. He had not been long in the city, ere he contracted a strict friendship with *Nerva*, *Rufus*, and *Salvidienus Orfitus*, whom he solicited to conspire against *Domitian*, and to deliver the world from so bloody a tyrant. The author of his life tells us, that the conspiracy was actually formed; but that the conspirators putting off, for want of courage, the execution of it, the emperor, in the mean time, suspecting their design, accused them of treason before the senate: the charge was not proved; but nevertheless *Rufus* and *Orfitus* were confined to the islands, and *Nerva* to the city of *Tarentum*^f. *Orfitus* was soon after put to death^g in the place of his exile. Of *Rufus* we find no farther mention made by the writers of those times. As for *Nerva*, if he was banished, as *Philostratus* writes, he returned home the same, or the following, year; for he was at *Rome*, as is plain from *Dion Cassius*^h, when *Domitian* was murdered: nay, that writer takes no notice of the banishment of *Nerva*, which makes us suspect the truth of what *Philostratus* writes, who is often guilty of very considerable mistakes. *Sulpicia*, a *Roman* lady of great distinction, wrote a poem upon the expulsion of the philosophers, wherein she inveighs with great bitterness against *Domitian*, and even threatens him with death. She is highly commended by *Martial* for the purity of her manners and the elegance of her compositionⁱ; for she published several other pieces, but was not, as she seems to boast, the first *Roman* of her sex known to the muses^k.

The following year, *Domitian* entered upon his seventeenth and last consulship, having for his colleague *Flavius Clemens*, of whom we shall speak anon. This consulate of *Domitian* is the subject of one of the poet *Statius*'s poems^l. In the beginning of the year was discovered a dangerous conspiracy against the emperor; at the head of which was *Juvenius Celsus*, whom some writers take to be the celebrated civilian *Publius Jubenius Celsus*, who was prætor in the reign of *Trajan* and consul in

^a Suet. c. 10. ^y Tacit. vit. Agr. c. 2. ^z Gell. noct. Attic. l. xv. c. 11. ^a Philostrat. ibid. l. vii. c. 5. ^b Plin. l. iii. epist. 11. ^c Plin. l. vii. epist. 27. ^d Philos. ibid. l. vii. c. 2. ^e Idem ibid. l. vii. c. 4. ^f Idem ibid. c. 3, 4. ^g Suet. c. 10. ^h Dio, l. lxxvii. p. 767. ⁱ Mart. l. x. epig. 35. ^k Vide Voss. poet. Lat. c. 2, 3. ^l Stat. syl. l. iv. c. 1.

All philosophers driven out of Rome.

Pliny suspected by Domitian.

Apollonius Tyaneus comes to Rome

Encourages Nerva and others to conspire against the emperor.

The conspiracy of Juvenius Celsus.

a in that of *Adrian*, and is highly commended by *Pliny*^m. Be that as it will, *Celsus*, finding himself betrayed, begged and obtained a private audience of the emperor; in which throwing himself at his feet, and accosting him as a deity with the titles of *Lord* and of *God*, he protested, that as to himself, he was quite innocent of the crime laid to his charge; but would, provided he was allowed a short respite, discover all those who were concerned in the plot, and produce undeniable proofs of their guilt. Hereupon the emperor dismissed him untouched; but *Celsus*, putting off, under various pretences, from time to time, the promised discovery, escaped by the death of *Domitian*, which happened the following year, the danger that threatened himⁿ. *Dion Cassius* observes, that *Domitian* about this time caused the road to be paved leading from *Sinuessa* to *Puteoli*^o; and *Statius* speaks of another road by him repaired at a vast expence, that, as we conjecture from the poet's words, which led from *Rome* to *Baiæ*^p. This year, the fourteenth of *Domitian's* reign and 95th of the *Christian* æra, is remarkable for the cruel persecution, which was by the bloody tyrant raised against the *Christians*, of whom infinite numbers were put to death both at *Rome* and in the provinces, the emperor having dispatched letters and edicts into the most remote provinces of the empire, commanding all those who professed that religion to be treated as declared enemies to the state^q. This persecution is taken notice of by *Suetonius*, who tells us, that he obliged those who lived at *Rome* after the manner of the *Jews*, to pay the same taxes as if they were really *Jews*, and treated them with no less rigor and severity^r. That *Suetonius* meant the *Christians*, is evident; for all the pagan historians, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, constantly speak of them as resembling the *Jews* in their manners, tho' not originally of that nation. Among the many illustrious persons, who suffered for so good a cause, we may deservedly reckon the emperor's own relations; viz. *Flavius Clemens*, his cousin german and colleague in the consulship, and the two *Flavia Domitilla*, the one the wife, the other the niece, of *Flavius Clemens*. He was the son of *Flavius Sabinus*, the brother of *Vespasian*, who was killed by the soldiers of *Vitellius*, while he was governor of *Rome*, as we have related above. His eldest son, named likewise *Flavius Sabinus*, was consul with *Domitian* in the first year of his reign, and soon after, by the emperor's orders, put to death. *Flavius Clemens* married, in compliance with the emperor's desire, *Flavia Domitilla*, who was nearly related to *Domitian*, but not his sister, as *Philostratus* writes^s; *Domitilla*, his only sister, being dead before *Vespasian* was raised to the empire^t. *Flavia Domitilla* was, as appears pretty plain for *Dion Cassius*^u and *Quintilian*^v, the daughter of *Domitilla*, and the niece of *Domitian*. By her *Clemens* had two sons, to whom *Domitian*, as he had no issue of his own, resolved to leave the empire; and therefore changed their names, causing one of them to be called *Vespasian*, and the other *Domitian*. *Quintilian*^x tells us, that he was charged with the care of instructing and educating the two grandsons of the emperor's sister; which is a convincing proof, that *Flavia Domitilla*, the wife of *Clemens*, was daughter to *Domitilla* the emperor's sister; for these two youths were, without all doubt, the sons of *Clemens* by *Flavia Domitilla*^z. *Clemens* was this year consul; but had scarce resigned the fasces, when he was, upon a slight and groundless suspicion, says *Suetonius*^y, cut off by the emperor's orders. *Dion Cassius* tells us, that he was accused of impiety or atheism; a crime, says that writer, for which many others were at that time condemned, who had adopted the manners of the *Jews*^z. Thus the *Christians* are constantly described by the *Pagan* writers, as is evident from *Origen* and other *Christian* writers of the primitive times^a. As for the crime of impiety or atheism, this was one of the charges commonly brought against the *Christians*, on account of their refusing to pay any worship to the pretended deities of the gentiles^b. *Suetonius*, speaking of *Flavius Clemens*, says, he was no-ways to be feared, in respect of his sloth and inactivity; which was another charge, as *Tertullian* observes^c, brought against the *Christians*, on account of the retired life they led, and their despising the dignities, which by others were so ambitiously coveted. It is therefore, in our opinion, pretty plain, that the only crime alledged against *Flavius Clemens* was, his professing the *Christian* religion;

^m PLIN. l. vi. epist. 5.ⁿ DIO, ibid. p. 765.^o Idem, p. 766.^p STAT. syl. iv. c. 3.^q OROS. l. vii. c. 10. TERTULL. apol. c. 5. LACTAN. perf. c. 3. EUSEB. chron. c. 17. ^r SUET. c.12. ^s PHILOSTRAT. ibid. l. viii. c. 10.^t SUET. vit. Vesp. c. 3.^u DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 766.^v QUINTILIAN. l. iv. p. 105.^x DIO, ibid.^y SUET. c. 15.^z DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 760.^a ORIGEN. in Cels. l. i. p. 5.^b Vide JUST. apol. i. p. 56.^c TERTULL. apolog. c. 42.

religion; and consequently, that he ought to be ranked among those illustrious heroes, who have sealed their faith with their blood. A modern writer of great note supposes *St. Clement*, who at this time was bishop of *Rome*, to have been of the imperial family^d; but therein confounds him, as we conjecture, with *Clement* the consul, ascribing to the former what he must have read of the latter. *Flavia Domitilla*, wife to *Flavius Clemens*, was likewise arraigned of impiety; and, besides, refused to comply with the orders of the emperor, commanding her to marry another person a few days after the death of her husband^e. She was therefore banished to the island of *Pandataria*, in the bay of *Puteoli*, now known by the name of *Santa Maria*. *Eusebius* mentions another *Flavia Domitilla*, confined at the same time and for the same cause, to the island of *Pontia*, near that of *Pandataria*; and supposes her to have been the daughter of *Clemens's* sister^f. *Scaliger* takes this *Domitilla* to be the same with the wife of *Flavius Clemens*, not aware that *Eusebius* follows therein and quotes a *Roman* historian, by name *Brutius*, who flourished in those times, and whom some writers take to be *Præfens*, named also *Brutius*, to whom one of *Pliny's* letters is inscribed^g. To these two illustrious women *Tacitus* perhaps alluded, when he wrote, that *Domitian*, towards the latter end of his reign, drove into exile several ladies of the prime nobility^h. *St. Jerom* mentions *Domitilla* in particular, whom he honours with the title of *saint*, and tells us, that she suffered a long martyrdom in the island of *Pontia*, to which she was confined by *Domitian* for professing the *Christian* religion; As to *Clemens's* two sons, to whom *Domitian* designed, as we have observed above, to bequeath the empire, we find no farther mention made of them by the ancient historians; but we suppose, that if they were not put to death by *Domitian*, the excellent princes *Nerva* and *Trajan*, who were enemies to all bloodshed and slaughter, suffered them to live unmolested. *Gruter* proves from an ancient inscription, that *Clemens* had likewise a daughter, named *Flavia Domitilla*, who was married to one *T. Flavius Onesimus*^k; but no historian speaks either of her or her husband. *Trebellius Pollio*, in his history of the thirty tyrants, under the emperor *Gallienus*, mentions a celebrated commander, by name *Domitian*, descended from *Flavius Clemens* and the niece of the emperor *Domitian*^l; whence it is plain, that the children of *Clemens* had issue: During this persecution, *St. John* was confined to the island of *Patmos* in the *Archipelago*, where he wrote the *Apocalypse*; and a great many illustrious champions of the *Christian* faith, mentioned by the ecclesiastic writers, suffered for the same glorious cause death or banishment, with a constancy and firmness worthy of the religion which they professed. *Lactantius* will have this cruel persecution to have ended with *Domitian's* life, and not before; for then all his acts were annulled by the senate, and consequently the edicts which he had enacted against the *Christians*^m. But two of the most ancient ecclesiastic writers, viz. *Hegeſippus*, quoted by *Eusebius*ⁿ, and *Tertullian*^o, tell us in express terms, that *Domitian*, before his death, put a stop to the persecution which he had raised against the church, and recalled all those whom he had banished on the score of their religion. This same year, *Domitian* caused *Epaphroditus*, formerly freed-man and secretary to *Nero*, to be put to death for having aided that prince in dispatching himself, when he ought to have defended him. By this instance of severity he hoped to deter his own freed-men from any attempts upon his life; and this, as *Dion Cassius* observes, was the only motive which prompted him to exert such rigor against one whom he had admitted to his confidence, and honoured with the same employment which he had enjoyed under *Nero*^p. This is, as is commonly believed, the *Epaphroditus*, to whom *Josephus* inscribed, at least three years before, his *antiquities*; a plain proof, that he was then in great favour with the emperor.

THE next consuls were *Caius Fabius Valens* and *Caius Antistius Vetus*, of whom the former was ninety years old when he entered upon his consulship, and seems to have died before it expired^q. Many prodigies are said to have happened this year, at *Rome* and in the provinces. The city was for eight months together almost daily alarmed with dreadful claps of thunder, and flashes of lightning: the capitol, the temple

Flavia Domitilla banished.

Another heroine of the same name banished.

Many Christians put to death or banished.

The death of Domitian foretold by several prodigies.

^d PEARSON episc. Cestrien. annal. Paulin. p. 215. ^e PHILOSTRAT. ibid. l. viii. c. 10. ^f EUSEB. in chron. p. 205. ^g PLIN. l. vii. epist. 3. VOSS. hist. Lat. l. iii. p. 698. SCAL. in chron. p. 205. ^h TACIT. vit. Agr. c. 45. ⁱ HIER. epist. xxvii. c. 1. ^k GRUTER. p. 245. ^l TREB. POLL. hist. trig. tyr. c. 11. p. 191. edit. Paris. ^m LACT. perf. c. 3. ⁿ EUSEB. l. 3. c. 20. ^o TERT. apol. c. 5. ^p DIO, p. 766. PLIN. panegy. SUST. c. 14. ^q DIO, p. 766. ONUPH. p. 313. IDAT, in fast. &c.

- a temple of the *Flavian* family, and the emperor's own chamber were thunder-struck; the inscription upon one of the emperor's triumphal statues was beaten off, and, by the violence of the storm, carried into a neighbouring monument; the tree, which had been thrown down in *Vespasian's* time, as we have related above, and rose up again, fell down the second time; the oracle at *Præneste*, which had always returned favourable answers, and promised him good fortune and success at the beginning of each year, presaged nothing now but calamities and slaughter; *Domitian* himself dreamt, that *Minerva*, to whom, as his tutelar deity, he paid a particular worship, and whose feast he annually celebrated on the *Alban* mount, had withdrawn herself from the chapel which he had consecrated to her, telling him, that *Jupiter* had disarmed her, and that she could protect him no longer. But nothing terrified him so much as the answer of an astrologer, by name *Ascletarion*, and what ensued thereupon; for he being accused of having foretold the death of the emperor, and not denying the charge, *Domitian* asked him, Whether he knew what would be his own doom? The astrologer answered, He was to be, and that in a short time he should be, devoured by dogs. Hereupon the emperor, to convince the world of the falsehood of his art, ordered him to be immediately put to death, and his body to be burnt. The first part of the sentence was put in execution; but before the body was half consumed by the flames, it was blown down, together with the funeral pile, by a violent storm, and devoured, pursuant to the prediction, by the dogs^a. Another astrologer, by name *Larginus Proculus*, foretold publicly in *Germany*, that the eighteenth of *September* would prove the last day of *Domitian's* life. Hereupon he was apprehended, by the governor of the province and sent to the emperor, in whose presence he maintained the truth of his prediction, and was on that account condemned to be executed on the nineteenth of the aforesaid month; but *Domitian* being murdered the day before, as *Proculus* had foretold, he was not only dismissed unhurt, but presented by *Nerva* with a large sum, and ever after had in great esteem^r. No wonder, therefore, that *Domitian*, terrified with these predictions and prodigies, and moreover alarmed by his own guilty conscience, lived in continual disquiet: there was no accident so trivial, no person so contemptible, as not to dismay him, and put him upon sanguinary precautions. Of the eminent persons, either of the senatorial or equestrian order, he was under perpetual apprehensions, and making daily victims: their wealth and race, their poverty, names, and quality, frightened him; he feared friends and enemies; those who advised him in council, those who diverted him at his leisure hours, his most intimate friends and confidants, were all martyrs to his jealousy and fury: he dreaded all men and every thing; several of his freed-men he put to death, deposed the commander of the prætorian guards, discharged great numbers of officers, &c. But the more he made others suffer, the faster he multiplied his own torments. At length he would not suffer any criminal, however loaded with chains, to plead before him, till he had first secured their chains in his hands^s. A young child, with whom he used to divert himself, having one day, while the emperor was asleep, taken a paper from under his head to play with it, the empress happening to meet him, desired to see it; when, to her great surprise, she found it contained the names of several illustrious persons destined to slaughter, and her own name at the head of them, with those of *Norbanus*, of *Petronius Secundus*, captains of the prætorian guards, and of *Parthenius*, the emperor's chamberlain. To these *Domitia* immediately communicated the whole, and by them a resolution was, without further deliberation, taken to dispatch the tyrant, before he had time to put his bloody design in execution^t. Of this *Suetonius* takes no notice; but nevertheless tells us, that *Domitian* perished by a conspiracy of his friends and freed-men, not without the privy of his wife^u. The death of *Clemens* hastened, according to the same writer, his own ruin^v, either because the cruelty he exercised towards those of his own family occasioned a general dread and despair, or because it provoked *Stephanus*, who was freed-man and procurator to *Domitilla*, the wife of *Clemens*, and besides was at that time accused of having embezzled part of her effects^x. Be that as it will, *Stephanus* not only joined the conspirators; but, as he was a man of great strength, took upon him to dispatch the tyrant^y. *Domitian* had, if *Suetonius* is to be credited, long before an apprehension, not only of the year and day, but of the hour and manner of his death

He lives in continual agonies and apprehensions,

A conspiracy formed against him.

^a Suet. c. 5. Dio, p. 767. Chron. Alexand. p. 599. ^r Dio, ibid. Suet. c. 16. ^s Dio, p. 766. ^t Idem ibid. ^u Suet. c. 14. ^v Idem, c. 15. ^x Philost. ibid. l. vii. c. 10. ^y Dio, ibid. Suet. c. 17.

death, having been forewarned of what in the end befel him, when he was but a child. ^a
 One night his father *Vespasian*, who gave great credit to the predictions of astrologers, and retained one of them, by name *Seleucus*, constantly about him; observing that *Domitian* at supper abstained from mushrooms, derided him as one ignorant of his own fate, since he seemed to be under greater apprehension of poison, than of the sword. This *Domitian* ever after remembered, and was thence strangely affected by ^b
His jealousy. the bare sight of a drawn sword or any other weapon. From this diffidence and fear it was, that, however ambitious, he refused the new and extraordinary honour that was decreed for him, namely, that as often as he was consul, a certain number of *Roman* knights, chosen by lot, should walk before him amongst his lictors in their robes, with lances in their hands. When the time which he chiefly dreaded and suspected drew near, his jealousy increased to such a degree, that he caused the gallery, in which he usually walked, to be set round with a certain stone called *phengites*, by which images were reflected as in a looking-glass; so that he could discover what ^c
He seems to have some knowledge of his death. was done behind him. The day before he was murdered, he ordered some choice fruit, which were presented to him, to be reserved against the next day, adding, *If it be my fortune to use them*: then turning to those about him, *To morrow*, said he, *the moon will appear bloody in Aquarius, and something will happen which will be much talked of.* About midnight he was so terrified, that he leaped out of his bed. However, he went the next morning to the forum to administer justice, and returned to the palace an hour before mid-day, the time which he chiefly dreaded. Having therefore asked, what time of the day it was, one of the conspirators, on purpose to deceive him, told him, it was noon. Whereupon overjoyed, as if he had happily escaped all danger, he thought of nothing but abandoning himself to mirth and jollity. As he was going to bathe, according to the *Roman* fashion, before dinner, *Parthenius*, his chief chamberlain, accosting him, told him, he had something of great importance to impart to him, and such as could not be deferred. Hereupon the emperor, ordering all his attendants to withdraw, retired to his chamber, where *Parthenius* introduced *Stephanus* to him, who, the better to disguise his design, had appeared for some days with his left arm wrapt up and in a sling, as if he had received some hurt. He presented to *Domitian* a memorial, wherein he pretended to discover a dangerous conspiracy formed by his cousin *Flavius Clemens*, whom he averred to be ^d
He is wounded by Stephanus. still alive, and by several others, whose names were all set down, with the places of their abode. While the emperor was reading the memorial with great attention, *Stephanus* drawing suddenly a dagger, which he kept concealed, struck it into his belly. The emperor, finding himself wounded, called to a boy, who happened to be in the room, to reach him a dagger which lay under his pillow, and to run for assistance; but under his pillow was found only a scabbard, and the doors were all locked and well secured. *Domitian*, notwithstanding his wound, struggled some time with *Stephanus*, and even threw him with great violence to the ground, striving to wrest the dagger out of his hand, and with his fingers, tho' all cut and mangled, to thrust out his eyes. At length *Parthenius*, who had withdrawn when *Stephanus* came in, fearing some of the guards might, in the mean time, hearing the noise, come to his relief, opened the door of the chamber; and falling upon the emperor with *Claudianus*, *Maximus*, *Satureius*, and a celebrated gladiator, dispatched him with many wounds. ^e
And dispatched by him, and the other conspirators. Many, who were not privy to the conspiracy, alarmed at the noise, hastened to the emperor's apartment; and, finding him wallowing in his blood, killed the brave *Stephanus*. The other conspirators made their escape as soon as the murder was perpetrated. Thus died *Domitian*, notwithstanding all his precautions and his pretended divinity, after having lived forty-four years, ten months, and twenty-six days, and reigned fifteen years and five days. For his death the common people shewed neither ^f
He is regretted by the troops. grief nor joy; but the soldiers, whose pay he had increased, and with whom he often shared his rapines, bewailed him more than they had done either *Vespasian* or *Titus*; and would have raised great disturbances, had not their officers, as most of them were concerned in the conspiracy, restrained them. The troops quartered in the country of the *Getæ*, were ready to revolt when they understood he had been assassinated; but the philosopher *Dion Chrysostomus*, who had retired to that province, as we have related above, checked their fury, by a speech which he made to the mutinous legion upon the guilt of tyrants, and punishments due to such as abuse their power,

² Suet. c. 14.³ Idem, c. 17. Dio, p. 676.

Philost. in vit. Apoll. Ty. p. 485.

a power, to the oppression of the people committed to their care^b. But, on the contrary, the senate could not disguise their joy: they assembled in haste, and after having, in the most opprobrious manner imaginable, reviled his memory, they commanded ladders to be immediately brought, in order to pull down, and tear to pieces all his images. An infinite number of statues of gold and silver, erected to him in the different quarters of the city, were by their orders broken and melted down; his triumphal arches were overturned, and his name declared infamous; nay, they enacted a decree, commanding all inscriptions, in which he was mentioned, to be razed, his name to be struck out of the consular tables, his body to be thrown into the *Tiber*, and his memory to be abolished for ever^c. Several ancient inscriptions are still to be seen, in which the name of *Domitian* is razed^d. All his acts were annulled, and those whom he had banished recalled. A woman, by name *Phyllis*, who had been charged with the care of his education, while he was yet an infant, caused his body to be privately conveyed upon a bier, as that of a person of the meanest condition, to a country-house she had at a small distance from the city; where she burnt it, and carrying the ashes, without being observed, to the temple which he had built for the *Flavian* family, mixed them with those of *Julia* the daughter of *Titus*, whom she had likewise brought up. *Domitian* was the last emperor of the *Flavian* family, and likewise the last of those princes, who are commonly styled the twelve *Cæsars*.

c As the celebrated philosopher *Apollonius Tyaneus* acted a chief part in the late revolutions of the *Roman* empire, and made at this time a great figure in the world, a succinct account of his life and actions cannot be looked upon as foreign to the present subject, nor be ill received by our readers. Of the other writers who flourished under *Domitian*, we shall speak in our notes (F). *Apollonius* was born three or four years before

The joy of the senate.

His statues broken, and his acts annulled.

Some account of the celebrated philosopher Apollonius Tyaneus.

^b Suet. c. 22. Philost. ibid. p. 492. I. v. c. 12. Lactan. perfec. c. 3.

^c Suet. ibid. Dio, l. lxxviii. p. 769. MacroB. Saturn. l. v. c. 12. Lactan. perfec. c. 3. ^d Goltz. p. 234.

(F) These were *Quintilian*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Martial*, *Statius*, *Juvenal*, *Silius*, &c. *Marcus Fabius Quintilianus* was, according to St. *Jerom* and *Ausonius*, a native of *Calagorina*, now *Calaborra*, in *Old Castile*. What profession his father followed, we find no-where recorded; for all we know of him is, that he wrote some declamations, which are quoted by his son (15). Our *Quintilian* studied rhetoric under *Domitius Afer*, who was stricken in years when *Quintilian* was very young (16), and died, as is plain from *Tacitus* (17), in the fifth year of *Nero's* reign. Hence it is manifest, that *Quintilian* did not come first to *Rome* with the emperor *Galba*, as St. *Jerom* supposes (18); neither can we conclude, as some have done (19), from his having studied at *Rome* while he was very young, that he was born there. He pleaded several causes at *Rome* before queen *Berenice* (20), and consequently under *Vespasian*; for in his reign *Berenice* came to *Rome*, and was by *Titus* sent back to her own country, in the very beginning of his reign. *Vespasian* having settled a salary upon the professors of eloquence, to be paid yearly out of the exchequer, *Quintilian* was the first who opened a free school at *Rome*. He discharged that important office with great reputation, and to the satisfaction of all, for the space of twenty years; during which time he acquired great wealth, what by his salary, what by the presents made him by the parents of the children whom he instructed (21). Both *Juvenal* and *Martial* speak of him as an able orator; and *Pliny* the younger, who was one of his disciples, seems to have entertained a high opinion of him. After he had taught publicly for twenty years, he resigned his charge, and writ a book about the causes of the decay of eloquence (22). Whether this be the dialogue which is commonly

ascribed to *Tacitus*, we will not take upon us to determine, there being, as to this particular, great disagreement amongst authors. When *Quintilian* had finished this treatise, he was prevailed upon by his friends to undertake a more laborious work, viz. his twelve books of rhetoric, which will be ever admired by all persons of taste and judgment. This performance cost him two years labour, and it was much against his will that he published it before he had kept it by him for some time, in order to examine it as the work of another. It is inscribed to one *Marcellus Victorius*, and filled with commendations of *Domitian*, altogether unworthy of a man of *Quintilian's* character (23). While he was employed in composing this work, *Domitian* charged him with the education of his sister's grandsons, as we related above (24). He was afterwards honoured with the consular ornaments, at the recommendation of *Flavius Clemens*, then in great favour with the emperor (25). *Ausonius* seems to insinuate, that, after having acquired considerable wealth at *Rome*, he was, by what misfortune we know not, reduced to earn a livelihood by teaching rhetoric at *Besançon* and *Lions*. Perhaps upon the death of *Clemens*, who was his chief patron, he was banished *Rome* (26). Whether it was to him, or to another of the same name, that *Pliny* the younger presented, in a most genteel and obliging manner, a considerable sum, on occasion of the marriage of his daughter with *Nonius Celer*, has by some writers been questioned (27). *Sidonius Apollinaris* bestows high encomiums upon *Quintilian*, and equals him to the most elegant writers of antiquity (28). As for the declamations which pass under the name of *Quintilian*, and are frequently mentioned by the ancients, it is evident, they were not written by him, but either

(15) Quint. l. ix. c. 3. (16) Idem, l. v. c. 7. (17) Tacit. annal. xiv. c. 19. (18) Hier. chron. (19) Vide P. Pagi, p. 432. (20) Quint. l. iv. c. 1. (21) Martial. l. ii. epig. 90. Auson. de Mos. p. 268. Sidon. car. ix. ver. 318. (22) Quint. præfat. & l. vi. p. 177. (23) Idem, l. iv. præfat. (24) Idem ibid. (25) Auson. conf. p. 387. (26) Idem ibid. (27) Plin. l. vi. epist. 32. P. Pagi, p. 247. (28) Sid. Apollin. l. v. epist. 10. & l. ii. car. ver. 190. & l. ix. ver. 318.

before the common christian æra ; for he is said to have lived a hundred years, and died soon after the accession of *Nerva* to the empire, which happened in the ninety-sixth

ther by his father, or, as a modern author conjectures (28), by his grandfather, since *Seneca* the elder, the father of *Seneca* the philosopher, who flourished in the reign of *Augustus*, speaks of the author of these declamations as a person more ancient than himself (29). This is the opinion of *M. Pitheu* concerning the declamations ascribed to our *Quintilian*, which he published in 1580. and inscribed to the celebrated *Thuanus*. Besides these, there are nineteen declamations more, commonly thought to have been written by *Quintilian* ; but by *Vossius* ascribed to *Posthumus* the younger, who, as we shall relate in the sequel of this history, assumed the name of *Cæsar*, and that of *Augustus* in *Gaul*, about the year 260 (30).

C. Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus was a native of *Padua*, as is evident from *Martial* (31), and not of *Setia* in *Campania*, as some have conjectured from the name of *Setinus*. He wrote an epic poem on the voyage of the *Argonauts*, divided into eight books, which he began in the reign of *Vespasian*, to whom it is inscribed, and continued under *Domitian* ; for he was, according to *Vossius*, prevented by death from putting the last hand to it (32). He died while *Quintilian* was writing his books of rhetoric, that is, in the latter end of *Domitian's* reign. *Quintilian* (33) and *Martial* (34) commend his performance ; but the most able critics amongst the modern writers speak of it with the utmost contempt, discover in it a great many material faults, and few, if any, beauties (35).

The poet *M. Valerius Martialis*, so famous for his epigrams, was a native of *Bilbilis*, (36), which stood at a small distance from the present city of *Calataiud* in the kingdom of *Arragon* (37). He was born in the reign of *Claudius*, came to *Rome* in that of *Nero*, being then twenty years old, and lived there thirty years (38), favoured by the emperors, especially by *Domitian*, whom on all occasions he flatters in a most shameful manner. Upon that prince's death he left the city, and retired to his own country ; where after three years, which he passed without writing, he was prevailed upon by *Terentius Priscus* to compose his twelfth book, in which he speaks of the emperors *Nerva* and *Trajan* (39). *Pliny*, in whose commendation he had written an epigram, had a particular kindness and esteem for him ; whence he presented him, upon his departure from *Rome*, with a sum of money to defray the expences of his journey (40). As to his writings, the emperor *Lucius Verus* used to call him his *Virgil* (41) ; but few, either before or since that prince's time, seem to have entertained such a mighty opinion of his compositions. *Scaliger* approves of what he himself wrote of his epigrams viz. that some of them were good, some indifferent, and some bad. Most critics have found fault with his thoughts, his style, and, above all, with his puns, which are often very low, and with his pretended witticisms (42). Besides, some of his epigrams are, for their lewdness, infamous, perhaps beyond any thing written in the *Latin* tongue. His epigrams are comprised in fourteen books ; besides which, that *de spectaculis* is commonly ascribed to him, tho' *Vossius* takes it to be a collection of verses

written partly by *Martial*, and partly by other poets of that time, upon the shews which *Titus* exhibited in the year eighty of the christian æra (43). *Martial* died, as we conjecture from *Pliny's* letters, about the end of the first century. He is by *Lampridius* (44) surnamed *Cocus*, perhaps because his father, or he himself in his youth, followed that mean profession.

Statius flourished at the same time ; but is never mentioned by *Martial*, which some ascribe to jealousy, *Statius* being highly esteemed by *Domitian*, on account of his making, with extraordinary ease, extemporary verses upon any subject whatever ; which *Martial* durst not attempt. He wrote two epic poems, viz. the *Thebais*, comprised in twelve books, and the *Achilleis*, which consists only of two, the poet being prevented by death from accomplishing that work (45). They are both inscribed to *Domitian*. Besides these two poems, he wrote several other pieces upon various occasions, which have likewise reached us, under the title of *Sylvæ*, and are comprehended in five books. His compositions were mightily esteemed at *Rome* in his own time, and are still admired by the young poets ; nay, *Julius Scaliger* is of opinion, that of all the ancient poets he comes nearest to the inimitable *Virgil*. But better judges look upon *Statius* rather as a bad historian than a good poet, and despise his bombast style, and odd expressions. His *Sylvæ*, which were for the most part written off-hand, and without premeditation, are by most critics more esteemed than his epic poems, there being in them some very good thoughts, mixed with such as are quite trivial and common (46). Some writers have confounded *P. Statius Papinius*, who was a native of *Naples*, with *Statius Surculus*, or rather *Ufulus*, who was born in *Toulouse*, and, in the reign of *Nero*, taught rhetoric in *Gaul* (47). *Statius* acquired great fame by his *Thebais*, but no wealth ; whence he was obliged to write pieces for the theatre, and support himself by that means (48). One *Placidus Laetantius*, who flourished in the sixth century, wrote a learned comment upon *Statius*, which has not reached our times (49).

Decius Junius Juvenalis was contemporary with *Statius* and *Martial*, and continued to write under *Nerva* and *Trajan* ; for he speaks of the banishment of *Marius Priscus*, who was condemned in the third year of *Trajan's* reign, and one hundredth of the christian æra (50). He was born at *Aquinum*, whence he came to *Rome* while he was yet very young, and there gained great credit by his satires, which were read by many *Romans*, who perused no other book (51). It were much to be wished, that in censuring the manners of others, he had not shewed himself quite destitute of modesty, nor inveighed against the abuses which prevailed in his time, in a manner rather calculated to teach his readers to be vicious, than to inspire them with aversion to vice. From his life, written many ages since, and quoted by *Sidonius Apollonaris* (52), it appears, that a player, in great favour at court, offended at some verses of his seventh satire, had interest enough with the emperor to get him removed from *Rome* and sent into *Egypt*,

(28) *M. Pitheu*, in præfat. ad *Thuan.* (29) *Sen. declam. l. x. p. 105.* (30) *Voss. rhet. c. 15.*
 (31) *Martial. l. i. epigr. 62, 77, 87.* (32) *Voss. poet. Lat. p. 46.* (33) *Quint. l. 10. c. 1.* (34) *Mart. ibid.* (35) *Vide Bail. poet. c. 1163. p. 396.* (36) *Mart. l. xii. epig. 18.* (37) *Baudr. & Bail. poet. p. 412.* (38) *Voss. ibid. p. 46.* (39) *Mart. l. xii. præf. epig. 18, 4, 6, 8. & l. x. epig. 34.*
 (40) *Plin. l. iii. epist. 21.* (41) *Lamprid. vit. ver. p. 15.* (42) *Vide Bail. ibid.* (43) *Voss. poet. Lat. c. 3.* (44) *Lamp. in vit. Alex. p. 126.* (45) *Bail. ibid. p. 425.* (46) *Idem ibid. p. 426.* (47) *Voss. poet. Lat. p. 45.* (48) *Juv. sat. vii. ver. 83.* (49) *Voss. ibid.* (50) *Juv. sat. iv.* (51) *Ammian. l. xxviii. p. 374.* (52) *Sid. Apoll. carm. ix. ver. 274.*

- a sixth year of the christian æra. The surname of *Tyaneus* he borrowed from the city of *Tyana* in *Cappadocia*, the place of his nativity. His birth was foretold and accompanied, if the author of his life is to be credited^e, by many prodigies. When he was but fourteen years old, he applied himself to the study of the *Pythagoric* philosophy, *He applies himself to the study of the Pythagoric philosophy.* first at *Tarsus*, the capital of *Cilicia*, and afterwards at *Ægæ*, another city of the same province, under the direction of one *Euxenes*, whose manners did not answer his profession. But *Apollonius* following his precepts, without regarding his manners, retired at the age of sixteen to a house in the country, led there a life of great austerity, abstaining, pursuant to the maxims of his sect, from all manner of flesh, suffering his hair to grow, going bare-foot, and clad only in linen, that he might use nothing proceeding from any living creature. From his country-house he removed, after some time, to the temple of *Æsculapius* in the city of *Ægæ*, where he soon became known, great numbers of votaries flocking daily to the temple of that pretended deity, for the preservation or recovery of their health. There *Apollonius* began to set up for a censor and reformer of manners, having already, it seems, a mighty opinion of his own virtue^f. His father dying about the time that *Archelaus*, king of *Cappadocia*, was accused of having betrayed the *Romans*, that is, about the seventeenth year of the christian æra, he took possession of his inheritance; but reserved a small share of it for himself; the greatest part of it he yielded to his brother, who led a vicious and dissolute life, from which he was by this means retrieved; the rest, save a very small portion, he divided amongst his necessitous relations. Being thus disengaged from every thing that could divert him from the study of philosophy and the practice of virtue, he passed five years in silence, agreeable to the custom of the *Pythagorics*; wherein he found, as he himself owned, great difficulty. During that time, he appeased, says the author of his life, several tumults and seditions in *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia*, especially at *Aspenda*, one of the chief cities in the latter province, where
- b
- c

^e PHILOST. vit. Apoll. Ty. l. i. c. 3.^f Idem, c. 6—9.

Egypt, to command a legion quartered in the utmost bounds of that province; where he died soon after of grief, being fourscore when he was obliged to undertake that journey. Some writers conjecture this player to have been one *Pylades*, who was highly favoured by *Trajan*. *Quintilian* in all likelihood alluded to *Juvenal*, when he wrote, that, in his time lived some poets, authors of satires, who would one day be ranked amongst the best writers (53). *Salmasius* is of opinion, that the ancient scholiast of *Juvenal* was contemporary with *Spartianus*, who flourished under *Dioclesian* and *Constantine the Great* (54). *Julius Scaliger* and some other critics prefer *Juvenal* to *Horace*; but now-a-days few, if any, men of taste acquiesce to their judgment, thinking they sufficiently honour *Juvenal*, by placing him amongst the *Latin* satirists next to *Horace*, but next at a great distance.

Caius Silius Italicus wrote a poem, highly commended by *Martial* (55), on the second *Punic* war. Before he applied himself to the study of poetry, he had pleaded many years at the bar, and had even been consul; which office he discharged the year that *Nero* was killed. He is not by our modern critics much esteemed as a poet; but greatly commended for the purity of his style, wherein he is thought to excel all the writers of his time (56). He adheres with great exactness to truth, and relates some events, which we read no-where else (57). He died in the second year of the reign of *Trajan*, by abstaining from all food, being no longer able to bear the pain occasioned by an impostume, which the physicians could not cure (58). He died the last of all those who had been consuls under *Nero*, and was himself the last consul under that prince (59).

From what he says of *Domitian* (60) it is plain, that he wrote after the war with the *Dacians*. Most writers have supposed him to be a native of *Italica*, and thence called *Italicus*; but *Italicus* was, as appears from the letters of *Pliny* and the consular tables, not an epithet, but his name; and besides, had he been born in *Italica*, he would have thence been called *Italicanus*, or *Italicensis* (61).

Vossius is of opinion, that *Terentianus*, who, in *Martial's* time, governed *Syene* in *Egypt* (62), is the same person with *Terentianus Maurus*, who wrote a poem on the measure of verses, which has reached our times, and is greatly esteemed by all persons of taste; but others ascribe that excellent performance to *Posthumius Terentianus*, to whom *Longinus*, about the year 270, inscribed his book on the sublime. Several other poets are mentioned by *Martial* as flourishing at this time, namely, *Curtius Montanus*, *Turnus*, and *Scæva Memor*, who were brothers; *Arun-tius Stella*, *Codrus* or *Cordus*, *Paccius*, *Faustus*, *Rubrenus Lappa*, *M. Unicus*, *Ligurinus*, *Theodorus*, *Canius*, *Licinianus*, *Voconius Victor*, and *Passienus Paulus* (63). *Turnus* acquired, it seems, great reputation by his satires, and was, tho' of a mean descent, very powerful at court under the emperors *Titus* and *Domitian* (64). *Scaliger* ascribes to *Scæva Memor*, upon what grounds he has not thought fit to impart to us, the tragedy intitled *Octavia*, which is commonly believed to have been written by *Seneca* (65). *Suidas* mentions one *Epaphroditus*, author of several books upon the grammar; which have been long since lost. He was a native of *Bæotia*, had been slave to *Modestus* governor of *Egypt*; but afterwards became famous at *Rome* in the reign of *Nero*, and died in that of *Nerva*, in the seventy-fifth year of his age (66).

(53) *Quint. l. x. c. 1.* (54) *Salmas. in Spartian. p. 162.* (55) *Mart. l. iv. epig. 14.* (56) *Vide Bail. poet. p. 392.* (57) *Voss. bist. Lat. l. i. c. 29.* (58) *Plin. l. iii. epist. 7.* (59) *Idem ibid.* (60) *Silius Ital. l. iii. p. 51.* (61) *Vide Voss. poet. Lat. p. 42. & Bail. poet. p. 388.* (62) *Martial. l. i. epig. 87. & Voss. poet. Lat. p. 47.* (63) *Vide Voss. ibid.* (64) *Juv. sat. i. p. 4.* (65) *Voss. ibid. p. 48.* (66) *Suid. p. 966.*

where the populace rose, and were ready to burn the chief magistrate alive, for not obliging some of the wealthy inhabitants to produce their corn, during a famine, and sell it at a reasonable price. He went afterwards to *Antioch*, to *Ephesus*, and to several cities, where he took upon him to revive the worship of some deities or idols, which now began to be neglected. He practised every-where secret mysteries, to which those alone were admitted, who had observed silence for the space of four years. He took upon him the character of legislator, pretending to require nothing of others, but what he had performed himself: he even boasted a thorough knowledge of all languages, without ever having learnt them; and had the impudence to give out, that the most secret recesses of mens hearts and their most private thoughts lay open to him^s. However, he had yet but seven disciples, and these too abandoned him, as soon as he declared his intention of travelling as far as *India*, to visit the philosophers there, known by the name of *Bramans*, or *Bracmanes*; so that he left *Antioch*, attended only by two domestics; but at *Niniveh* was joined by *Damis*, a native of that place, who, of all the disciples he ever had, proved the most addicted to him; for he observed with great attention, and carefully registered, not only his most minute actions, but even his words. These memoirs of *Damis* falling afterwards into the hands of *Julia Augusta*, the wife of the emperor *Severus*, she imparted them to *Philostratus*, who chiefly copied from them what he wrote of his pretended hero. *Apollonius*, on his journey from *Niniveh* to *Babylon*, learned, as he passed through *Mesopotamia*, what to his time had been a great secret, namely, that of understanding the answers of oracles delivered by birds. Thus this wise philosopher adopted the follies peculiar to each country through which he passed. Upon his arrival at *Babylon*, he was received by the mages of the place, with whom he often conferred in private. *Philostratus* describes *Babylon* as a city above seventy miles in compass, with walls of an extraordinary height and breadth, as if it had been no less magnificent and beautiful in the time of *Apollonius*, than formerly in that of *Nebuchadonezzar*; whereas it is plain from *Pliny*, who was contemporary with *Apollonius*, that *Babylon* then lay in ruins, and scarce any building remained, except the temple of *Belus*^b. *Trajan*, who, not many years after, was prompted by a commendable curiosity to visit so celebrated a place, found it quite buried in its ruinsⁱ; and *Pausanias*, who wrote in the reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, tells us, that *Babylon*, the greatest city the sun ever saw, had in his time nothing left but its walls. These remained long after, the space within being made a park by the *Parthian* kings for the keeping of wild beasts, and the diversion of hunting. It is therefore plain, that *Philostratus* was no less mistaken in his description of *Babylon*, than he is in supposing, that the kings of *Parthia*, in the time of *Apollonius*, resided there, it being plain from *Strabo*, that they then passed the winter at *Ctesiphon* near *Seleucia*, and the summer at *Ecbatana*^k. He tells us, that the king's name who then reigned was *Vardanes*, and that, two years and two months before, he had recovered his kingdom, which had been unjustly seized by his brother *Gotarzes*, adding, that *Apollonius* passed twenty months at the court, and found, about six months after, the same prince still on the throne^l; so that according to *Philostratus*, *Vardanes* must have reigned four years and upwards: whereas it is plain from *Tacitus*^m, that *Vardanes* began to rule over the *Parthians* in the seventh year of *Claudius*'s reign, and was dead some time before the end of the ninth. *Apollonius* left *Babylon*, and, taking leave of the king, set out for *India*; where he was received with great marks of esteem by a king named *Phraortes*, of whom *Philostratus* relates wonders; and by him introduced to *Hiarchus*, the chief of the *Bramans*, who at that time was but eighteen years old. If what *Philostratus* relates of these philosophers be true, they were far from being gods, tho' they impiously passed themselves for such upon the undiscerning multitudeⁿ. *Apollonius* passed four months with them, held frequent conferences with the chief men amongst them, to which not even *Damis* was admitted, and ever after entertained a mighty opinion of their sect. After he had learnt all the mysteries of their profession, he left *India*; and returning by sea, landed at the mouth of the *Euphrates*, or rather the *Tigris*; went from thence by land to *Babylon*, then to *Niniveh*, and from *Niniveh* to *Antioch*. He was not, it seems, much admired at *Antioch*; for, after a short stay in that city, he removed to *Ionia*, and settled in that country, residing sometimes at *Ephesus*, and sometimes at *Smyrna*^o. He is said to have

^s Idem, c. 10—25.^b PLIN. l. vi. c. 26.ⁱ DIO, l. lxxviii. p. 785.^k STRABO, l.

xvi. p. 743.

^l PHILOST. ibid. l. i. c. 15, 19.^m TACIT. ANNAL. xi. c. 8, 9, 10.ⁿ PHILOST.

l. iii. c. 6, & 9.

^o Idem, c. 15, 16.

- a have undertaken with incredible success the reformation of manners, first at *Ephesus*, Returns to Asia, and there undertakes the reformation of manners. and afterwards in the other cities of *Ionia*, reclaiming, what by his precepts, what by his exemplary life, such as were intirely abandoned to all manner of lewdness and iniquity^p. From *Ionia* he went to *Ilium*, where he imbarqued for *Lesbos*, and from thence sailed to *Athens*, in which city he reformed innumerable abuses, and utterly abolished the inhuman spectacles of gladiators. He travelled all over *Greece*, reviving every-where the ancient superstition of the *Greeks*, and establishing the idolatrous worship of the gods. The *Eleans* invited him to the sports, which were to be celebrated on occasion of the CXth olympiad, seven years before *Nero* undertook the cutting of the isthmus, and consequently in the year of the christian æra 61. He complied with their invitation, and, by his warm exhortations, inspired many, both *Greeks* and foreigners, with the love of virtue and abhorrence of vice. At *Corinth* he was kindly received, and ever after admired by *Demetrius*, the most celebrated *Cynic* of those days, and his disciple *Menippus*. At *Lacedæmon*, where he passed great part of the winter, he is said to have persuaded the inhabitants to resume their ancient manner of living^q. But of this great and remarkable reformation, no notice is taken by any other writer. In the beginning of the spring, he sailed from *Lacedæmon* to *Crete*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he stayed, performing wonderful things, related at length by the author of his life, till he was obliged to quit the city, in virtue of an edict enacted by *Nero*, driving all philosophers out of *Rome*. He then retired to *Cadiz*, where, in a private conference with *Galba*, he encouraged him to revolt from *Nero*, He encourages Galba to revolt from Nero. and assume the sovereignty. From *Cadiz* he crossed over to *Africa*, from *Africa* to *Hetruria*, and thence to *Sicily*, where he received the tidings of *Nero's* death. However, he would not return to *Rome*, but sailed to *Achaia* or *Greece*, where he remained the winter, and early in the spring passed over into *Egypt*, where he was followed by vast crouds, the superstitious *Egyptians* flocking from all quarters to hear and see him. *Philostratus* would fain persuade us, that *Vespasian* went into *Egypt* for the same purpose; but of the true motive of his journey, we have spoken elsewhere. However, *Vespasian*, who was not exempt, as *Tacitus* observes, from such superstition, while he was in *Egypt*, went to visit *Apollonius*, and seemed to entertain a mighty opinion of him. He consulted him in private about the state of his affairs, and paid great deference to his judgment. *Dion* and *Euphrates*, two celebrated philosophers, advised *Vespasian* to renounce the sovereignty, after he had overcome *Vitellius*, and restore the republic to its former liberty. But *Apollonius* opposed their sentiments, which occasioned a warm debate, *Apollonius* being, it seems, impatient of all contradiction. *Vespasian* followed the opinion of *Apollonius*, who thereupon took the liberty to instruct him how to govern with equity and moderation. *Vespasian* would have rewarded him with great generosity for his excellent precepts; but the philosopher would not accept the least acknowledgment^r. From *Alexandria* *Vespasian* departed for *Rome*, and *Apollonius* soon after for *Ethiopia*, with a design to visit the philosophers of that country, whom *Philostratus* calls *Gymnosophists*; a name by all other writers given to the philosophers of *India*. Is consulted by Vespasian. Of the thirty disciples he had at this time, ten only accompanied him in this journey, the others chusing to remain at *Alexandria*. He was at first received very coldly by the *Ethiopian* philosophers, who had been prejudiced against him by *Euphrates*; but they were soon reconciled to each other, and held several private conferences, which *Apollonius* interrupted to view the sources of the *Nile*; but he did not go beyond the third cataract. He returned to *Egypt*, about the time that *Titus* took the city of *Jerusalem*, which he entered on the eighth of September of the year 70. The next year *Titus* returned to *Rome*, and was met by *Apollonius* at *Argos*, who the same year travelled all over *Phænicia*, *Ionia*, *Cilicia*; visited several cities of *Greece*; and, if *Codinus* is to be believed, went to *Byzantium*, and there set up several talismans, or magical figures, which remained till the year 870. when the emperor *Basilius* caused them to be removed^s. From *Byzantium* he returned to *Greece*, and from thence to *Rome*; where he endeavoured to stir up the people against the emperor *Domitian*, and exhorted *Nerva*, who was afterwards emperor, to head them. *Domitian* was informed of his private practices, and at the same time told, that in the neighbourhood of *Rome* he had sacrificed a child, in order to discover, by viewing its intrails, what success would attend *Nerva*, if he engaged in the con-

^p Idem, l. iv. c. 1, 2.

CODIN. origines Constantinop.

^q Idem, c. 3---11.

^r Idem, l. v. c. 3---14.

^s GEORG.

conspiracy. Hereupon the emperor wrote to the governor of *Asia*, whither *Apollonius* was already retired, ordering him to seize him, and send him in chains to *Rome*. But *Apollonius*, before the order arrived, had left *Asia*, in order to return to *Rome*. At *Puteoli* he found *Demetrius* the celebrated *Cynic*, who acquainted him with the emperor's edict, ordering all the philosophers to depart *Rome*; and at the same time exhorted him to retire, lest he should fall a sacrifice to the rage of *Domitian*, who bore an irreconcilable hatred to all philosophers, and to him in particular. *Apollonius* replied, that he could not follow his advice, without betraying *Nerva*; and that he was very sure it was not in the power of the tyrant to put him to death. He therefore pursued his journey to *Rome*, in the habit peculiar to philosophers; but obliged *Damis*, his only companion, to quit it, lest he should be discovered and seized^t. He no sooner arrived at *Rome*, than the emperor ordered *Casperius Ælianus*, captain of the prætorian guards to seize him. *Casperius*, who had a particular veneration for him, under pretence of examining him in private, instructed him how to make his defence, when summoned before the judges; and then, as he durst not dismiss him, committed him to prison; where *Apollonius* comforted his fellow prisoners, fifty in number, and encouraged them to bear their confinement, and the miseries attending it, with constancy and patience. After he had been thus confined for the space of six days, he was brought before the emperor, who examined him concerning the designs of *Nerva*. *Apollonius* answered, That *Nerva* had never entertained the least thought of conspiring against him, or assuming the sovereignty, tho' he was at that time actually contriving, according to *Philostratus*, the means of deposing the emperor, and seizing the empire, being instigated thereunto by *Apollonius* himself^u. *Domitian*, finding he could draw no satisfactory answer from him, ordered his beard to be shaved, a great affront to a philosopher; and commanded him to be led back to prison, loaded with chains, from which, however, he was two days after discharged, at the request of *Casperius*. While he was in bonds, he assured *Damis*, who attended him even in prison, that the emperor, notwithstanding his great power, could not hurt him; and, in so saying, drew with great ease his leg out of the chain. He was a few days after brought again before the emperor; who, after having examined him in the presence of many persons of distinction, declared him innocent, and afterwards had a private conference with him, in which *Apollonius* displayed to him the great evils that must necessarily ensue from the prince's giving ear to informers. As for myself, said he, I am not under the least apprehension: you may cause me to be seized; but put me to death you cannot; that the laws of fate and my destiny will not allow. *Apollonius*, having thus spoke, disappeared, and was seen that evening at *Puteoli*, three days journey distant from *Rome*^w. From *Puteoli* he passed over into *Sicily*, and from thence into *Greece*, where he remained two years, followed and admired by vast crowds, and persons of all ranks and ages, whom, by his precepts and example, he animated to despise wealth, and place their whole happiness in the pursuit of virtue. From *Greece* he returned to *Ionia*, residing partly at *Smyrna*, and partly at *Ephesus*; but frequently visiting all the cities of that province. While he was discoursing to a numerous assembly at *Ephesus*, the same minute that *Domitian* was slain, he began all on a sudden to lower his voice, as if he had been seized with fear; but nevertheless pursued his discourse for some time, tho' faintly, and often stopping, as if he had been intent upon something else. At length he quite gave over speaking, fixed his eyes stedfast on the ground; and, after a short silence, *Strike home*, he cried, *Strike the tyrant home*. As the numerous assembly was greatly surprised, he no sooner returned to himself, than he bid them be of good cheer and rejoice; *For the tyrant*, added he, *is dead; he is just now expired*^x. The same thing is related by *Dion Cassius*, as an event not to be doubted; nay, he adds, that *Apollonius*, during his trance, as he calls it, named *Stephanus*, crying out so as to be heard by the whole assembly, *Courage, brave Stephanus! courage! dispatch the tyrant*^y. *Nerva*, who succeeded *Domitian*, had no sooner taken possession of the empire, than he wrote to *Apollonius*, inviting him to *Rome*. The philosopher returned answer, That, by the decrees of fate, they were never more to see one another. However, some time after, he wrote to the emperor a letter, filled with excellent precepts for governing with equity and moderation. This letter he sent by *Damis*, whom he charged to deliver to the emperor several rules of government by word of mouth in his name. While *Damis* was

Where he is seized, and imprisoned by Domitian's orders.

Is brought before the emperor, and by him declared innocent.

Is acquainted with Domitian's death the very minute it happens.

Is invited to Rome by Nerva, but refuses to go thither.

^t PHILOST. *ibid.* l. vii. c. 2—6. l. viii. c. 10.

^y DIO. l. vii. p. 768.

^u Idem *ibid.* c. 3, 12, 14.

^w Idem. c. 17

^x Idem.

- a was at *Rome*, he received advice, that *Apollonius* had disappeared; whence he concluded, that he had sent him to *Rome*, on purpose that he might not be present at his death: hence he is generally thought to have died this year, the first of *Nerva's* reign and ninety-sixth of the christian æra. *Damis*, in his memoirs, made no mention of his death; and *Philostratus* declares, that in his time no one could give any probable account of it. Some pretended, he died at *Ephesus*; others related, that he went into a temple at *Lindus* in the island of *Rhodes*, and was never afterwards seen. *Philostratus* assures us, that, tho' he had travelled into several countries, he could no-where find his tomb, nor hear any certain account of the manner of his death^k. This succinct account of the life of *Apollonius* is swelled by *Philostratus* with a great number of miracles and predictions, upon which he makes long descants. Amongst other miracles wrought by his hero, he tells us, that he restored to life a young woman of a consular family; but at the same time seems to doubt, whether or no she was quite dead: and truly, had he ever wrought such a miracle, he would have been, as *Eusebius* rightly observes^l, more famous than he ever was. His prodigies are attested only by *Philostratus*, who, as *Lipsius* observes^m, is guilty of many gross mistakes, and often contradicts himself in what relates to the *Roman* history. What can seem less probable, than his account of what passed at the interview between *Apollonius* and *Domitian*? *Eusebius* calls his book a *romance*; and *Photius* looks upon it as a heap of inconsistent fablesⁿ. Most of the fathers speak of it in the same style^o, as do likewise *Suidas*^p and the most judicious among the modern writers, viz. *Scaliger*^q, *Vives*^r, *Vossius*^s, *Casaubon*^t, &c. Many of the pagans themselves seem to have entertained but a very indifferent opinion of *Apollonius*, notwithstanding his boasted virtue and miracles. Even those who bore him no hatred looked upon him as a magician, and scrupled admitting him to their mysteries^u; nay, the same opinion still prevailed in the time of his panegyrist *Philostratus*, as he himself witnesses^w. *Lucian*, speaking of one of his favourite and most faithful disciples, calls him a *celebrated and professed magician*^x. In the epitome of *Dion Cassius* by *Xiphilin*, we read, that the wicked emperor *Caracalla* had a particular esteem for *Apollonius*, whom he looked upon as the most accomplished impostor and forcerer the world had ever seen.
- d No one can peruse his life, tho' written with the utmost partiality, without discovering in all his actions a great deal of pride, arrogance, and presumption, and an extraordinary opinion of his own virtue. Before his journey to *India*, when the image of the *Parthian* king was shewn him, and he commanded to adore, according to the custom of the country, he returned to the king's officers this arrogant and haughty answer; *The prince whom you adore, may reckon himself happy, if he deserves by me to be only esteemed and commended*^y. He imagined himself possessed of all virtues in an eminent degree, took upon him every-where the character of censor, legislator, instructor, &c., pretended to know every thing, to foresee future events, to be acquainted with the most hidden thoughts of those with whom he conversed; nay, he suffered himself to be by the multitude acknowledged for a god, and divine worship to be paid him; which he indeed once refused, but the only motive which prompted him to reject it was, fear of being envied^z. *Philostratus* cries up his disinterestedness and the purity of his manners; but tho' he would receive no presents from kings or emperors, yet he accepted, and even asked, a considerable sum of one of the pontiffs^a. As to the purity of his manners, he was commonly thought not to be free from all blame^b; at least his favourite disciples wallowed, if *Lucian* is to be credited, in all manner of lewdness^c. As he held the *metempsychosis*, or transmigration of souls, he caused a lion to be publicly adored, pretending, that the soul of *Amasis*, one of the ancient kings of *Egypt*, had passed into that animal^d. *Philostratus* endeavours to excuse, in the best manner he can, his hero for quarrelling with the philosopher *Euphrates*, on whom he lays all the blame. But either the same writer, or another of the same name, who had read the life of *Apollonius*, and often refers his readers to it, owns, that neither *Apollonius* nor *Euphrates* behaved on that occasion as became philosophers^e. However, notwithstanding the utmost efforts both of *Apollonius* and his panegyrist,

He disappears

Miracles ascribed to him.

What opinion the ancients entertained of him.

His pride, arrogance, and presumption.

^k PHILOST. l. viii. c. 13.^l EUSEB. in Hier. p. 461.^m LIPS. TACIT. hist. l. iii. n. 80.ⁿ EUSEB. ibid. PHOT. c. 44. p. 29.^o Vide AUG. epist. xlix. CHRYS. in Jud. hom. iii.^p SUID.^q SCALIGER. in Euseb. chron.^r Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 15.^s Idem ibid.^t CASAUB. in Spart. p. 229.^u PHILOST. l. iv. c. 6. l. viii. c. 8,^w Idem, l. ii. c. 3.^x LU-^y PHILOST. l. i. c. 14, 15, 19.^z Idem, l. vii. c. 6. l. i. c. 20. l. viii. c.^a Idem, l. iv. c. 10.^b Idem, l. viii. c. 7.^c PHILOST. vit. sophis. p. 568.^d LUCIAN. vit. Alex.^e PHILOST. vit. Apoll. l. v. c. 15.^f PHILOST. vit. soph. c. 7. p. 492.

Honours paid
him after his
death.

His works.

panegyrist, to discredit and cry down *Euphrates*, he was, two hundred years after ^a his death, generally esteemed the greatest philosopher of his time ^f. *Apollonius* himself, before their quarrel, spoke of him to *Vespasian* as a man of an unblemished character, not foreseeing, for all his pretence to a prophetic spirit, that he was soon to change his style, and inveigh against him as one of the most wicked of men ^g. *Pliny* the younger, who was intimately acquainted with *Euphrates*, bestows mighty encomiums upon him ^h; and *Arrian*, in his comments upon *Epictetus*, not only extols his eloquence, but commends him greatly for having lived like a philosopher, before he assumed the habit peculiar to that profession ⁱ. He died in the beginning of *Adrian's* reign, with whose permission he put an end to the infirmities attending old age with a draught of poison ^k. He published some writings against *Apollonius*, which *Philostratus* promises to refute ^l. *Eunapius* seems to ascribe other works to him upon more noble subjects, by which he gained great reputation ^m. As no one could give any certain account of the death of *Apollonius*, his countrymen, the inhabitants of *Tyana*, believed him immortal, and consecrated a temple to him close to their city ⁿ. His images were set up in many temples; and the emperors, instead of checking, countenanced this superstition, by the honours which they themselves paid to the impostor. *Adrian* collected and lodged in the palace at *Antium* a great many of his letters ^o. *Antonius Caracalla* honoured him with divine worship, and consecrated a temple to him ^p. The emperor *Alexander* kept his image in a private place of his palace, together with the images of our Saviour, of *Abraham*, and of several princes, who had governed with equity and moderation ^q. *Vopiscus* tells us, that he read in certain memoirs; and also heard of persons of credit, that the emperor *Aurelian* being resolved to give up the city of *Tyana* to be plundered by his soldiers, *Apollonius* appeared to him, and diverted him from that design; and adds, that the emperor, convinced by that miraculous apparition, that *Apollonius* was a god, vowed to him an image, a temple, and a statue ^r; but whether he performed his vow, *Vopiscus* does not inform us; neither does he vouch the truth of the apparition, tho' he professed a particular veneration for *Apollonius*, and even designed to write his life in *Latin*, as *Philostratus* had done in *Greek*, that his stupendous actions, says he, may ^d be known to the whole world. But, notwithstanding the great esteem which several of the emperors had for him, and his many pretended miracles, he was, at the beginning of the fourth century, generally looked upon as an impostor and a magician ^s. *Eunapius*, who wrote in the beginning of the fifth century, attempted to retrieve the reputation of his pretended hero ^t; but was therein attended with no better success than a late writer of no mean character; for, in spite of the utmost efforts of men, falsehood must in the end yield, and truth prevail. *Philostratus* has transmitted to us several letters written by *Apollonius*, most of them very short, with a long apology, which he had composed with a design to pronounce it before *Domitian*, not knowing ^u, tho' a great prophet, that the emperor would not hear it, and that in writing it he laboured to no effect. Besides this apology and a great number of letters to persons of all ranks and conditions ^w, he wrote a treatise upon judicial astrology, comprised in four books ^x, and another upon sacrifices, wherein he pretended to shew with what kind of victims each deity was most pleased. The former treatise was not much esteemed: but the latter was received with general applause. It is once quoted by *Eusebius* ^y, and mentioned likewise by *Suidas* ^z. His theology, out of which *Eusebius* quotes a passage ^a, and his treatise upon sacrifices are in all likelihood one and the same work.

A P P E N-

^f EUSEB. in Hier. p. 464, 465. ^g Idem ibid. p. 463. ^h PLIN. l. i. epist. 10. ⁱ ARRIAN. Epict. l. iii. c. 15. & l. ii. c. 8. ^k DIO, l. 69. p. 791. ^l PHILOST. l. i. c. 10. ^m EUNAP. in vit. sophist. præfat. ⁿ Idem ibid. ^o PHILOST. l. viii. c. 13, 14. ^p DIO, l. lxxvii. p. 878. ^q LAMP. in vit. Veri, p. 123. ^r VOPISC. in vit. Aurel. ^s LACT. l. v. c. 3. ^t EUNAP. in præfat. ^u PHILOST. l. viii. c. 3. ^w Idem, l. iii. c. 13. ^x Idem, l. iv. c. 6. ^y EUSEB. de præp. evang. l. iv. c. 13. ^z SUID. p. 376. ^a EUSEB. demonstr. evang. l. iii. c. 3.

A P P E N D I X.

A succinct account of the persecution of the Jews at Alexandria, and of Philo's embassy to the emperor Caius Caligula.

^a **T**HE present account having, through mistake, been omitted in the reign of *Caligula*, its proper place, the reader, we hope, will overlook that involuntary omission, and not take it amiss, that we supply it here; the persecution of the *Jews* at *Alexandria*, the embassy of *Philo* to *Caius*, and the audience he had of that prince, being too remarkable incidents to be passed over in silence.

^b THIS dreadful persecution happened in the second year of the reign of the emperor *Caligula* and 39th of the *Christian* æra, while *Egypt* was governed by a *Roman* knight, named *Avillius Flaccus*, to whose base connivance it was chiefly owing. *Flaccus* had governed that province with great reputation, during the five last years of the reign of *Tiberius*, who had a particular value and kindness for him. But, upon the death of that prince and the accession of *Caligula* to the empire, he changed his conduct, grew remiss in the administration of justice, and made it his whole study to gain the affections of the people of *Alexandria*, hoping by that means to recommend himself to the favour of the new emperor, whose resentment he dreaded; and indeed not without reason, for he was no friend to the family of *Germanicus*, and was generally thought to have contributed to the disgrace and death of *Agrippina*, the mother of *Caligula*. Three crafty *Egyptians*, *Dionysius*, *Lampo*, and *Isidorus*, who had been declared enemies to *Flaccus*, while he ruled with due severity, being apprised of his fears, remonstrated to him, under colour of friendship, that the surest means of winning the hearts of the *Alexandrians* was, to withdraw his protection from the *Jews*, of whom many thousands lived in *Alexandria*, and to abandon them to the mercy of the *Egyptians*, who had ever borne an irreconcilable hatred to the *Jewish* nation. This counsel *Flaccus* readily embraced, well knowing, that it would not displease the emperor, whose hatred the *Jews* had provoked, by refusing to acknowledge his pretended divinity. Besides, *Flaccus* was of himself, it seems, no friend to the *Jewish* nation: for that people having the year before, in the first month of *Caligula*'s reign, decreed him all the honours which were consistent with their religion, and consigned the decree to *Flaccus*, that, by his means, it might be conveyed to the emperor, he, instead of transmitting it to *Rome*, as he promised to do, suppressed it; which was doing them the greatest unkindness imaginable, and drawing upon them the resentment of a cruel and ambitious prince ^a. In the mean time, *Agrippa*, who had been set at liberty by *Caligula*, and declared king of the tetrarchy, which his uncle *Philip* had held, with the addition of that of *Lysanias*, as we have related in our history of the *Jews* ^b, arriving from *Rome* at *Alexandria*, on his journey to his new kingdom, was insulted by the populace of that metropolis in a most outrageous manner, tho', to avoid the concourse of people, he had entered the city by night ^c. As *Flaccus* winked at these insults, instead of restraining them, the rabble grew more outrageous; and, assembling in crowds, began, with great tumult and uproar, to demand, that the statues of *Caius* might be

Avillius Flaccus courts the favour of the Alexandrians

Is no friend to the Jews.

King Agrippa insulted by the people of Alexandria.

^a PHIL. in Flacc. p. 968—1009. edit. Paris. 1640. ^b Hist. Univers. vol. IV. p. 285. ^c Ibid. note P.

They destroy
the oratories
of the Jews,
or profane
them with the
emperor's sta-
tues.

Flaccus de-
clares the Jews
aliens of A-
lexandria.

All the Jews
shut up in one
quarter of the
city.

Horrible cru-
elties practised
upon the Jews.

be placed in the *Jewish* oratories, or places of prayer, of which there were many in *Alexandria*, and all over *Egypt*. *Flaccus* not offering to oppose, but seeming rather to approve, the design, the rabble thronged immediately to the oratories, cut down the groves and trees about them, levelled some of them with the ground, and set fire to others; which, together with oratories, consumed several noble monuments erected by the emperors in honour of the *Jews*, and a great many adjoining houses. Such oratories as the rioters could not demolish, because the *Jews*, who lived near them, were very numerous, they profaned, by placing in them the emperor's statues. In the largest of them all they erected a statue of brass, representing *Caius*, in a chariot drawn by four horses, which had been formerly consecrated to *Cleopatra*, the great-grandmother of the last queen of that name. They did not, as *Philo* observes, shew great respect to *Caius*, in dedicating to him what had been formerly dedicated to a woman. But the merit, on which they laid the chief stress, was their increasing the number of temples consecrated to this pretended deity, tho' even in that they did not so much regard his honour, as the satisfying of their own hatred to the *Jews*. The *Alexandrians* took care to acquaint the emperor with the transactions of each day, who is said to have read their accounts with incredible satisfaction, partly because he hated the *Jews*, and partly because he believed the *Alexandrians* chiefly actuated, in afflicting the *Jews*, by a sincere zeal for his honour^d. The example of *Alexandria* was followed by all the other cities of *Egypt*; in which province there were at this time a million of *Jews*, and a vast number of oratories, of which the largest and most beautiful were styled *synagogues*^e. They were all demolished, consumed by fire, or profaned with the emperor's statues. A few days after the *Jews* had been thus stript of their oratories, *Flaccus* published an edict, declaring all the *Jews* aliens at *Alexandria*, without allowing them time to make good their claim to the rights of citizens, which they had long enjoyed undisturbed^f. The *Jews*, who were never famous for bearing injuries with patience, when they could prevent or revenge them, made, in all likelihood, some efforts towards the maintaining of their rights; which, though *Philo* has not thought fit to mention them, gave probably occasion to greater disorders. For the *Alexandrians*, considering them as men abandoned by the emperor to their mercy, laid hold of this opportunity to vent their rage upon a people whom they had ever abhorred, and looked upon as enemies to the rest of mankind. The city of *Alexandria* was at that time divided into five quarters, which took their names from the five first letters of the alphabet. In each of these, some *Jews* dwelt, but two were almost entirely peopled by them, and thence called the quarters of the *Jews*. They were therefore by the outrageous multitude violently driven out of all the other parts of the city, and confined to one quarter; the houses, from which they had been driven, were plundered, and all their effects seized, as if they had been conquered in war. The rioters did not, says *Philo*, commit these robberies like thieves in the night, who are afraid of being brought to justice, but in the face of the sun, shewing what they had taken to all they met, with as much confidence, as if it had been an inheritance or purchase: nay, they publicly divided the spoil in the market-place, in the presence of those very persons whom they had plundered, adding mockery to their violence. As *Flaccus* never offered to check or restrain them, they broke open the shops and ware-houses of the *Jewish* merchants, which were then shut on account of the public mourning for the death of *Drusilla*, the emperor's sister; and thence conveyed away and sold to the best bidder all their effects. Thus were the *Jews* at once driven from their habitations, reduced to beggary, and cooped up in a narrow corner of the city, where the *Alexandrians* doubted not, but they would soon perish, either by the inconveniencies of the place, for most of them were obliged to lie in the open air; or by famine, for they were allowed to carry no provisions along with them; or by the infection of the air and want of free respiration, many thousands of men, women, and children, being shut up in so close and smothering a place. The *Alexandrians* watched them narrowly night and day, to prevent them from making their escape. But in the end, hunger prevailing over fear, several found means to withdraw either to the sea-side, or to some remote burying-places; but such of them as were discovered, were tortured in a most cruel manner, put to death, and their bodies ignominiously dragged through the streets of the city. Those

Jews

^d PHIL. legat. c. 9.

^e EUSEB. chron. p. 27, 28.

^f PHILO in Flacc. p. 972, 973.

Jews who, not having any notice of the uproar, happened to come to the city from their country houses, were treated with the same cruelty, and hurried away to the torture, or torn in pieces by the enraged multitude. Some of the rioters lay night and day on the banks of the river, waiting there for the *Jewish* merchants; and as soon as any vessel arrived belonging to that nation, they leaped into it, seized the effects, and then burnt it, together with the owners. In short, when *Jews* appeared in any part of the city, except the narrow quarter allotted to them, they were sure of being tortured, in a most barbarous manner, and massacred. The least inhuman among the rioters dispatched them with the sword, or with fire, often burning whole families, without respecting the old men, or pitying the infants; and employing for fuel such of their effects as no one thought worth purchasing. Others more cruel, to prolong the torments of those unhappy wretches, having tied them to stakes, kindled round them fires of moist and green wood; so that, after they had long borne the torment of a slow fire, they perished at length, suffocated with the smoke, when their bodies were but half burnt. Others, with ropes fastened to their feet, were dragged through the streets and public places of the city, the populace insulting their bodies even after they were dead, trampling them under foot, and mangling them with such brutal cruelty, that not one member remained intire to entitle them to a funeral. They then, by way of mockery, pretended to bewail those whom they had thus inhumanly butchered: but if any of their friends or relations lamented them in earnest, they were immediately seized, whipt without mercy, and, after suffering all the torments which cruelty itself could invent, condemned to the ignominious punishment of the cross.

Flaccus might, with one word, have put a stop to the fury of the populace; but he the whole time pretended ignorance of the very things he saw and heard. However, he sent at last for the leading men amongst the *Jews*, as if he designed to make up all differences between them and the people of *Alexandria*. The *Jews* had at *Alexandria* an *ethnarch*, or chief of their nation, whom *Josephus* calls, as is commonly believed, *alabarch*^b. They had likewise a council, which was established by *Augustus*; and out of this *Flaccus* caused thirty-eight persons to be seized, to be bound like criminals, some with cords, others with chains, and in that condition to be dragged through the great market-place to the theatre, where the people were celebrating the birth-day of *Caius*, and there, in the presence of their enemies, to be whipt so unmercifully, that some of them died soon after. In inflicting this punishment, he chose the most ignominious method, (for different methods were then in use) treating them as public thieves and robbers. Those who outlived this cruel punishment were imprisoned and kept under close confinement, till *Flaccus* himself was arrested, that is from the thirty-first of *August*, which was *Caius*'s birth-day, to the latter end of *September*. During this solemnity, which seems to have lasted several days, many *Jews* were crucified, after the people assembled in the theatre had diverted themselves with scourging, racking, and torturing them at their pleasure. With these scenes of cruelty they were daily entertained, till the *Jews*, either expiring on the rack, or hurried away to execution, gave room to dancers, players, and other diversions in use amongst the *Romans*; diversions truly less horrible, but perhaps not more innocent. Such women as were suspected to be *Jews* were by the insulting populace seized, carried into the market-place, and there exposed naked to public view. Those who proved not to be *Jews* were immediately dismissed; but to the *Jewish* women they caused hogs-flesh to be immediately brought, which if they eat, they too were dismissed untouched: but if, on the contrary, they adhered to their law, they were exposed to the greatest indignities imaginable, racked with all manner of torments, and put to a cruel death. Such was the condition of the *Jews* at *Alexandria* for the space of about two months; for the persecution continued to the feast of tabernacles. *Philo*, to whom we are indebted for this account, suffered, no doubt, with the rest of his nation; for he too was an *Alexandrian Jew*. We cannot help thinking his account somewhat exaggerated; and besides, are convinced, that the *Jews* gave some occasion to the unheard-of cruelty of the *Alexandrians*, which he has not thought fit to relate. King *Agrippa*, upon whose arrival the tumult began, did not in all likelihood continue long in a city where he had been so ill received. However, during his stay there, he was informed

^a PHIL. in FLACC. p. 974—1010. & legat. c. 9.

^b JOSEPH. antiq. l. xix. c. 4. EUSEB. p. 27.

informed of the decree formerly made by the *Alexandrian Jews* in honour of *Caius*,^a and procured a copy of it, which he immediately transmitted to *Rome*, acquainting the emperor at the same time with the conduct of *Flaccus*, who had suppressed it. This provoked *Caius* to such a degree, that he immediately dispatched a centurion, by name *Bassus*, with a band of soldiers, to seize *Flaccus*. *Bassus* arrived in a few days at *Alexandria*, and, landing by night, inquired for the officer who commanded the troops quartered in the city, with a design to impart to him the emperor's orders, that he might hold his men ready in case of any resistance. A soldier, whom he met in the street, informed him, that the officer supped that night with *Flaccus*, at the house of one *Stephanio*. Hereupon the centurion sent one of his soldiers in the disguise of a slave to *Stephanio's* house, who, upon his return, informed him,^b that *Flaccus* was attended only by a small number of his domestics, and that no soldiers were to be seen in or about the house. Upon this intelligence, *Bassus* immediately entered with all his men; and, having left a party to guard the gates, went with the rest directly to the banquetting-hall, where, to the great terror of the guests, he seized *Flaccus*, without meeting with the least opposition, and carried^c him in bonds on board his vessel. *Flaccus* starting up, when the centurion first appeared, attempted to make his escape; but finding himself in a minute surrounded by armed men, he looked upon himself as lost, and yielded. When news of what had happened was brought to the *Jews*, who continued still shut up in the same place, they did not at first give any credit to it, but looked upon it as a snare laid for them. However, conjecturing from the noise and uproar which they heard in the night, that something extraordinary had happened, some of them stole out, and, upon their return, confirmed the joyful tidings, that *Flaccus* was certainly arrested. Hereupon, with one voice, they returned thanks to the Almighty for their deliverance, passed the rest of the night in singing hymns, and, upon the return of the day, went all in a body to the sea side, to renew there, as they had no oratories where they could assemble, their thanksgiving with more solemnity. Soon after, *Bassus* set sail with his prisoner, who, after having much suffered during the voyage, arrived at length at *Rome*, where he had the mortification to see himself accused by *Isidorus* and *Lampo*, who, with their flattering speeches, had put him upon persecuting the *Jews*.^d But his greatest enemy was the emperor himself, who, on this occasion assuming the quality of judge, condemned him to banishment, declared his state and all his effects forfeited, and seized them for himself. The only favour which *Lepidus*, who was his friend and then very powerful at court, could obtain for him, was, that he should be confined to *Andros*, and not to *Gyaræ*, pursuant to his sentence, which was the most desert and abandoned island in the *Archipelago*. He was therefore sent under a guard to *Andros*, and there shewn to the inhabitants, who were ordered to watch him, that he might not make his escape. Some months after, he purchased a small farm, and there led a solitary and retired life, till he was, together with the other exiles, massacred by *Caius's* orders. He defended himself with great bravery against those who were sent to dispatch him, but was in the end overpowered and cut in pieces.^e

THE grievances of the *Alexandrian Jews* did not end with the authority of *Flaccus*. The tumult still continued, that unhappy people were still cruelly insulted by the enraged populace, and the magistrates of *Alexandria* refused to acknowledge the *Jews* for citizens, since *Flaccus* had declared them aliens. Hereupon both parties resolved to send deputies to *Rome*, and refer the decision of their controversy to the emperor. At the head of the *Jewish* embassy was *Philo*, and the celebrated *Apion* the chief of the ambassadors from the city of *Alexandria*. *Philo* was a *Jew* of the sacerdotal race, and sprung from one of the most illustrious families of *Alexandria*,^f where his brother was *alabarch*, or the chief of his nation in that city.^g *Josephus* calls him a person every-way extraordinary^h; and truly his works were highly esteemed both by the *Christians* and *Pagans*, and he ranked amongst the best writers of his time. He was not only well versed in the sacred books, to which the whole knowledge of the *Jews* was, generally speaking, confined, but thoroughly acquainted with the philosophy of the gentiles, and thought to surpass all the philosophers of his age, in the knowledge of the maxims and tenets of *Plato* and *Pythagoras*. He applied

Flaccus is disgraced,

Arrested, and sent to Rome;

Where he is condemned to banishment,

And soon after murdered.

Philo is sent with the character of ambassador to Caius.

Some account of him, and of Apion.

ⁱ PHIL. in Flacc. p. 976—982. antiq. l. xviii. c. 10.

^k EUSEB. l. ii. c. 4. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xviii. c. 10.

^l JOSEPH.

- a applied himself chiefly to the study of the *Platonic* philosophy, and with such success, that it was commonly said at *Alexandria*, *Either Plato imitates Philo, or Philo Plato*. The philosophers, who flourished in those times, styled him *the second Plato*, or *the Jewish Plato*^m. *Apion* was likewise a man of great learning. He was, according to some, a native of *Oasis* in *Egypt*; according to others, of the island of *Creta*, now *Candia*. Be that as it will, he was presented with the citizenship of *Alexandria*, and thence passed for an *Alexandrian*ⁿ. He is by some writers styled *Pleistonicus*, which signifies, *illustrious for many victories*^o; but how he came by that name, we are no-where told. *Suidas* calls him *Mochthus*, perhaps instead of *Mochtherus*, which signifies *laborious*^p. He was by profession a grammarian; for so were those
- b formerly called, who were well versed in polite literature. *Julius Africanus* styles him the most inquisitive of all the grammarians; and adds, that no one was better versed in antiquities, or had made more discoveries^q. He was brought up by *Didymus*, a celebrated grammarian of *Alexandria*, and afterwards instructed by *Apolonius* and *Euphanor*^r. He taught rhetoric at *Rome* under the emperors *Tiberius* and *Claudius*, and was esteemed a man of great erudition, and well versed in the *Greek* historians: his style was elegant and easy, but he is thought to have exaggerated the things which he relates to have been seen or heard by himself^s. He visited all the cities of *Greece*, as *Pliny* informs us^t, in the beginning of *Claudius*'s reign, and was every-where received as a second *Homer*. However, *Seneca* seems to have made no great account of his erudition, which chiefly consisted, as he writes,
- c in the knowledge of grammatical trifles. Of his works, and those of *Philo*, we shall speak anon.

- THE ambassadors were, according to *Josephus*, three of each side, but five according to *Philo*, who was one of them, and consequently is more to be depended upon, if we will not suppose with a modern writer^u, who strives to reconcile *Philo* and *Josephus*, that two more were afterwards sent by the *Jews*, and the like number by the *Alexandrians*. They set out from *Alexandria* in the midst of winter; and arriving at *Rome*, were forced to wait there till the return of *Caius* from *Gaul*, which happened on the thirty-first of *August*. The *Jewish* ambassadors, in the mean time,
- d conveyed to the emperor, by means of king *Agrippa*, who was then at *Rome*, a memorial, wherein they laid before him their deplorable condition, acquainted him with the hardships they had undergone, assured him of their attachment to his person and government, and in a most submissive manner implored his protection. When the emperor returned to *Rome*, the *Alexandrian* ambassadors gained privately, with great sums and larger promises, the famous *Helico*, who was by birth an *Egyptian*, had formerly been a slave, but was then in great favour with *Caius*, and his chamberlain. The *Jewish* deputies were no sooner informed, that *Helico* had been gained over by their enemies, and did them all the ill offices with the emperor that lay in his power, than they strove in their turn to bring him over to their interest; but
- e he would not hearken to any of their proposals, nay, would not so much as allow them access to him. They therefore resolved to apply directly to the emperor, and accordingly drew up a memorial, which was but an abstract of the longer address, which they had a little before transmitted to him by means of *Agrippa*. This they presented to him in the field of *Mars*, as he was coming from the gardens of his mother *Agrippina*. *Caius* received the ambassadors with a cheerful and smiling countenance, and signified to them with a sign of his right hand, that he would befriend them; nay, he ordered *Homulus*, the introducer of ambassadors, to acquaint them, that he would hear them himself, as soon as he was at leisure. From this favourable reception, it was generally concluded, that the *Jews* would gain their cause, and triumph over their enemies. But *Philo*, whom age and experience had taught
- f not to lay great stress upon fair words and outward appearances, dreaded the effects of the emperor's pretended friendship, and reasoned with himself thus: Here are ambassadors from all parts of the world, and why should the emperor distinguish us from the rest? He knows we are *Jews*, and consequently, that we should think ourselves happy to be only treated like other nations. Can we reasonably expect any extraordinary favour from a prince of another nation, or suppose that he has

They arrive at Rome, and transmit a memorial to the emperor, then in Gaul.

Upon his return they present another memorial to him.

Philo suspects his kindness.

^m HIER. de vir. illust. & epist. 84. c. 11. PHOT. c. 105.

^o GEEL. l. v. c. 14. & l. vi. c. 8. PLIN. l. xxxvii. c. 5.

evang. l. x. c. 10.

^r SUIDAS, ibid.

^s Idem ibid.

ⁿ HIER. ibid. SUIDAS, p. 327.

^q SUID. p. 355.

^o EUSEB. de præpar.

^t PLIN. præfat. & SENEC. epist. 88.

^u TILLEMONT, p. 806.

not a greater kindness for the *Alexandrians* than for us? He is partial to them without dispute; and for their sake it is, that he is eager to determine the affair. I should be glad he would prove an impartial judge; but am afraid we shall find him an advocate for them, and an enemy to us. In the mean time, *Caius*, leaving *Rome*, went to see one of his magnificent palaces, which stood on the sea-side; and thither the *Jewish* ambassadors followed him, expecting every moment to be called and heard by him, pursuant to the promise he made to them by *Homulus*. At *Puteoli* they were first informed of the danger they were in, not only of losing their cause against the *Alexandrians*, but of seeing their religion and nation utterly extirpated, in virtue of the order which the emperor had transmitted to *Petronius*, governor of *Syria*, commanding him to set up his statue in the temple of *Jerusalem*. Upon this intelligence, *Philo*, seeing no prospect of success as to the business with which he was charged, would have returned home with his colleagues, could he have done it with honour. But though he now despaired of success, yet he thought, that his dropping the suit might be looked upon as the effect of fear; and that his countrymen, who had sent him, might with some reason complain, as if, through want of courage, he had betrayed their cause. However, the storm which threatened the *Jews* on account of the statue of *Caius* soon blew over, and *Philo* was in the end admitted, with his colleagues, to the emperor's presence. But they no sooner appeared before him, than, from the fierceness of his looks, they concluded, that the emperor intended to act not like a judge, but as an accuser rather and a party. For, instead of advising with men of knowledge and experience, and hearing both sides indifferently in their turns, especially in a case of this consequence, where the lives and liberties of so many men were at stake, and privileges disputed, which for the space of four hundred years had never so much as been called in question, the tyrant gave them plainly to understand, that he did not design to proceed according to the ordinary methods of law and justice. The emperor was then at a small distance from the city, passing a few days at two country-seats, which, it seems, stood very near each other, and had formerly belonged to *Mecenas* and *Lamias*. Having therefore commanded the gardens belonging to both houses, and the several apartments, to be opened, in order to view them, and entertain himself with the curiosities there, he sent at the same time for the *Jewish* and *Alexandrian* ambassadors, who were introduced to him while he was thus employed. *Philo* and his colleagues no sooner came into the emperor's presence, than they threw themselves prostrate at his feet, addressing him with the titles of *emperor* and *Augustus*. The emperor received them, notwithstanding the profound respect they shewed him, in such manner, that they began to despair, not only of success in their embassy, but even of their lives. For, with angry looks and a scornful smile, *Are you not execrable wretches*, said he, *declared enemies of the gods, since you have the impudence to dispute a divinity that all the world acknowledges, and to set up against Caius a god whom you cannot so much as name?* At the same time, lifting up his hands towards heaven, he uttered such blasphemies, as *Philo*, who was struck with horror in hearing them, dares not repeat. The *Alexandrian* ambassadors, concluding from this reception, that they had already gained their cause, could not dissemble their joy; and there was not one attribute peculiar to God, which they did not indifferently ascribe to *Caius*, who was highly delighted with their flattery. In order to provoke him still more against the *Jews*, *Isidorus*, a crafty insinuating slanderer, addressing the emperor, *If you knew*, said he, *the mortal hatred which these men, and their whole nation, bear to you, you would abhor and detest them much more than you do. When all the world were offering up their vows and prayers for the safety of your person, and the prosperity of your government, these alone, I mean all the Jews without exception, stood out with their usual stubbornness and obstinacy.* At these words, the *Jews* cried out with one voice, that they were slandered, that they had offered hecatombs and sacrifices for the happiness of *Caius* and the empire; and that after they had sprinkled the altar with the blood of the victims, they did not feast among themselves, as most other nations do, upon the flesh, but committed the whole sacrifice to the sacred fire: And this, added they, we have done upon three remarkable occasions, upon your accession to the empire, upon your recovery from that fit of sickness which proved so sensible an affliction to most nations, and finally, for the success of your arms in *Germany*. You did perhaps offer sacrifices, replied *Caius*, I allow it: but it was to another, not to me: and what honour do I receive from

a from your sacrificing to another? These blasphemous words struck us, says *Philo*, with horror, and chilled the very blood in our veins. In the mean time, *Caius* hurried from one apartment to another, taking a view of all the rooms and offices, finding fault where any thing was amiss, and directing how it should be mended. Thus he visited every corner of both houses, the *Jews* being obliged all along to attend him, tho' jostled and derided by the whole company, especially by their adversaries, who were the whole time mimicking them, like buffoons on the stage: and truly the whole, says *Philo*, looked rather like a comedy, than a serious negotiation; but as they were now at the mercy of the tyrant, who was both their judge and their enemy, they had no defence left them but silence and patience. After *Caius* had given some

b necessary orders about his buildings, he turned to the *Jews*, and gravely asked them, Why they so much scrupled eating hogs-flesh? Hereupon the whole company, some out of flattery, others because they were diverted with the question and mockery, burst into so loud a laughter, that some of *Caius's* officers were highly offended at the liberty they took, thinking it inconsistent with the respect due to the majesty of the prince. To the emperor's question the *Jews* answered with great respect, That several people and places had their several fashions and customs, and that their adversaries were prohibited some things as well as they: some people, for instance, said one of them, abstain from lamb. Very well, replied *Caius* merrily; I cannot blame them; for lambs-flesh is not very savoury. After the emperor had thus rallied and ridiculed them for some time, in the end he asked them all on a sudden in a passion, What

c title they had to the privileges of *Alexandrian* citizens, and to the freedom of that city? Hereupon they began to lay before him their reasons; but he, finding they were of great strength, and not knowing how those which they had already alledged could be well confuted, started up in the midst of their discourse, and ran into a great hall; where, after he had walked a while, he caused the windows to be shut; and then returning to the *Jewish* ambassadors, he asked them with an air more composed, What they had to say? But they had scarce begun to speak, when *Caius*, instead of hearkening to them, left them again, and ran in great haste into another room to see several originals done by the most famous painters of antiquity. The *Jews*, finding

d themselves so often interrupted, and expecting nothing from so merciless a tyrant but immediate death, had recourse to the true, for protection against the pretended, god. Their prayers were heard, and *Caius*, without further outrages, dismissed them, saying, These men are not so wicked, as ignorant and unhappy, in not believing me to be a god. The *Jewish* deputies departed, reckoning themselves fortunate in having thus escaped with their lives safe; not that they dreaded any kind of death, says *Philo*, which, had it been any-ways conducive to the preservation of their law, they would with great pleasure, have embraced; but because their destruction would have been inevitably attended with the utter ruin of those who had sent them. As for the subject of their embassy, they could not promise themselves a favourable sentence from a

e judge, who would not so much as hear them, being highly incensed against their whole nation, as the only people subject to *Rome*, who refused to acknowledge his divinity. They continued in the city, waiting with the greatest anxiety imaginable for the decision of their cause; for upon the sentence, which the emperor might think fit to pronounce, depended the fate of the whole *Jewish* nation, who would be everywhere persecuted and stripped of their effects, privileges, oratories, &c. if the emperor should countenance the *Alexandrians* in their cruel and unwarrantable proceedings against them^f. *Josephus* seems to speak of another audience granted by *Caius* to the *Jewish* and *Alexandrian* ambassadors; wherein *Apion* inveighed with great bitterness

f against the *Jews*, alledging many things against them; but his main charge was, that whereas temples and altars were erected to *Caius* by all other nations, and the same adoration paid to him as to the rest of the gods, the *Jews* alone obstinately refused either to consecrate images to him, or to swear by his name. When *Philo* was about to reply in behalf of the *Jews*, *Caius* in a great rage commanded him to be silent, and with dreadful menaces bid him be gone. Hereupon *Philo*, turning to his colleagues, *Let us take courage*; said he; *now Caius is against us, God will be for us*^g. What sentence *Caius* pronounced in the end, we find no-where recorded: all we know is, that, during his whole reign, the *Jews* were grievously persecuted and oppressed by the *Alexandrians*^h; and that *Alexander Lyfimachus*, brother to *Philo*, and *alabarch* of the

^f PHILO, *ibid.* p. 1019—1043.^g JOSEPH. *antiq.* l. xviii. c. 10.^h *Idem*, l. xix. c. 4.

the *Alexandrian Jews*, was, by *Caius*'s orders, committed to prison, and there detained till he was discharged by *Claudius*; upon whose accession to the empire, the *Jews*, notwithstanding their boasted patience, betook themselves to arms, which occasioned a great tumult at *Alexandria*. *Claudius*, upon the first tidings of the commotion, wrote to the governor of *Egypt*, injoining him to appease it; and, at the request of the two kings, *Agrippa* and *Herod*, enacted an edict, which he sent to *Alexandria*, confirming to the *Jews* all the privileges they had ever enjoyed in that city, and declaring all the proceedings of *Caius* against them null and voidⁱ (E).

ⁱ Idem, *ibid*.

(E) To this relation we shall subjoin a succinct account of the works of *Philo*, of *Apion*, and some writers who flourished under the princes of the *Flavian* family. *Philo* described in five books the evils suffered by the *Jews* under *Caius*; and these books, as he made frequent digressions in them upon the vices of that prince, he styled ironically, *Of the virtues of Caius* (1). Of these five books *Eusebius* takes that which has reached our times, under the title of *Philo's embassy to Caius*, to be the first (2). *Photius* styles it, *Caius blamed* (3). The second of these five books is, according to both these writers, that which is commonly known by the title of *Philo against Flaccus*, and which *Photius* calls *Flaccus blamed* (4). However, the book against *Flaccus* seems to have been written before that of his embassy; since, in the end of the latter (5), he tells us, that he has already described the inexpressible calamities suffered by the *Alexandrian Jews*; and these calamities are the chief subject of his book against *Flaccus*. The three other books, or parts of that work, have been long since lost; for *Photius* seems to have been acquainted with no other, but the two above-mentioned, books written by *Philo* on that subject (6). *Philo* is said to have read them during the reign of *Claudius* in full senate, when they were heard with uncommon applause, and ordered to be deposited in the public library (7). The author seems to address himself to the emperor *Claudius* in his book against *Flaccus*. *St. Jerom* mentions in his catalogue several books written by *Philo*; but of these (which is very surprising) takes not the least notice. The reader will find in *Eusebius* (8) and *St. Jerom* (9) a catalogue of his other works upon the scripture, and various different subjects. *Eusebius* commends the sublimity of his thoughts in explaining the scripture (10); and *Origen* writes, that most of his books upon the law of *Moses* were generally esteemed by men of learning (11). *Photius*, on the contrary, thinks he frequently neglects the obvious and literal, to hunt after an allegorical, sense (12). The same writer observes, that *Philo* often follows opinions contrary to the principles of the *Jewish* religion, and that he does not seem to disapprove the superstitious honours paid to the emperor *Augustus*. *St. Jerom* ascribes to him the *Greek* interpretation of the proper names in the pentateuch and the prophets (13). Some writers will have him to have been likewise the author of a *Latin* history, containing the most remarkable incidents from the creation to the reign of *Saul*; but others think that work, which often contradicts the scripture, altogether unworthy of *Philo* (14). *St. Jerom* says, that some ancient writers ascribed to *Philo* the book of wisdom (15); but

that he was not the author of that book, is plainly shewn by a modern writer of no mean character (16). Some writers tell us, that, in the reign of *Claudius*, he became acquainted with *St. Peter* at *Rome*, and contracted a friendship with that apostle (17); nay, *Photius* adds (18), that he embraced the christian religion, and afterwards renounced it upon some discontent. But the silence of all other writers, with respect to this particular, makes us question the truth of what *Photius* asserts.

Apion wrote several books (19), of which we find one only quoted by the ancients, namely, his history of *Egypt*, containing a particular and distinct account of all the curiosities and antiquities of that country. *Eusebius* (20) and *Tatian* (21) cite some passages out of the fifth book of this work, which was in all likelihood the last. As all the *Alexandrians* bore an irreconcilable hatred to the *Jews*, no wonder that *Apion* filled his writings with false and slanderous accounts of them; which *Josephus* with great erudition confutes in a book, which he published against him and other pagan writers, in defence of the *Jews*, and intituled, *An answer to Apion*. Several persons seeming to question the truth of what he had advanced in his *Jewish antiquities*, alleging, that if the race of the *Jews* was as ancient and illustrious as *Josephus* makes it; the *Greek* historians would have taken notice of them, he undertook another work, wherein he not only shews, that several historians have mentioned the *Jews*, but confutes the calumnies published against them by divers authors, especially by *Apion*. This work is by *Eusebius* (22) and *St. Jerom* (23) intituled, *Of the Jewish antiquities*. *Apion* not only strove to discredit the *Jews* in his history of *Egypt*, but wrote a book, of which they were the only subject (24), filled with calumnies against that nation, falsehoods, and accounts altogether fabulous; which *Josephus* confuted, after he had ended his antiquities. *Apion*, after having in his writings derided circumcision in a most scurrilous manner, was himself by a distemper obliged to submit to it, but to no effect; for the wound putrifying, he died soon after, by a just judgment, says *Josephus*, in great misery and torments (25). The famous adventure of a slave named *Androcles*, who was nourished, during the space of three years, by a lion, whom he had cured of a wound, and by the same known in the sight of all *Rome*, when he was exposed in the amphitheatre to be devoured by the wild beasts, must have happened about this time; for *Apion*, as quoted by *Aulus Gellius* (26), assures us, that he was an eye-witness of that surprising and affecting scene; and adds, that the grateful lion was saved, and the slave presented with his liberty.

Justus,

- (1) *Euseb. l. i. c. 5. & 18.* (2) *Euseb. c. 5. & 6.* (3) *Phot. c. 105.* (4) *Euseb. & Phot. ibid.* (5) *Philo in legat. p. 1043.* (6) *Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 7.* (7) *Euseb. l. ii. c. 18.* (8) *Idem ibid.* (9) *Hier. de vir. illust. c. 11.* (10) *Idem ibid.* (11) *Orig. in Matth. p. 369.* (12) *Phot. c. 105.* (13) *Hier. nom. Hebr. c. 3.* (14) *Voss. ibid. l. ii. c. 7.* (15) *Hier. epist. cxv.* (16) *Du Pin reponse au remarques de pere de S. Vanne.* (17) *Euseb. l. ii. c. 17.* (18) *Hier. de vir. illust. c. 11.* (19) *Phot. c. 105.* (20) *Suid. p. 356.* (21) *Tatian. orat. ad Græc. p. 172.* (22) *Euseb. præp. evang. l. x. c. 11.* (23) *Hier. vir. illust. c. 13.* (24) *Euseb. p. 490.* (25) *Just. orat. ad Græc. p. 9, 10.* (26) *Aul. Gell. l. v. c. 14.*

Justus, the son of *Pistus*, contemporary with *Josephus*, and of the same religion, but a native of *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, wrote likewise in *Greek* the history of the *Jewish* war, of the taking of *Jotapat*, and of the destruction of *Jerusalem*. This history he composed soon after the war, but did not publish it till *Vespasian*, *Titus*, and king *Agrippa* were dead, that is, twenty years after he had wrote it, about the thirteenth year of *Domitian's* reign. *Josephus*, who was at variance with him, tells us, that he so long suppressed his history, because he durst not stand the test and censure of the world, while so many persons were yet alive, who were able to disprove him (27). *St. Jerom*, and several other writers, speak of this history of *Justus* (28), and observe, that he was no-ways a candid historian, and that he often contradicted point-blank the memoirs or commentaries of *Vespasian*, *Titus*, and other generals. We have therefore no cause to regret the loss of such a work. This history is probably different from another done by the same author, containing the lives and reigns of all the *Jewish* kings, from *Moses* to the death of young *Agrippa* (29). This work, which *Photius* (30) calls a chronicle, was ended in the third year of the reign of *Trajan*, and is probably what *St. Jerom* (31) and *Suidas* (32), who translated it, call *Justus's* short commentaries. Another writer, by name *Antonius Julianus*, flourished about this time, and published an account of the *Jewish* war, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*. For *Minucius Felix*, who wrote in defence of the *Christian* religion in the beginning of the third century, refers the pagans to *Antonius Julianus*, and to *Josephus*, telling them, that in the writings of these historians, they will find, that the *Jews* were not abandoned by God till they had abandoned him; and that they only suffered what they had been forewarned they should suffer, if they continued to disobey his law (33). We find two persons bearing that name mentioned by the ancients, viz. *Antonius Julianus*, procurator of *Judæa*, who was with *Titus*, as *Josephus* informs us (34), at the siege of *Jerusalem*; and *Antonius Julianus*, a native of *Spain*, and professor of rhetoric at *Rome*, often quoted and commended by *Aulus Gellius*, who was one of his disciples (35). He flourished about the middle of the second century, and wrote some rhetorical and grammatical books (36). A history in *Hebrew* and *Latin* of the *Jewish* war has reached our times, done by one *Josephus*, the son of *Gorion*, who pretended, it seems, to pass himself upon the world for the celebrated *Josephus*. But the ablest critics take him to have been a *Jew* born in *Gaul* in the seventh century, and his history to be only an abridgment of the *Latin* translation of *Josephus's* history, which is commonly ascribed to *Rufinus*, with the addition of many gross mistakes, and fabulous accounts (37). As for the history of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, which bears the name of *Hegeſippus*, it is but a translation of the history of *Josephus*, wherein the author allows himself a great latitude, retrenching several things, and adding harangues, descriptions, and even some events which he had probably found in other historians. We must not confound this writer, as some have done, with another of the same name, who flourished in the second century, and was a native of *Greece*, whereas the compiler of *Josephus* was, as is evident from some passages

in his work, quite ignorant of the *Greek* tongue (38). Besides, he mentions the city of *Constantinople*, and tells us, that having by degrees eclipsed the cities of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*, it was no longer the fourth, but the second, city of the *Roman* empire (39). It is therefore plain, that he did not write before the reign of *Constantine the great*, nor even before the end of the fourth century. *Vossius* is of opinion, that he flourished about the latter end of the tenth century; but the propriety of his expressions, and the elegance and sublimity of his style, are a convincing proof, that he wrote before the total and general decay of learning, that is, before the fifth century. Hence the learned bishop *Pearson* takes him for an author of the fourth or fifth century (40); and father *Mabillon* quotes two manuscripts of *Hegeſippus's* history, both written, as he conjectures from the characters, before the seventh century (41). *Gronovius* takes *St. Ambrose*, concealed under the assumed name of *Hegeſippus*, to be the true author of that history, being induced thereunto by several of *St. Ambrose's* phrases, which he observed in it (42). But the same phrases are often common to several writers of the same age; and the style of *Hegeſippus* is, in our opinion, far more easy and proper than that of *St. Ambrose*, or of *Paulinus*, *Sulpicius Severus*, *Aper*, *Eucherius*, or *Hilarius*; for to each of these the work, which bears the name of *Hegeſippus*, has by some writers been ascribed. To the history of *Hegeſippus* is annexed an *anacephalæosis*, or summary of the chief matters contained in it, which by some is thought the work of the same author; but *Gronovius* speaks of it, and not undeservedly, with great contempt (43). In this summary, and not in the history itself, is found the suppositious letter from *Pilate* to *Tiberius* concerning our *Saviour*. The history of *Hegeſippus* is quoted by *John of Salisbury*, who flourished in the twelfth century, and by *John of Trittenheim*, abbot of *Spanheim*, in his learned book of *ecclesiastical writers*; but he, by confounding the author of this work with the above-mentioned *Hegeſippus*, who flourished in the second century, has led many others into the same mistake (44).

Of *Flavius Josephus*, the most famous of all the historians who flourished under the princes of the *Flavian* family, we have already spoken in the several parts of this work; and therefore shall close this note only with a few remarks on his history of the *Jewish* wars, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*. This history he composed at *Rome*, in the reign of *Vespasian*, in his own language (45), which was much the same with the *Syriac*, and afterwards translated it into *Greek*, with the assistance of some persons who were better acquainted with that tongue than he (46). For the knowledge of the several languages was not a thing practised or valued by the *Jews*, but looked upon as a profane study, the sum of their wisdom and learning consisting in the knowledge of their laws and the right understanding of the scripture (47); which, however, it is plain they never did rightly understand with relation to the *Messiah*. The *Syriac* history was immediately dispersed over all the eastern countries, and greedily read by the *Arabians*, *Adiabonians*, *Babylonians*, *Parthians*, and all the *Jews* beyond the *Euphrates* (48). Some copies of this work, which was divided into five books, are still extant (49). The *Greek* translation proved both troublesome and expensive to him

(27) *Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 9. & vit.*

(28) *Hier. de vir. illust. c. 14. Voss. hist. Græc. l. ii. c. 8.*

(29) *Voss. ibid. Euseb. p. 47.*

(30) *Phot. c. 33.*

(31) *Hier. ibid.*

(32) *Suid.*

(33) *Min. Fel. p. 27.*

(34) *Joseph. bell. Jud. l. v. c. 4.*

(35) *Aul. Gell. l. i. c. 4. l. ix. c. 1. l. xv. c. 1. l. xviii. c. 5. l. xix. c. 9.*

(36) *Idem, l. i. c. 4.*

(37) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. c. 8. Baron. ad ann. 72.*

(38) *Hegef. l. iii. c. 1. 6. & 9. Biblioth. patrum, l. vii. p. 462, 463.*

(39) *Idem ibid. c. 5. p. 465, 466.*

(40) *Pearson. ann. Paulin. p. 50. Lond. 1688.*

(41) *Mabill. iter Italic. p. 14. Paris. 1687.*

(42) *Gronov. observat. eccles.*

(43) *Idem ibid. c. 5. p. 465, 466.*

(44) *Voss. hist. Lat. l. ii. p. 706. Trit. p. 4.*

(45) *Joseph. bell. l. i.*

(46) *Idem in Api. l. i.*

(47) *Idem, antiq. l. xx. c. 9.*

(48) *Idem, bell. Jud. l. i.*

(49) *Vide Gosselin. apparat. tom. i. p. 966. Colonia, an. 1608.*

him (50). He divided it into seven book, and did not put the last hand to it before the fifth year of *Vespasian's* reign; for he mentions the temple of *Peace* as finished, which was consecrated the following year, the sixth of *Vespasian's* reign; and ends his history with the death of *Catullus*, which did not happen, as is evident from *Dion Cassius*, before that time (51). *Josephus* closes his history with these words: As for my style, and manner of writing, I submit it to the judgment of the reader; but as to the candour and sincerity of my accounts, I do here declare to the world, that I have kept strictly to truth, and have had nothing else in view throughout the whole work. Of what passed amongst the *Romans* he was an eye-witness; and learnt of the deserters, who all applied to him, every step taken by the enemy (52). Besides, *Titus* imparted to him his own commentaries or memoirs (53); so that he was thoroughly acquainted with every thing that happened during the whole time of the war. As soon as he had ended his *Greek* translation, he presented it to *Vespasian*, to *Titus*, to king *Agrippa*, and to several others who had been eye-witnesses of what he relates (54); which he would never have done, had he been conscious to himself of having swerved in the least from truth. King *Agrippa*, in sixty-two letters to *Josephus*, authentically witnessed the candour and sincerity which reigns throughout the whole work (55); and *Titus*, not satisfied with ordering it to be published, and lodged in the public library, signed, some read transcribed, with his own hand the copy, which was to be placed there as an authentic relation of the *Jewish* war, and the destruction of *Jerusalem* (56). Hence *Suidas* gives to *Josephus* the title of *lover of truth*, as peculiar to him (57). But after all, his history is not quite exempt from faults; some of which he himself corrected in the works he afterwards published (58). It was either a deplorable ignorance, or inexcusable flattery, that prompted him to misinterpret the scripture, and apply to *Vespasian* the prophecy, importing, that in those days a prince should come out of *Judæa*, who should rule over the whole world; which could be understood of the *Messiah* alone. *Photius* speaking of the *Greek* translation of this history, greatly commends it, even on account of the style, which to him seems easy, proper, and no less elegant than that of the best *Greek* historians (59); and *St. Jerom* calls *Josephus*, the *Livy of the Greeks* (60). Hence it is evident, that the many obscure passages, odd phrases, and irregular constructions, which are to be met with in this work, ought to be ascribed to the copists, and not to the author. When *Josephus* had ended his history of the *Jewish* wars, he undertook the general history of his nation, from the beginning of the world to the twelfth year of the reign of *Nero*, when the *Jews* revolted, and strove to shake off the *Roman* yoke, which was the occasion of their utter ruin. Of this work, which is comprised in twenty books, and was finished by *Josephus* in the fifty-sixth year of his age, that is, in the thirteenth of *Domitian's* reign, and towards the end of the ninety-third of the *Christian* æra, we have spoken in various places of this history; and therefore shall only repeat here, that he frequently contradicts point-blank holy writ; of which the reader will find many instances in father *Posssevin's* learned *Apparatus* (61). Of the famous passage concerning our *Saviour*, we have spoken at

length in our history of the *Jews* (62). To the general history of the *Jews*, which *Josephus* himself intituled the *Jewish antiquities*, tho' brought down to the twelfth year of *Nero's* reign, he added the particular history of his own life, which he finished before the death of *Domitian*, that is, before the eighteenth of *September* of the year 96. of the *Christian* æra. *Eusebius* and *St. Jerom* look upon his life as part of the twentieth book of his *antiquities*; and likewise upon his books against *Apion*, as a continuation of the same work (63). Besides the above-mentioned works, a discourse composed by *Josephus* has reached our times, wherein he shews, that it is in the power of reason to command and subdue the passions: whence the treatise is by some styled, *the rule of reason*; but by others, *the history of the Maccabees*, because *Josephus* describes there at length the glorious death of those illustrious champions. This piece *St. Jerom* cries up as a most elegant performance (64); and *St. Gregory of Nazianzus* refers his readers to it for a true and affecting account of the martyrdom of the *Maccabees* (65). We find *Josephus* quoted by some ancient writers for things, of which no mention is made in his works which are still extant. Thus *Orosius* refers us to him for an account of the expulsion of the *Jews* from *Rome* under *Claudius* (66); and *Origen* quotes him as asserting, that the *Jews* generally ascribed the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the ruin of their nation, to their putting unjustly *St. James* to death (67). *Josephus* himself promises in his *antiquities* the history of *Monobazes*, king of the *Adiabeniens* (68), of whom nevertheless no farther mention is made in his works which have reached us. *Vossius* likewise assures, that in the printed copies of *Josephus* many things have been left out, which he found in the manuscript copies of the ancient *Latin* translation (69) ascribed by father *Posssevin* to the celebrated *Rufus of Aquileia* (70). *Josephus*, at the end of his *antiquities*, promises a shorter relation of the *Jewish* war, and of all that had happened to that unhappy people from the beginning of the said war to the time in which he ended his *antiquities*, that is, to the 93d year of the *Christian* æra (71). He likewise proposed writing four books of the opinions of the *Jews* concerning God and his nature, and of their laws, that he might have an opportunity of informing the world, why by their law some things were allowed them, and others forbidden (72). But neither *Eusebius*, nor any other writer, mentions these works; which inclines us to believe, that he was prevented by death from executing his design, and that he died about the latter end of *Domitian's* reign. *Photius* ascribes to him an anonymous book, *Of the substance of the universe* (73). *Posssevin* is of opinion, that he wrote a book on *the seventy weeks of Daniel* (74); and truly *St. Jerom* says, that he speaks of them much at length (75), which he does not in any of his works which have been transmitted to us. *Josephus* lived at *Rome* from the return of *Titus* to that city in 71. till his death, which happened about the latter end of *Domitian's* reign, who was killed in 96. He was highly esteemed and favoured by the three princes of the *Flavian* family: for *Vespasian* made him free of the city, lodged him in the house in which he himself had lived before he was emperor, settled upon him a yearly pension, and assigned him certain lands in *Judæa*. *Titus* shewed him no less kindness than his father had done;

- (50) *Joseph. bell. Jud. l. i.* (51) *Dio, l. lxvi. p. 751. 752.* (52) *Joseph. in Api. l. i.*
 (53) *Idem, in vit.* (54) *Idem, in Api. l. i.* (55) *Idem, in vit.* (56) *Idem ibid. & Hier. vit. vir. illust. c. 13.*
 (57) *Suid. p. 1261.* (58) *Vide Huetii demonstrat. evang. p. 326.*
 (59) *Phot. c. 47.* (60) *Hier. epist. 22.* (61) *Posssevin. apparat. tom. i. p. 967, 968.* *Coloniae, an. 1608.* (62) *Hist. Univers. vol. IV. p. 248.* (63) *Euseb. l. iii. c. 9, 10.* *Hier. vir. illust. c. 13.*
 (64) *Hier. in Pelag. l. ii. c. 3.* (65) *Greg. Nazian. orat. 22.* (66) *Oros. l. vii. c. 6.* (67) *Origen. in Matth.* (68) *Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 2.* (69) *Voss. sbyllin. p. 43.* (70) *Posssevin. ibid.* (71) *Joseph. antiq. l. xx. c. 9.* (72) *Idem ibid.* (73) *Phot. c. 48.* (74) *Posssevin. ibid.* (75) *Hier. in Isai.*

done; and *Domitian*, as well as his wife *Domitia*, conferred on him still greater honours. This drew upon him the hatred of his envious countrymen, by whom several false accusations were brought against him, but he was always declared innocent. In the reign of *Vespasian*, a Jew, by name *Jonathan*, being sent to the emperor in chains, for having, at the head of two thousand men, raised great disturbances in *Cyrene*, declared, that *Josephus* had assisted

him underhand with arms and money. But *Vespasian*, giving no credit to the calumny, commanded his head to be struck off. *Domitian* likewise punished with great severity some Jews, and an eunuch, who was tutor to *Josephus's* son, for falsely informing against him (76). Thus he lived at *Rome*, highly favoured by the emperors; and was, after his death, honoured by the *Roman* people with a statue (77).

(76) *Joseph. in vit.*

(77) *Euseb. l. iii. c. 3.*

The End of the Fifth Volume.

A N

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- Crispinilla*, one of *Nero*'s bawds, 589, d. Her plot to famish *Rome*, *ibid.* Pardon by *Galba*, *ibid.* e.
- Crispinus* *Ruf.* turned out by *Agrippina*, 508, e. Put to death by *Nero*, 561, d.
- a centurion murders *Fonteius Capito*, 589, d. Put to death, 599, d.
- *Varius*, the innocent cause of a sedition, 633, b. And of his own death, *ibid.* c.
- Crispus* *Marc.* joins *Cassius* in *Syria*, 218.
- Crocodiles* first fought in the *Roman* circus, 327, d.
- Culio* sells a free passage to *Antony*, 209, d.
- Cumæ* damaged by an earthquake, 659, c.
- Cumei* noted for their stupidity, 178, (Z).
- Cumulatus*'s treachery to *Brutus*, 251, c.
- Curatores vicorum*, their office, 324, b, c.
- Curvatus* *Matern.* his dramatic works, 656, sub, (D).
- Curio* *Caius*'s noble speech to the comitia, 89, e.
- *Scribon.* a young spendthrift, chosen tribune, 129, b. Bought over by *Cæsar*, *ibid.* & seq. Speeches to the comitia, 130, a. And senate, *ibid.* b. Withdraws himself to *Cæsar*'s camp, 131, b. Sent into *Sicily*, 134, b. Defeated and killed, 156, a.
- Curtius* *Titus* sows the seeds of a servile war, 421, d.
- Curtius* *Rufus* advanced by *Claudius*, 501, c. Whether the same with Q. the historian, *ibid.* (M).
- Curius* Q. one of *Catiline*'s conspirators, betrayed, 104, b.
- Curule* chairs, how and on whom bestowed, 400, (X).
- Cutylæ*, the waters of, extremely cold, 655, a.
- Cyclades*, the province of, what, 650, d.
- Cyprus* seized by the *Romans*, 116, d. Given by *Cæsar* to young *Ptolemy*, *ibid.* & seq.
- Cyrenius* governor of *Judæa*, vid. *Quirinus*, 336, d.
- Cyrtha* taken by *Bogud*, 165, c.
- Cyzicens* disfranchised, 424, a, (B).

D.

- D** *Abar*, grandson of *Masiniissa*, a friend to the *Romans*, 25, b. Induces *Bocchus* to be a friend to the *Romans*, *ibid.*
- Daci*, where situate, 10, c, (F). Defeated by the *Romans*, *ibid.* d. Subdued by *Tiberius*, 320, e.
- Dacians* revolt against the *Romans*, 635, e. Suppressed by *Mucianus*, *ibid.* f. Their character, 676, f. Country, 677, a. Invade the *Romans*, *ibid.* e, f. Force them to make peace, 678, f.
- Dalmatia* subdued by *Cotta*, 1, b. Revolts, 335, b. Reduced, 337, c, d. A second time, 339, & seq.
- Dalmatians*, their signal cowardice, 339, d.
- Damis*, a disciple of *Apollonius* *Tyan.* writes his life, &c. 694, b. Sent by him to *Nerva*, 696, f, & seq.
- Daughters*, *Roman*, punishable by their parents, 371, f.
- Decabalus* made king of the *Dacians*, 677, b. Defeats *Fuscus*, *ibid.* Proud message to *Domitian*, 678, a. Success against him, *ibid.* b. Defeated by *Julianus*, *ibid.* Outwits him, *ibid.* c. Forces *Domitian* to a shameful peace, *ibid.* e, f. Acknowledged by him as king, *ibid.*
- Decemvirs* augmented to fifteen, 79, a.
- Decianus* C. *Plaut.* banished for speaking in favour of *Apuleius*, 45, e.
- *Catus*'s extortions in *Britain*, 537, f. Cowardly flight, 538, d.
- Decula* M. *Tul.* chosen consul, 78, d.
- Dejoratus* accompanies *Pompey* in his flight, 147, c. Pardon by *Cæsar*, 153, c. Joins with *Brutus*, 233, c. With *Antony*, 288, b. Abandons him, 289, f.
- Dellius* Q. sent to *Cleopatra*, 261, b. His character, *ibid.* (C). A most intimate friend of *Horace*, *ibid.*
- Demetrius*, a philosopher with *Cato* at *Utica*, 162, c. — a servant of *Cassius*, brings news of his death to the triumvirs, 247, d.
- a cynic, mortified by *Vespasian*, 648, b. Entertains *Apollonius*, 695, b. 696, d.
- Demochares* *Pompey*'s admiral's success against *Octavian*, 276, c. Defeated and drowned, *ibid.* f.
- Denarius* *Roman*, its value, 360, (R).
- Devoting*, the custom of, in *Spain*, &c. 88, d, (D).
- Diana*, the temple of, adjudged to the *Messenians*, 426, e.
- Dictatorship* abolished by M. *Antony*, 193, c.
- Didius* T. success against the *Scordisci*, 4, b. Chosen consul, 44, d. Success in *Spain*, *ibid.* e. Horrid butcheries there, *ibid.* & seq. Defeated by *Sertorius*, 87, b. Sent by *Cæsar* into *Spain*, 171, c. Defeats young *Pompey*'s fleet, 174, d, e. Puts him to death, 175, d. Defeated and killed by the *Lusitanians*, 176, c, d.
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- Dionysius*, a famed geographer, 328, a. Sent by *Augustus* to survey the east, *ibid.* when he flourished, 458, f b not.
- Dividarium*, now *Metz*, plundered by the *Vitellians*, 600, b.
- Dodecatheon*, one of *Octavian's* feasts, why so called, 288, c, & (S).
- Dolabella Cornel.* triumphs over the *Lusitanians*, 45, b. Chosen consul, 78, d. Accused by *Cæsar*, and acquitted, 90, b. Made *Cæsar's* admiral, 135, b. Raises a tumult in favour of debtors, 154, c, d. Supplants *Cassius* in the government of *Syria*, 200, c, d. Cruel treachery to *Trebonius*, 203, e, f. Proscribed by the senate, 204, b. Oppresses *Asia*, 218, e. Ill success against *Cassius*, *ibid.* e, f. Defeated at sea, 219, c. His death, *ibid.* d.
- flattery to *Tiberius*, 410.
- *Pub.* success in *Africa*, 421, b, c. Turns informer, 432, b.
- *Corn.* confined at *Aquitanium*, 605, a. Accused of treason, 615, e. Massacred by *Vitellius*, *ibid.* f.
- Dolphins*, a fight between them and crocodiles exhibited, 578, (T).
- Domitia Longina* married to *Domitian*, 663, c.
- Domitian* the son of *Vespasian*, 636, e. His narrow escape out of the capitol, 632, c, (Z). Saluted *Cæsar*, 635, a. First indices of his debauchery, *ibid.* d. Chosen prætor, *ibid.* Takes the prætorship of the city upon him, 645, a. First appearance in the senate, *ibid.* c. Suspected of poisoning his brother, 662, c. His ingratitude to him, *ibid.* e. Proclaimed emperor, *ibid.* f. His private life and character, *ibid.* & seq. *Gallic* expedition diverted by *Mucianus*, 663, e, f. Studies poetry, &c. 664, a, b. Why surnamed *Germanicus*, *ibid.* d. Reviles the memory of his brother. His generous conduct upon his first exaltation, *ibid.* e, f, & seq. Public buildings, 665, a, b. Repairs the libraries, *ibid.* b, c. Diversion in catching of flies, *ibid.* c. Wholesome laws, *ibid.* d, e. Cruelty to *Sabinus*, *ibid.* e, f. Sham triumph over the *Gattans*, 667, e, f. Envy and dissimulation to *Agricola*, 673, a, b, c, d. Recals him from *Britain*, *ibid.* Sham victories in *Sarmatia*, 674, a, b. Cruelties, *ibid.* c, d, &c. Universal jealousy, 675, a, b, c. Rapines and extortions, *ibid.* d, e, f. Assumes divine honours, 676, c, d. Institutes the capitoline sports, *ibid.* Loses his armies in many provinces, 677, c. Jealous of *Agricola*, *ibid.* d. Marches against the *Dacians*, *ibid.* e. Treachery to the *Quadi* and others, 678, d. Shameful flight, *ibid.* e. Forced to a shameful peace with the *Dacians*, *ibid.* f. His mock triumph over them, 679, a. Celebrates the secular games, *ibid.* Butcheries at *Rome*, *ibid.* c. 680, a. His land and naval shews, *ibid.* f, & seq. Ghastly entertainment to the senators and knights, 681, b, c. Edict against the growth of vines, *ibid.* d. Of what duration, *ibid.* e. Suspected of poisoning *Agricola*, 682. Expedition against the *Sarmatians*, 684, a. Horrid cruelties and butcheries, *ibid.* & seq. Hatred against philosophers, 686, a. Conspired against, *ibid.* & seq. Outwitted by *Celsus*, 687, a. Repairs several roads, *ibid.* b. Persecutes the christians, *ibid.* & seq. Threatened by prodigies, 688, f, & seq. Lives in perpetual terrors, 689, a, b. Has some notice of his death, 690, a, b. Murdered, *ibid.* d, e. His private funeral, 691, b. The authors that flourished in his time, 691, (F).
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- Domitilla*, one the mother, the other the sister of *Domitian*, 336, e. Martyred under him, 687, & seq.
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- *Cneius Ahenobarbus* defeated in *Africa*, 80, d. Killed, *ibid.* e.
- *Lucius* defeated in *Lusitania*, 87, c.
- *Ahenobarb.* vid. sub. *Ahenobarbus*, 121, & seq.
- *Galvinus* defeated by *Pharnaces*, 153, b.
- *Pub. Corn. Ap.* chosen consul, 186, c. Approves of *Cæsar's* murder, *ibid.* d, e.
- Treachery to *Gaius*, 332, (P).
- *Lucius's* death and character, 427, a, b.
- *Afer*, the accuser of *Claudia*, 427, e. And of *Q. Varus*, 432, b. Succeeds *D. Corbulo*, 469, His politic escape, 472, (P). Consulship, 473, d.
- *Cneius* betrothed to *Agrippina*, 435, b. His vile character, *ibid.* (L).
- *Corbul.* vid. sub. *Corbulo*, 469, & seq.
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- Doryphorus* why poisoned by *Nero*, 544, b, c.
- Druids* encourage the *Gauls* against the *Romans*, 641, f.
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- Drusiana Fosso*, where and by whom made, 319, f. Described, 382, (Q).
- Drusilla* married to *L. Cassius*, 437, (N). 446, c. Privileges granted to her by *Caligula*, 460, c, d. Her death and incest with him, 466, d, e. Apotheosis, *ibid.* & seq.
- the pretended daughter of *Caligula* born, 477, b, (W). Presented by him to the gods, *ibid.* c, d.
- Drusus M. Lic.* ends the *Scordiscan* war, 5, e. The innocent cause of the social war, 47, b. His noble scheme to alleviate the public discontents, *ibid.* & seq. Sends the consuls to prison, 48, a. His singular probity, *ibid.* c. Death and last remarkable words, *ibid.* d. Character, *ibid.* & e.
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- the son of *Livia's* bravery against the *Germans*, 257, c, d. Chosen consul, 320, d. Subdues the *Germans*, *ibid.* e. Stopped by prodigies, and death, *ibid.* f. Funeral honours, &c. 321, pass. His altar destroyed, 381, (M).
- *Germanicus*, vid. sub *Germanicus*, 321, & seq.
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- the nephew of *Germanicus*, strangely choaked with a pear, 408, a. 488, a.
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- Dumnarus*, general of the *Andes*, defeated by *Fabius*, 128, f.
- Dumnorix's* treachery to *Cæsar*, 117, e. Defeated and killed by the *Roman* cavalry, 123, e.
- Duras* generously resigns the *Dacian* crown to *Decabalus*, 677, b.
- Dynamis* forced to marry *Scribonius*, 515, b. Given to *Polemon*, *ibid.* d.

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 — *Maximus* besieges *Munda*, 174, c. Takes it, 176, d.
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 — *Rusticus*, an account of his writings, 578, (T).
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 — *Flavius*, a bloody tool of *Marius*, 65, a. Sent with *Valerius* against *Sylla*, 67, d. Forsaken by his troops, *ibid.* e. Opposes and kills *Valerius*, 68, a, b. Success against *Mithridates*, *ibid.* b, c. Treacherous design against *Sylla*, *ibid.* d. Kills himself, *ibid.* e.
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 — *Sylla's* friend made interrex, 77, e, f.
 — *M. Lænius's* friendship to *Cicero*, 116, (S).
 — *Minutius* surrenders *Atcua* to *J. Cæsar*, 172, d.
 — *Vesculator* betrays *Libo* to *Tiberius*, 386, e, f. Put to death by him, 445, c.
 — *Pomponius*, his character, 396, (Q). Betrays *Rescuporis*, *ibid.* c.
 — *Verrius*, the grammarian, his writings, &c. 458, sub not.
 — governor of *Egypt*, put to death, 472, in fin. not.
 — *Herdonius* succeeds *Virginus* in *Gaul*, 583, b. Opposed by the *German* troops, 590, b. His character, *ibid.* His cowardice there, 598, e, f. Inclines to *Vespasian*, 622, c. Murdered by his soldiers, 641, d, e.
 — *Avilius*, governor of *Egypt*, encourages the horrid persecution of the *Jews* at *Alexandria*, 699. Declares them aliens, 700. Arrested by *Bassus*, and carried to *Rome*, 701, e, f, & seq. Banished to a desert island, 702, b. Put to death, *ibid.* d.
 — *Valer. Setin Balb.* his poems, 692, sub not.
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 — the brother of *Arminius*, sharp contest with him, 382. Friend to the *Romans*, *ibid.*
 — *Subrius* conspires against *Nero*, 551, c. Prevented by the cowardly *Fenius*, 553, f.
 — *Sabinus* made governor of *Rome*, 596, f.
 — *Scævinius* conspires against *Nero*, 551, c. Betrayed by his servant, 552, d, e. Confesses the fact, 553, b. Accuses *Fenius Rufus*, 556. Brave speech at his trial, *ibid.* a, b. Intrepid death, *ibid.* c.
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 — *Capito* chosen consul, 344, d. — Murdered in *Germany*, 589, d. His character, *ibid.* e.
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 — *Aurel.* consulship, 680, c.
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 — *Cæsar's* general, cut off by the *Illyrians*, who had declared for *Pompey*, 139, e.
 — *P. Secund.* succeeds against the *Chauci*, 493, c, &c.
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 — *Serv. Sulpit.* chosen consul, 446, b, (X). Highly esteemed by *Claudius*, 492, (U) 497, (B). Defeats the *Catti*, 493, b. Encouraged to revolt in *Spain*, 570, b, c. His speech to his troops against *Nero*, *ibid.* & seq. Saluted emperor, declines the title, 571, b. Proscribed by *Nero*, 572, c. Retaliates upon him, *ibid.* d. In a dangerous case, 574, a, b. An account of his progenitors, 580. Adopted by *Livia Ocell.* *ibid.* c, (U). His private life recapitulated, 581, pass. Severity in *Spain*, *ibid.* e, f. Saluted emperor, 582, c. Marches towards *Rome*, *ibid.* & seq. Complimented by the ambassadors at *Narbonne*, 583, c. Severity to the *Spaniards*, &c. *ibid.* & seq. And at *Rome*, 585, pass. Governed by three rapacious ministers, *ibid.* & seq. Instances of his own parsimony, 588. Resumes *Nero's* profuse liberalities, *ibid.* d, e. Becomes hateful to the soldiery, *ibid.* & seq. Severity against false informers, 589, a. Incenses some *German* legions, 590, a, b. Adopts *Piso* for his successor, *ibid.* pass. His speech to him on that occasion, 591, & seq. Conspired against by *Otho*, 592, f, & seq. Warned of him by an augur, 593, e. Strives to quell the revolt, 594. Deceived by false reports, *ibid.* & seq. Forsaken by his guards, 595, e. Murdered. *ibid.* f. His head carried in triumph, 596, c, d. Buried with his body, 597, d. His character, *ibid.* & seq.
 — *Caius*, the brother of the former, put to death, 451, c.
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 — *Afinius's* speech to *Tiberius*, 355, b. His extract and character, *ibid.* (I). Treason and banishment, 498, e.
 — *Caninus* sharply reproved by *Tiberius*, 445, d, (U).
 — *Aul. Didius* succeeds *Ostorius* in *Britain*, 512, b. Ill success there, *ibid.* & seq.
 — *Glicius* impeached by *Quinctianus*, 553, c.
 — *Cestius* defeated by the *Jetius*, 566, b.
 — *Rubrius* obtains a pardon for the *Othobians*, 613, e.
 — *Herennius* defeated by the *Batavian* cohorts, 640, e.
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- H** *Alotus Claudius's* taster poisons him, 516, c. (A). His crimes and extortions, 587. Screened from punishment by *Vinius*, *ibid.* f.
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- Uspians* dangerously tossed round *Great Britain*, 677, c, d, e.
- Utica* defended by *Cato*, 161, a. Her grief for his death, 164, d. Surrendered to *Cæsar*, *ibid.* e.
- Vulfinii*, a city in *Etruria*, 415, a, (P).
- Vulturius*, one of *Catiline's* conspirators seized, 106, d.
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F I N I S.